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In Perpetuam Memoriam

COLONEL JOHN DURKEE

(1728 - 1782),

Founder and Namer of Wilkes-Barré.

Fama Semper Vivat.

A HISTORY OF WILKES-BARRÉ

LUZERNE COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA

FROM ITS FIRST BEGINNINGS TO THE PRESENT TIME; INCLUDING
CHAPTERS OF NEWLY-DISCOVERED

EARLY WYOMING VALLEY HISTORY

TOGETHER WITH MANY BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES AND MUCH
GENEALOGICAL MATERIAL

BY

OSCAR JEWELL HARVEY, A. M.

AUTHOR OF "A HISTORY OF LODGE No. 61, F. & A. M.", "THE HARVEY BOOK",
"A HISTORY OF IREM TEMPLE", ETC.

ILLUSTRATED WITH MANY PORTRAITS, MAPS, FACSIMILES, ORIGINAL
DRAWINGS AND CONTEMPORARY VIEWS



COMPLETE IN THREE VOLUMES

VOLUME II

WILKES-BARRÉ

1909

WILKES-BARRÉ, PENNA. 1909

WILKES-BARRÉ, PENNA. 1909

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“Wyoming! In thy mountain scenery yet,
All we adore of Nature in her wild
And frolic hour of infancy is met;
And never has a Summer's morning smiled
Upon a lovelier scene than the full eye
Of the enthusiast revels on, when high
Amid thy mountain solitudes he climbs,
And knows that sense of beauty which sublines.”

“War's wildest blast once rang between these hills,
And poured its savage legions like a flood
Down the green mountains. Bloody were the rills
That flow in silver now along the wood;
And the rough battle-ax was none too rude
To cleave the fairest bosoms, while the bright sky
Echoed the war-whoops of the hellish brood.”





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Errata—Volume II.

- PAGE
629. In the third paragraph of the "Gallup" foot-note, seventh line—Esther Gallup was born October 22, 1768, and died May 18, 1817.
634. Third paragraph of "Butler" foot-note, third line—"1732" should be *1736*.
637. Second paragraph, fourth line from end—"page 658" should be *page 657*.
638. Third paragraph from end of foot-note, fourth line—Hannah was the *third* and not the "fourth" child of Zebulon and Anne (*Lord*) Butler.
647. First paragraph of first foot-note, third line—"Beamy's" should be *Reamy's*.
715. In the fifth line of the paragraph near the middle of the page—substitute *October* for "September."
718. Third paragraph of foot-note—in fourth line substitute *later* for "then", and in fifth line substitute *then* for "now".
723. Fifth paragraph of foot-note, fourth line—insert *Mt. Vernon* before "Ohio"; in seventh paragraph—Robert Miner Abbott was born *June 19, 1837*; in last paragraph—add to last line, and *Asher Miner Abbott*.
807. Next to the last paragraph—add to the last line, and *were children of John Sharps of Wyoming*.
834. Third paragraph, tenth line—substitute *east* for "west".
908. Last foot-note, second line—"1774" should be *1772*.
985. Third line—substitute *967* for "985".
989. Second paragraph—in the fifth line, following "Susquehanna", insert *After*; and in the twelfth line substitute *988* for "989".
1117. Eleventh line from bottom—substitute *elder* for "younger".
1187. Fifth paragraph, next to the last line—"Jacobs'" should be *Jacob's*.
1189. Second paragraph, thirteenth line—"Jacobs'" should be *Jacob's*.

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“Wyoming! In thy mountain scenery yet,
All we adore of Nature in her wild





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“Look now abroad ! Another race has filled
These populous borders ; wide the wood recedes,
And towns shoot up, and fertile realms are tilled ;
The land is full of harvests and green meads ;
Streams numberless, that many a fountain feeds,
Shine, disembowered, and give to sun and breeze
Their virgin matins. The full region leads
New colonies forth, that, toward the western seas,
Spread like a rapid flame among the autumnal trees.”
—*William Cullen Bryant.*





CHAPTER XI.

THE FIRST PENNAMITE-YANKEE WAR IN WYOMING—THE SUSQUEHANNA COMPANY'S LAND-SURVEYS CONTINUED—WILKES-BARRÉ "TOWN-PLOT" LAID OUT—SETTLERS UNDER THE SUSQUEHANNA COMPANY INCREASE RAPIDLY IN NUMBER AND EFFECTIVENESS—THE TOWN OF WEST-MORELAND ORGANIZED.

"There is a sanctity in the Past, but only because of the chronicles it retains—chronicles of the progress of mankind—stepping-stones in civilization, in liberty and in knowledge."

—Edward Bulwer-Lytton, in "*Rienzi*."

At Hartford, Connecticut, November 8, 1769, a meeting of The Susquehanna Company was held, presided over by Maj. Elizur Talcott* as Moderator. The principal matter of business transacted was the unanimous adoption of the following:

"*Voted*, That the settlement of the lands at Wyoming be pursued according to the vote of this Company December 12, 1768,† and that the Committee use their utmost endeavor to make up in cash an equivalent for the fifty barrels of pork granted by this Company for the use of said settlement, with what they have already sent for the use of the 240 settlers mentioned in said vote; and that a further sum of £75 be forwarded and paid to the Committee appointed to oversee and direct in the settlement, for the use of the 240 that shall remain on said land; and that the Committee use their influence with Major Durkee to continue at Wyoming with our settlers this Winter.

"Whereas there are few proprietors present, or have had notice of this meeting, and matters of importance are now under consideration, it is voted to adjourn to December 6, 1769, at Windham; and the Clerk is directed to publish a copy of this vote in this and three adjoining Provinces."

In pursuance of the foregoing resolution advertisements were printed in *The New York Journal*, *The New London Gazette* and other newspapers, announcing that a meeting of The Susquehanna Company would be held at Windham on December 6th.

Turning again to Wyoming Valley we find that about November 1, 1769, the Yankee settlers here were still dwelling together at Fort Durkee, busily engaged in harvesting some of their crops, breaking up new land and building fences. The Ogdens and a small party of Pennsylvanians continued to occupy their block-house at Mill Creek and also were engaged, in a small way, in making improvements in that part of the valley. After the skirmish between the Yankees and the Penna-

* Major, later Colonel, TALCOTT was of Glastonbury, Hartford County, Connecticut.

† See page 465, Vol. I.

mites on September 22d (see pages 513 and 514), each party became more circumspect and wary with respect to the other, and the members of both parties went about their daily duties provided with defensive weapons of some sort, while the respective strongholds of the two parties—the fort and the block-house—were carefully guarded day and night by armed sentinels. Relative to the September skirmish, previously referred to, we have the following additional information, derived from a printed statement* issued in 1804 by Alexander Patterson, of Northampton County, whose name and exploits are frequently mentioned hereinafter. He refers to the Yankees as numbering (in September, 1769) “upwards of 200, under the direction of a man of desperate fortune, of the name of *Durgee* [Durkee],” and then states:

“They [the Yankees] attempted to dispossess the Pennsylvania settlers,† armed with axes, scythes and clubs. Your petitioner [Patterson] was in the front of the opposition, and was severely wounded in the head with an ax. The Yankees were defeated and drove to their fort. Notwithstanding the loss of much blood he [Patterson] that evening set off in a bateau to Fort Augusta, sixty-six miles down the river, at that time all the way uninhabited; hired hands, and brought up a cannon.”

The September skirmish at Wyoming caused Sheriff Jennings to hasten the preparations for his expedition to the valley, which he was making at Easton in compliance with the directions of Governor Penn, as detailed on page 507, Vol. I. The party of “hands” claimed by Captain Patterson to have been “hired” by himself at Fort Augusta consisted of some twenty men, engaged for the Wyoming service by Colonel Francis under instructions from the Governor. (See page 507.) These men, properly armed and equipped and provided, also, with an iron 4-pounder cannon and a supply of ammunition (furnished by Colonel Francis), were conducted by Captain Patterson in several bateaux from Fort Augusta to the mouth of Mill Creek, in Wyoming, where they arrived November 8th—the very day that the meeting of The Susquehanna Company took place at Hartford. About two days later Sheriff Jennings set out from Easton for Wyoming at the head of a force of some 200 men, well armed and equipped. A number of these men were residents of New Jersey, but the majority were from the towns of Easton and Bethlehem and the vicinity of Fort Allen in Northampton County, Pennsylvania. The Sheriff’s chief aids, or deputies, were Charles Stewart, Esq. (previously mentioned), and Captains Joseph Morris and John Dick. (See note, page 514.)

Capt. Amos Ogden, apprized at Wyoming of the approach of Sheriff Jennings and his “*posse comitatus*”, gathered together his whole force of Pennamites, numbering about forty, and in the afternoon of Saturday, November 11th, dashed rapidly and unexpectedly on a small party of Yankees—among whom was Maj. John Durkee—at some distance from Fort Durkee and captured them. Captain Ogden, it will be remembered, was at that time a duly commissioned Justice of the Peace, and without delay he issued the necessary legal papers for the commitment of Major

* “A Petition presented by Capt. Alexander Patterson to the Legislature of Pennsylvania during the Session of 1803-04, for compensation for the monies he expended and the services he rendered in defence of the Pennsylvania title against the Connecticut claimants.” Printed at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1804.

† About the middle of September, 1769, the Pennsylvania settlers—the Ogdens and their few associates—who were holding possession of the lands at and near Mill Creek, were joined by Alexander Patterson, Garrett Brodhead (mentioned in the note on page 258) and a number of others from eastern Northampton County, representing certain Pennsylvania land-claimants. These men took part in the skirmish of September 22d, and Brodhead’s servant was captured by the Yankees and held a prisoner in Fort Durkee until its surrender on November 14th, as hereinafter described. The following account against “the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania” was rendered by Garrett Brodhead in 1769, and is printed in “Pennsylvania Archives,” Second Series, XVIII: 614. “To six days with two horses and self, £3, 12s.; six days with one horse, £3; ten days at Wyoming, £5; my servant fifty-eight days at Wyoming, of which he was imprisoned thirty-eight days by the Yankys, £14, 10s.”

Durkee to the city jail in Philadelphia. The Major was too valuable a prize to be risked in the log jail at Easton, and so, shackled with irons and entrusted to a safe escort within a few hours after his capture, he was hustled off to Philadelphia and closely imprisoned. Emboldened by their success Ogden and his men, about nine o'clock Saturday night, surrounded Fort Durkee and fired upon the men within.*

Sheriff Jennings and his posse reached Wyoming on Sunday, November 12th, and the next morning the whole body of Pennamites, upwards of 200 in number, paraded in formidable array before Fort Durkee. Then, while Jennings—at the forefront of his force—carried on a parley with the Yankee garrison, Ogden and some of the men collected and drove away all the cattle and horses belonging to the Yankees which they found grazing in the fields in the neighborhood. The following day the Pennamites assembled again on the plain before Fort Durkee, where they threw up a line of earthworks upon which they mounted the 4-pounder from Fort Augusta; after which they summoned the Yankees to surrender or, failing in that, to submit to the "immediate destruction" of their fort. Deprived of their commander, and having nothing but muskets and rifles with which to defend themselves, the Yankees determined to surrender; whereupon articles of capitulation were entered into, in form as follows:

"ARTICLES or CONDITIONS of agreement Indented made and entered into at Wyoming on the fourteenth day of November *Annoque Domini* one thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine, Between JOHN JENNINGS, AMOS OGDEN & CHAS STEWART, Esquires, in behalf of the Honorable Thomas Penn and Richard Penn, Esquires, Proprietaries of the Province of Pennsylvania, on the one Part, and JOHN SMITH and STEPHEN GARDNER, Committee-men chosen and appointed by the Susquehanna Land Company of Connecticut in behalf of themselves and the said Company, of the other Part, WITNESSETH: that Whereas a number of the said Susquehanna Land Company have made several attempts to seize on and possess themselves of the Lands at and near at Wyoming aforesaid, in the Province of Pennsylvania, for which Forcible Entries, Riots, &c. they have been indicted by the Grand Inquest of the County of Northampton in the Province aforesaid, in Consequence whereof his Majesty's Writts have been Issued against them and the Sheriff of the County of Northampton aforesaid hath collected the Posse Comitatus of the said County to aid him in apprehending the said Trespassers, Rioters and Offenders.

"But the partys to this agreement considering the great difficulties and expenses that will fall on the persons indicted on a Trial, as also the hardships they must suffer by being confined in a Goal if they cannot procure Bail, and being likewise desirous to prevent shedding of Blood and Future quarrells between the Tenants and Purchasers settled at Susquehanna under the aforesaid Thomas Penn & Richard Penn, Esquires, and those claiming under the Susquehanna Company or Connecticut Grant, The aforesaid partys do Covenant, promise and agree for themselves and their respective Constituents with each other as Follows, viz.:

"1st. That all the people now assembled at Wyoming claiming under or in conjunction with the Connecticut men shall peaceably depart from hence in three days, except a number not exceeding fourteen men, and that quiet and peaceable possession of the Fort and all the Buildings and Houses therein be immediately given up to the said John Jennings, Amos Ogden and Charles Stewart.

"2dly. That the party consisting of fourteen men, a list of whose names shall be taken and annexed hereunto, shall have leave to dwell in six of the Houses or apartments in the Fort and continue there with their wives and children (if any they have) untill his Majesty's Decree or Royal Order be issued and publickly made known in America in regard to the Title of the Lands at Wyoming, at which time it's agreed, meant and intended by the partys aforesaid that the party in whose his Majesty pleases to confirm or declare the Title of the lands at Wyoming to be (whether it be determined in favour of the Honble the Proprietaries of this Province or in favour of the Connecticut claimants) shall thenceforth continue to possess and enjoy the same without any lett or molestation from the other party, who shall without delay remove off the lands aforesd with their Cattle, Horses and Effects as soon as his Majesty's determination is made known to them at Wyoming.

"3dly. That in the Interim not more than five Strangers, or others of the said Susquehanna Company's claimants, shall be received or entertained by the party of four-

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, IV: 401.

teen aforesaid at any one time nor continue in their Houses longer than three days at once, except in cases of absolute necessity, and that then the names of any persons so coming and their business shall be declared and made known to the settlers here, or agents under the said Thomas Penn & Richard Penn.

"4thly. That an Inventory of the Cattle and Horses belonging to or left in care of the fourteen men aforesaid be made out and given to the said John Jennings, Amos Ogden & Charles Stewart, that the numbers and marks of sd Cattle and Horses may be known to them and the others settled here.

"5th. That the party of fourteen aforesaid have leave to gather the Indian Corn, Turnips and * * * Crop of the past Summer, and Fence the wheat they have sown; with full Egress and Ingress to and from the wheat fields, and leave to cutt Firewood and do every other thing for the convenience and support of their Familys this Winter, or untill his Majesty's order be made known.

"6th. That they the said Connecticutt Company nor any of them shall not attempt any further Waste on the Lands at Susquehanna by Cutting Timber, Building Houses or any other way untill his Majesty's pleasure be made known in America in regard to the Title of said Lands.

"7thly. That all the Houses or Buildings in the Fort and on the said Lands, except the six before mentioned, shall be occupied, possessed and enjoyed by the settlers and purchasers under the said Thomas Penn & Richard Penn, Esquires, without any lett or disturbance from the other party untill the publication of his Majesty's order or Decree be made in America.

"8thly. That to preserve peace and good neighbourhood between the party of fourteen aforesaid and the Settlers under the said Thomas Penn & Richard Penn, Esquires, aforsd, The partys to this agreement hereby make themselves and their Constituents responsible for the good behevour of the men who are to be left here, each party covenanting that themselves nor any they leave here will Harrass, Molest or disturb the Persons or Effects of the other, But on the contrary it is the True intent and meaning of this Agreement that peace, Order and Good Will be established here between the said partys, and that each and every of them will readily obey his Majesty's Royal Order and pay due obedience & Respect to the Laws. For the punctual performance whereof and of every part of this agreement the Partys aforesaid respectively bind themselves each by every tie of Honor and Justice, and also in the Penal Sum of one thousand pounds Current money of this Province, and have to this agreement interchangeably set their hands and Seals the Day and year first above Written. *Anno*, 1769.

"Signed, Sealed and Deliver'd

In the presence of us—

"David Reynolds,*

"Jos: Morris,†

"Stephen Gardner, Jr.,‡

"William Gallup,§

"JNO. JENNINGS,	[L. S.]
"AMOS OGDEN,	[L. S.]
"CHAS STEWART,	[L. S.]
"JOHN SMITH,	[L. S.]
"STEPHEN GARDNER,	[L. S.]

* DAVID REYNOLDS, born in West Greenwich, Rhode Island, June 17, 1734, was the third child of William and Deborah (*Green*) Reynolds. William Reynolds was born near the close of the seventeenth century at Kingstown, Rhode Island. He was fourth in descent from William Reynolds of Providence (1637), who was associated with Roger Williams in the early settlement of the Colony of Providence Plantations, and was one of the thirty-eight signers of the agreement for a form of government for the new Colony. William Reynolds (the first of this name mentioned above) was married September 18, 1729, to Deborah, daughter of Benjamin and Humility (*Coggeshall*) Green of East Greenwich, Rhode Island, and they became the parents of the following children who grew to maturity: (i) *Sarah*, b. March 31, 1730, and md. in 1751 to Benjamin Jones; (ii) *Caleb*, b. June 21, 1731, and md. to Sarah Anderson at Voluntown, Connecticut, January 23, 1755; (iii) *David*, b. June 17, 1734; (iv) *Griffin*, b. June 11, 1737; (v) *Benjamin*, b. October 25, 1740; (vi) *James*, b. August 21, 1748; (vii) *William*, b. about 1752, killed at the battle of Wyoming, July 3, 1778.

In 1751 William and Deborah (*Green*) Reynolds and their children removed from West Greenwich to Coventry, Rhode Island, where they continued to reside until 1759, when, having disposed of his estate there for £1,000, Mr. Reynolds removed with all his family except his two eldest children to the Province of New York—locating, presumably, in either Dutchess County or Orange County. About that period there were considerable emigrations from eastern Connecticut and western Rhode Island to the counties mentioned; and through those counties, later, the New Englanders pursued their toilsome journeys on their way to settle in Wyoming.

(v) Benjamin Reynolds came to Wyoming in the Spring or Summer of 1769, either with the party headed by Major Durkee (see page 487) or with one of the smaller parties that came later, for he signed the petition drawn up at Wilkes-Barré August 29, 1769. (See page 510, Vol. I.) William the father came before September 12, 1769 (on which date he signed at Wilkes-Barré the petition mentioned on page 512), and shortly afterwards (iii) David joined his father and brother. The name of William Reynolds appears in the tax lists of Plymouth Township (where he settled in 1772) for 1776, 1777 and 1778, and the name of David Reynolds appears in the lists for 1777 and 1778. It is not probable that Benjamin Reynolds remained here for any great length of time, as his name does not appear later than 1771 in any of the few "lists of settlers" now in existence. He was living in Pownal, Bennington County, Vermont, in January, 1795, when he conveyed to Charles E. Gaylord certain lands in Plymouth Township, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, which had been devised to him by his father William. In March, 1797, Benjamin Reynolds of Exeter, Washington County, Rhode Island—presumably the son of William of Plymouth, as above-mentioned—conveyed to his sons Joseph and Benjamin "all his right in the Susquehanna Purchase." William Reynolds died at Plymouth in 1791, aged considerably more than ninety years. By his will, probated at Wilkes-Barré January 6, 1792, he devised his estate to his children Sarah, Caleb, David, Griffin, Benjamin and James.

(iii) David Reynolds was twice married. The name of his first wife, and the place and time of her death, are not known. She bore her husband two children—Joseph (who married but had no children) and Mary (who became the wife of Levi Bronson). In 1779 David Reynolds was married (2d) to Mrs. Hannah (*Andrus*) Gaylord (born 1746), widow of Charles Gaylord (formerly of Plymouth) who had died in July, 1777, while a soldier in the Continental Army. David Reynolds died at Plymouth July 8, 1816, and

The foregoing Articles were executed in duplicate, and the copy—in the excellent and well-known handwriting of Charles Stewart—which was retained by the representatives of the Yankees, is now in the possession of Mrs. Annie B. D. Reynolds of Wilkes-Barré, whose husband (the late Sheldon Reynolds) was a great-grandson of David Reynolds, one of the subscribing witnesses to the Articles. By the courtesy of Mrs. Reynolds we are able to present on the next page a photo-reproduction of a portion of this interesting document.

In conformity with the terms of the capitulation Stephen Gardner, Stephen Jenkins, Asa Ludington, Roasel Franklin, Maj. Simeon Draper, Samuel Hotchkiss, William Wallsworth, Frederick Spyer, Peregrine Gardner, James Nisbitt, James Forsyth, Daniel Brown, Jedidiah Olcott and Christopher Avery were selected as the fourteen Yankees who were to remain at Fort Durkee, "to dwell there in the houses numbered 1, 5, 10, 15, 17 and 21."* Within two or three days after the capitulation all the Yankees in Wyoming—with the exception of the abovementioned—peaceably left the disputed territory. No sooner had they departed, however, than Ogden and his party, in violation of the Articles of Capitulation

his wife Hannah died there October 7, 1823. Their only child was Benjamin Reynolds—born February 4, 1780, and died February 22, 1854, at Plymouth—concerning whom, as well as other members of the Reynolds family, mention is made in subsequent pages.

† Capt. JOSEPH MORRIS, mentioned on page 626. He was a resident of Morris County, New Jersey, and was, undoubtedly, a neighbor there, as well as a personal friend, of Capt. Amos Ogden. Further mention of Captain Morris is made in subsequent pages of this Chapter.

‡ Son of STEPHEN GARDNER, one of the signers of the Articles of Capitulation. The "signer" was (III) Stephen Gardner mentioned in the note on page 254.

§ WILLIAM GALLUP was born at Groton (on the river Thames, opposite New London), Connecticut, July 4, 1723, the fifth child of Benadum Gallup, Jr. The latter (born 1693) was an early settler in Groton, where he held various town offices, and in 1730 was a Representative from the town in the General Assembly of Connecticut. He was the fourth child of Benadum and Esther (*Prentice*) Gallup, and the grandson of Capt. John and Hannah (*Lake*) Gallup of Stonington, Connecticut. Capt. John Gallup, last mentioned, was a man of considerable prominence in his day. He took part in the Pequot War of 1637, and received a grant of land for his services. In 1665 and '67 he represented Stonington in the General Court of Connecticut; and, having become quite proficient in a knowledge of some of the Indian dialects, was frequently employed by the Government in the capacity of interpreter. In November, 1675, shortly after the breaking out of the Narragansett War, Connecticut sent into the field 300 English soldiers and 150 Mohegan and Pequot warriors, under the command of five Captains, one of whom was John Gallup of Stonington. In the "Great Swamp fight," December 19, 1675, Captain Gallup commanded a company of Mohegans, and, together with nearly one-third of his warriors, fell on that bloody field.

William Gallup, first abovementioned, was an original member of The Susquehanna Company (see page 249), and first came to Wyoming in May, 1769, with the company of settlers led by Major Durkee. After the surrender of Fort Durkee he went back to Groton where his family still resided, and, so far as existing records indicate, did not return to Wyoming until June, 1772. At that time, and earlier, he was designated as "Captain" Gallup. In 1772 he settled in Kingston Township, and thither, in 1773 or '74, he brought his family from Connecticut. He and his elder son took part in the battle of July 3, 1778—the other members of his family being among the inmates of Forty Fort. After the surrender of the fort the family set out for Connecticut, and there they remained until after 1781—probably until 1785—when they returned to Kingston. Capt. William Gallup was married June 9, 1752, to Judith Reed (born April 6, 1733) of Norwich, Connecticut. Captain Gallup died at Kingston, April 4, 1808, and his widow Judith died there January 1, 1815. Their remains were buried in the "Gallup burial-ground", a small plot of ground still known by that name, lying near the Lackawanna Railroad station in the borough of Kingston, but which, for some years now, has been used as a sort of dumping-ground for garbage.

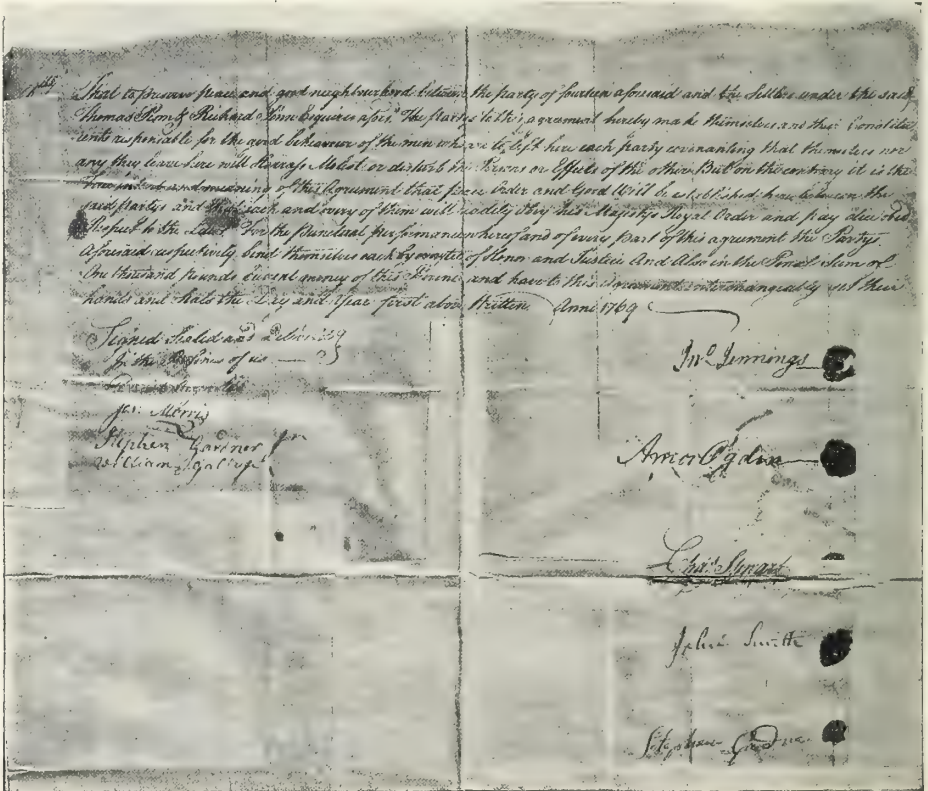
The children of Capt. William and Judith (*Reed*) Gallup were: (i) *Lydia*, b. February 14, 1754; (ii) *Hallet*, b. January 1, 1756, md. to Mary (b. 1759 and d. October 6, 1804), daughter of Ichabod Bartlett, and d. at Kingston October 5, 1804; (iii) *Zurviah* (b. January 4, 1758, and d. May 18, 1840), md., as his second wife, to Benjamin Smith (b. in 1759 and d. in Kingston January 19, 1816), son of Timothy Smith and grandson of John Smith, mentioned in the note on page 410; (iv) *Lucy*, b. February 7, 1760, md. (1st) to Nathaniel Gates (b. March 4, 1756, and d. November 7, 1793), md. (2d) to Aaron Dean, as his second wife, and died at Kingston November 30, 1821; (v) *Esther*, b. about 1762, md. to Christian G. Oehmg (who was a resident of Wilkes-Barré as early as 1787), and settled in Kingston; (vi) *William*, b. in 1769 or '70, md. to Freelove —, and d. at Kingston March 13, 1807, survived by his wife (who died at Plymouth, Pennsylvania, April 25, 1835) and the following-named children (who were baptized at Wilkes-Barré December 20, 1807, by the Rev. Ard Hoyt): William (b. Wilkes-Barré February 2, 1795, and d. at Tiffin City, Ohio, January 17, 1758), Hallet, James Devine and Caleb Hathaway; (vii) *Mary*, twin sister of (vi) William; (viii) *Sarah*, b. March 4, 1772, md. (1st) to Peter Grubb (b. 1754 and d. at Kingston January 23, 1807), md. (2d), May 29, 1809, as his second wife, to Agur Hoyt, then of Kingston, Pennsylvania, but formerly of Daubury, Connecticut, and who died at Norwalk, Ohio, November 30, 1836, being survived by his wife and one son (by his wife Sarah)—William Reed Hoyt, b. November 6, 1814; (ix) *Hannah*, twin sister of (viii) Sarah, md. (1st) Israel Skeer, md. (2d) Aseph Jones, and d. at Kingston February 2, 1864—being at the time of her death the oldest resident of Wyoming Valley.

|| Born at Plainfield, Connecticut, December 18, 1708, and died at Voluntown, Connecticut, in August or September, 1772. See note on page 410, Vol. I.

* In "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, IV: 353, the abovementioned names, with the exception of that of Christopher Avery, are given as those of the men who were to remain in the fort. However, in the collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society there is an original account against The Susquehanna Company rendered about 1770 by Christopher Avery for services performed by him for the Company in 1769. One item of the account reads as follows: "To twenty days spent at the fort when the Pennamites took it by force—in order to save the papers belonging to this Company."

lation, began an indiscriminate plundering of whatever could be found in the settlement, and cattle, horses and swine were driven off to markets on the Delaware.* The fourteen Yankees at Fort Durkee, left without means to sustain themselves, were soon compelled to follow their exiled companions to their former homes in Connecticut, New York and elsewhere, and the valley of Wyoming was in consequence left in the absolute occupancy and control of the Pennamites.

Various accounts of the happenings in Wyoming in November, 1769, have been written by different persons in the past, but heretofore have never been incorporated in any of the printed histories of the valley. The present writer has collected a number of those accounts, and some of them are herewith presented—chiefly for the purpose of show-



FORT DURKEE ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION.

Photo-reproduction of the final paragraph and the signatures. (See page 628.)

ing how divergent and dissimilar various contemporary accounts of the same events may sometimes happen to be. The first account here given is now printed for the first time. It is from an affidavit made October 9, 1782, by Capt. William Gallup (mentioned on page 629) before William Williams, Esq. (see page 283), then a Justice of the Peace in Lebanon, Connecticut. The original affidavit is now among the "Trumbull Papers," mentioned on page 29, and at the end of the document

* See Miner's "Wyoming," page 112, Chapman's "Wyoming," page 80, and Stone's "Poetry and History of Wyoming," page 166.

appear, in the handwriting of Justice Williams, these unusual words: "N. B. The deponent is a person of undoubted veracity. [Signed] W. Williams, Just. P." The deponent states that:

"He, with a number of other settlers, some time in the month of May, 1769, arrived on the said lands and there continued unmolested until some time in the month of November following, when he and the rest of the Connecticut settlers was attacked by a body of armed men from Pennsylvania, to the number of about 200, with one piece of cannon, under the command of one Captain Ogden and Mr. Charles Stewart—as they said—who attacked our garrison and commanded us to resign up the same to them, or the consequence would be that they would destroy the fort and treat us as rioters. Their party being at that time superior in number to ours, we were constrained to surrender to their terms. He [Gallup], with the rest of the Connecticut settlers, returned home."

Parshall Terry, in his affidavit mentioned on page 403, after referring to the surrender of Fort Durkee on November 14, 1769, states:

"The rest of the settlers were dispersed, except about fourteen, who were permitted to tarry on the ground to take care of our cattle, horses and other effects, which in the Agreement were to be restored to us. However, to the best of this deponent's knowledge, neither the deponent nor any of the Connecticut settlers had any of their property restored to them (or any compensation therefor) except a small number of cattle, which the settlers found on their returning to the ground the next Spring following. The property aforesaid was destroyed and taken off, as it was said, by the Ogdens and their party."

In *The New York Journal* of December 7, 1769, there was printed the following letter from New London, Connecticut, under the date of November 7, 1769.

"By Mr. Smith* of Voluntown, late from Susquehannah, we are informed that about three weeks past there came about thirty men out of Pennsylvania to assist Stewart and his gang in dispossessing the New England settlers; and a number of them—as they judged, about thirty—attacked our people with clubs, tomahawks, &c., and several were knocked down and much hurt on both sides, but finally our people beat them off without the loss of any lives on our side.† Mr. Smith further saith that our antagonists brought with them one piece of cannon, set a centry over it lest our people should take it from them, gave the centry strict charge not to let any come near, but to bid them stand; and if they did not, to fire them down. One Nathan Ogden, of the Stewart party, having a mind one night to try the fidelity of their centry, approached so nigh that the centry bid him stand; but he not regarding, the centryman fired. One bullet went through Ogden's body, one buckshot lodged against the skin of his back, and one buckshot went in about the centre of his belly and the doctor saith it is not likely he will recover. Mr. Smith further informs that they immediately, upon shooting Ogden, sent their cannon back to Shamokin,‡ as not having any further use for it there; and that the whole gang were gone but about sixteen. Mr. Smith also informs that our people have got a handsome reward for the wheat which was feloniously taken from them at Shamokin.§

In *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia) of December 21, 1769, the following communication was printed.

"In *The New York Journal* of December 7 there is inserted an account of some occurrences at Wyoming, upon Susquehanna, as it is there said by information of one Smith of Voluntown, Connecticut, who lately came from thence. Being desirous that the world should not be imposed upon by so base and false an account, I beg leave to acquaint you that the very reverse of what is there asserted is the truth. The fact stands thus: A number of deluded people (for some such, at least, I would in charity suppose there are among them) came armed in a hostile manner into this Province, from the Colony of Connecticut, and have, within this last year, assembled at Wyoming and forcibly seated themselves on the lands lately purchased by our Proprietaries of the Indians, nearly in the centre of this Province, to the terror of our inhabitants; from which they have been twice removed by the civil authority, and some of them fined, after a trial by the country, in small sums, considering the atrociousness of their doings—some few of which paid their fines, and others broke the County gaol and escaped.

"Since the time of their second removal near 200 miscreants, composed of *the dregs of the Colony of Connecticut*, Pendergrass' gang of rioters from New York Government, and *horse-stealers, debtors and other runaways* from the different Governments, came

* JOHN SMITH, Esq., who, about the last of October, 1769, had returned to Connecticut to attend the meeting of The Susquehanna Company held at Hartford on November 8th—as noted on page 625. He came back to Wyoming just in time to assist in arranging for the capitulation of Fort Durkee.

† The skirmish of September 22d (described on pages 513 and 514, Vol. I) is here referred to.

‡ This is an error, as the cannon was used to enforce the surrender of Fort Durkee—as previously described—and was kept at Wyoming thereafter. It is referred to again in subsequent pages. It is quite probable, also, that the account of the shooting of Nathan Ogden by a Pennamite sentry is erroneous.

§ See first paragraph, page 514, Vol. I.

likewise armed into this Province, and built a large fort, or block-house, at Wyoming, and fortified it with swivels and wall-pieces, &c.; since which they have been guilty of many disorderly and wicked practices—such as taking the neighboring people (settled under the authority of this Government) into their fort, whipping one of them, terrifying and threatening others violently, and disseizing them of their farms. In doing one of which acts—apprehending they should meet with some resistance—they came to the number of sixty armed with tomahawks, axes and other instruments of violence, in order to take possession of some land in the tenure of Captain Ogden, who called about twenty-five of his neighbors to his assistance, to enable him to defend his property, who were presently attacked by this lawless gang of *fierce warriors*, and five or six of them much wounded; but the rioters were, however, presently worsted by Captain Ogden's people, who had provided themselves with some oaken sticks for their defense, and made them soon run away to their fort—their Captain, one Parks, leading the way. Some of them, it is true, got broken heads from the hard knocks they received in the affray. After the affray was over sundry of their tomahawks and above twenty of their axes remained on the field of battle.* Major Durkee, who takes upon him the command of the fort, was so angry at his soldiers' and their Captain's cowardice—who were chased up to the gates of their fortress by a handful of men—that for some time he refused to admit them, calling them a parcel of poltroons and cowards.

"These disorderly practices obliged the magistrates again to send up the High Sheriff, with a number of men—about half as many as were in the fort—to apprehend those rioters; at whose appearance those valiant people were so intimidated that, after they were summoned to surrender, and a quarter of an hour given them for the purpose, they agreed—many of them with tears in their eyes—to deliver up the fort upon condition that fourteen of their number, only, with their women and children, should remain there to take care of the cattle, household goods and other necessities belonging to them. Accordingly about five or six rooms of their large building (being 150 feet long) were assigned them for that purpose, and the other part [of the fort was] put into the possession of the Sheriff; and the rest [of the Yankees], being about 180, were suffered to depart, upon their promise not to return. They likewise agreed that those who were left should not commit any further waste, and only cut wood enough for their firing; and should not receive more than five persons within their rooms, nor let them stay longer than three days, nor even entertain them for that time till they had given their names to the magistrates [Charles Stewart and Amos Ogden] residing there.

"The season of the year, and the difficulty of conveying such a number of prisoners near sixty miles through the woods [to Easton], together with compassion for the poor creatures—who would have been, of course, confined in gaol, and put to great expense—induced the two magistrates and the Sheriff to release them on the above mild terms.

* * Yours, &c., [Signed] "A. B."

It is quite probable that the foregoing letter was written by Charles Stewart, Esq., as he was in Philadelphia in the latter part of December, 1769. In *The New York Journal* of December 28, 1769, there was printed the following letter, dated at Providence, Rhode Island, December 16th.

"By a gentleman from Windham, [Connecticut,] we learn that several of the New England adventurers have lately returned from the Susquehanna. Major Durgee, their leader, in going from the block-house to view some mills that were erecting, was waylaid and seized by a number of armed men from Pennsylvania, who conducted him to Easton.† They afterwards surrounded the block-house and demanded a conference with some of the principal settlers, who accordingly went without the gate for that purpose. The Pennsylvanians, availing themselves of this opportunity, marched into the block-house, when it was agreed that an equal number of each party should remain there till Spring, or until the controverted right of the lands shall be determined."

Agreeably to previous notice a meeting of The Susquehanna Company was held at Windham December 6, 1769, with Col. Eliphalet Dyer acting as Moderator. The principal business transacted was as follows:

"*Voted*, That Samuel Gray and Maj. John Durkee be appointed to take proper evidence or affidavits of the proceedings of the Court at Easton, [Pennsylvania,] at the last trial; also of the attack and robbery of our people near Fort Augusta, and of the insults and attacks on our settlers at Wyoming, and their conduct during the Summer past; and *the treaty and declaration of the Indians*.

"*Voted*, That monies be collected and delivered to Major Durkee in order to pay, defend and defray the expenses at Easton." * * *

* This is another account of the skirmish of September 22d.

† This, of course, is an error, as Major Durkee was taken to Philadelphia.

Major Durkee was present at this meeting, having come from Philadelphia to his home in Norwich only a few days before the meeting was held. He had been detained in the jail at Philadelphia some ten or twelve days before his friends were able to procure bail for him and bring about his release. One Joseph Jacobs of Philadelphia was finally induced to enter bail for Major Durkee's appearance at the next term of the Northampton County Court, at Easton, and on the 28th of December the Executive, or Standing, Committee of The Susquehanna Company resolved that said Jacobs "should be entitled to one whole share in ye Susquehanna Purchase for ye consideration" of bailing Major Durkee.*

The reference to "the treaty and declaration of the Indians," in the minutes of the December meeting, aforementioned, is explained by a paragraph in the original draft of an unpublished letter† from Gov. Jonathan Trumbull, of Connecticut, to Richard Jackson, Esq. (mentioned on pages 417 and 441), written at Lebanon, Connecticut, December 13, 1769. The Governor, after giving a brief account of the Connecticut Charter and the claims under it, wrote as follows :

"You are fully informed of our claim that the lands on the Susquehanna River are within the limits of the grant made by the Council of Plymouth to the Earl of Warwick. * * That The Susquehanna Company purchased the lands on that river of the Indians who claimed them. * * The Indians acknowledge their sale, and say that the Company from Connecticut ought to enjoy the land. They lately sent one of their notable warriors, with his attendants, a long journey from the Seneca country to welcome the men who went hence to make improvements there the last Summer, and present them a belt [of wampum] deciphering each of the Six Tribes, or Nations, to express their covenant of union and friendship."

At the time of the capitulation and evacuation of Fort Durkee Sheriff Jennings and his assistants obtained the names of a number of those who just previously had been, or were then, inmates of the fort. Those names—some of them, evidently, crippled and disguised by their bad spelling—are contained in an original unpublished document now in the collections of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It is endorsed "*Warrant sur Process forcible entry and detainer, sur Indictment, issued out of the County Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace, held at Easton, in Northampton County, Pennsylvania;*" it is dated "December 21st, in the tenth year of the reign of George III" [1769]; is signed by George Taylor, Judge, and Lewis Gordon, Clerk; is made returnable March 20, 1770, and directs the Sheriff of Northampton County "to take, and convey before said Court," &c., the following named persons—eighty-nine in number: Benjamin Shoemaker, John McDowel, Samuel Weyburn [or Wibron, or Wybrant], John Lee, Stephen Lee, Noah Lee, Joseph Lee, Daniel Hain [or Haines], John McDowel, Jr., Benjamin Shoemaker, Jr., Daniel Shoemaker, Jr., Asher Harrod, William Leonard, Jesse Leonard, Elijah Holloway, Thomas Bennet, Samuel Marvin, Reuben Hurlbut, Benjamin Follett, William Comstock, Samuel Clark, Ephraim Buck, William Wickham, William Stobbs [or Stubbs], Parshall Terry, Benjamin Baker, Samuel Dyer Hull, Caleb White, John Dorrance, Zebulon Hoxsie [or Hawksey], Daniel Van Etten, Thomas Sutt [or Sutton], Jacob Shear, David Mar-

* June 13, 1770, Joseph Jacobs conveyed this share, or right, to his brother Israel Jacobs, who, March 25, 1777, authorized and empowered his "trusty friend Benjamin Pawling to take up and settle ye said share." The land (600 acres) under this share, or right, was laid out in the township of Springfield (see map facing page 468), which was originally surveyed under the direction of The Susquehanna Company late in 1772 or some time in 1773.

† See the "Trumbull Papers", referred to on page 29, Vol. I.

vin, Moses Kinney, William Jones, John De Long, Oliver Smith, John Smith, John Smith "the younger," Azariah [or Josiah] Dean, Joseph Morse, Morgan Caravan [or Carvan], John Wheat, Jacob Welch, John Durkee, Jabez Cook, Ebenezer Nutrip [or Northrop], Thomas Grey, Thomas Wicks [or Weeks], John Perkins, Silas Hill, William Buck, Peter Harris, Jenkins [or Jenks] Corey, Daniel Cash [or Cass], Thomas Robinson, Moses Hibbard [or Hebard], Moses Hibbard, Jr., Silas Bingham, Silas Parks [or Park], William Halsey, Ebenezer Backhouse [or Backus], James Atherton, James Smith, Abijah Mack [or Mock], Prince Eldin [Alden], Elias [or Ozias] Yale, Ahiah Windsor, Ephraim Fergus, Ephraim Lyon, Stephen Hull, Obadiah Hull, Ephraim Coy [or McCoy], William Jackey [or Jacquish], Daniel Rhines, Thomas Hains, John Gardner, Jr., John Owens, Thomas Croghan, Ezra Dean, Jonathan Wicks [or Weeks], Simeon Draper, Robert Draper, Robert Hopkins, Robert Baker, Philip Wicks [or Weeks], Daniel Brown and Ebenezer Hebard.

From endorsements upon the back of the aforementioned document we learn that the "1st plea issued, returnable June, 1770"; other "pleas" were issued from time to time thereafter until finally the last one—the "23d"—was issued, "returnable September, 1775."

Pursuant to adjournment The Susquehanna Company met at Windham January 10, 1770. Maj. Elizur Talcott presided as Moderator, and the following business was transacted:

"*Voted*, That Gershom Breed* and Capt. Ebenezer Baldwin, both of Norwich, be added to the Standing Committee.

"*Voted*, That the Standing Committee be directed to proceed—in what [manner] they esteem best for the interests of the Company—to keep and maintain possession of our Purchase on Susquehanna River.

"*Voted*, That Capt. Robert Durkee† and Capt. Zebulon Butler‡ be added to the Committee of Settlers, to take care of the Company's interests and effects at Susquehanna; and that they receive their advice and instructions from the Standing Committee."

***GERSHOM BREED**, one of the grantees named in the Indian deed of 1754 (see page 272), was the original owner of one share, or right, in the Susquehanna Purchase. He was the tenth child of John Breed of Stonington, Connecticut, who was a grandson of Allen Breed, who immigrated to this country about 1630 and settled at Lynn, Massachusetts. Gershom Breed settled in Norwich, New London County, Connecticut, about 1750, and was a merchant there as early, at least, as 1765. In May, 1774, he was established Captain of the 9th Company in the 3d Regiment of the Connecticut Militia.

† See Vol. I, page 481, third paragraph.

‡ **ZEBULON BUTLER** was born in 1731 at Chebacco (now the town of Essex) in the town of Ipswich, Essex County, Massachusetts. He was the eldest child of John and Hannah (*Perkins*) Butler, and the grandson of Lieut. William Butler of Chebacco. William Butler, unquestionably of English descent, was born about 1650, presumably in New England, and prior to 1668 settled in Ipswich. October 11, 1682, he was admitted a freeman. In the course of his life he owned considerable real estate in Ipswich and the adjoining town of Gloucester, and in the various conveyances which were executed to and by him, as well as in his last will and testament, he was described as a "yeoman." During the progress of Queen Anne's War—which was waged between the New England Colonies and the Canadian French and Indians for several years following the accession of Queen Anne in 1702—William Butler served as a Lieutenant in the company of Massachusetts militia commanded by Capt. John Wainwright of Ipswich.

Lieutenant Butler was thrice married. First, about 1675, to Sarah —, believed to have been the seventh child (born about 1654) of Robert Cross, Sr., and Sarah his wife, of Ipswich. The children of this marriage were four sons and five daughters. One of the daughters became the wife of John Bayley of Newbury, Massachusetts; one, Hannah, was married to — Andrews; another became the wife of Josiah Burnham, a cooper in Chebacco, and another was the wife of Job Giddings, a tailor in Chebacco. Lieutenant Butler was married (2d) July 21, 1703, to Mary Ingalls of Ipswich, who bore him Mary (born 1704), Samuel (born 1706) and John (born 1708). Lieutenant Butler was married (3d) October 3, 1713, to Abigail, daughter of Thomas and Abigail Metcalf of Ipswich. No children resulted from this marriage. Lieut. William Butler died at Chebacco August 2, 1730, and was survived by his wife Abigail and eight of his children. His will was probated on the 18th of the same month, and the inventory of his estate amounted to £1,379, 17s. 6d.

John Butler (born at Chebacco in 1708), third and youngest child of Lieut. William and Mary (*Ingalls*) Butler, grew to manhood in the town of Ipswich, where he was married in January, 1730, to Hannah Perkins. In 1732 John Butler and his wife and their only child, accompanied by James Perkins—a brother of Mrs. Butler—removed from Ipswich to Lyme, New London County, Connecticut.

Lyme, which was originally a part of Saybrook, now covers some seven or eight miles square of territory, bounded on the west by the Connecticut River and on the south by Long Island Sound. As originally laid out the town of Lyme extended eastward to the bounds of the town of New London. It was settled in 1666, largely by inhabitants from the Saybrook town-plot—an active, sensible, resolute and blue-blooded people. Lyme to-day embraces a number of villages and hamlets scattered throughout its territory—among them being Lyme, Lyme Street or Old Lyme (for the village is known by all these names), South Lyme, Bill Hill, Hamburg and North Lyme. (See notes on pages 246 and 248.) Lyme and South Lyme lie in the southern part of the town near the Sound, while Hamburg and North Lyme are distant, respectively, about eight and ten miles, by the public highway, from the coast—being in that

part of the town which formerly was designated as the North Quarter, North Society or Third Society of Lyme. Through the north-west corner of Lyme flows a small stream known as Eight-Mile River, which empties into an arm of the Connecticut River. This arm, or inlet, was known in early days as Eight-Mile River Cove, but now is called Hamburg Cove from the village near by. It is at the head of tide-water. Another small stream, called Falls River, flowing from the east in a zig-zag course, empties into Hamburg Cove just south of the village.

John Butler and James Perkins settled within the bounds of the North Society of Lyme, not far from the present village of Hamburg, and later Mr. Perkins became a Deacon in the Congregational Church there. At the time of their settlement they jointly purchased 290 acres of land back of Mount Archer, in the direction of the district known as Joshuatown—the north-westernmost section of Lyme, which has, from the first, borne this name, derived from Joshua, the third son of Uncas the noted sachem of the Mohegans (mentioned on page 193), who was once the lord and tenant of that rough and romantic region. About 1736 Messrs. Butler and Perkins bought in common other lands in Lyme, and in January, 1739, they made an amicable division of all their Lyme lands. In the Spring or Summer of 1755 John Butler died at Lyme, being survived by his wife, Hannah, and nine children, the youngest of whom was only three years of age. The inventory of John Butler's estate—the bulk of which was in lands—amounted to £6,408, 8sh., in "money of the old tenor" (see note ^(*), page 252), and the debts footed up to £3,154, 17sh. 5d.

The names of the children of John and Hannah (*Perkins*) Butler were: (i) *Zebulon*, (ii) *Mary*, (iii) *Isaac*, (iv) *John*, (v) *Houghton*, (vi) *Samuel*, (vii) *William*, (viii) *Nathaniel* and (ix) *Sarah*. (ii) *Mary Butler* was born at Lyme in 1738, and between May, 1756, and May, 1761, she was married to Ebenezer (born at Lyme October 15, 1731), son of William and Prudence (*Pratt*) Brockway—Prudence Pratt being the daughter of William Pratt. William and Ebenezer Brockway were descendants of Wolston Brockway, who was born in England about 1638, and as early as 1659 settled in Lyme near the Sound. In 1697 he deeded, to his son Wolston certain lands on the Connecticut River at Joshuatown in Lyme. In May, 1724, the General Court, or Assembly, of Connecticut granted to the abovementioned William Brockway and William Pratt (who lived on the west bank of the river) the right to keep a ferry at Joshuatown—which is known to this day as "Brockway's Ferry." During the eighteenth century there resided in Lyme many persons bearing the surname Brockway, all, presumably, descendants of Wolston Brockway. Richard Brockway, of Lyme, was an early settler in Wyoming under The Susquehanna Company. He died at Lackawanna, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, in May, 1807, aged about 100 years. Ebenezer Brockway, abovementioned, was for the most of his life engaged in the fishing business and in sailing a trading-sloop—as is more fully mentioned hereinafter—and he was commonly known as Captain Brockway. Samuel Butler, writing to his brother Zebulon from Saybrook, Connecticut, in August, 1790, said: "Captain Brockway's fishing business is very profitable in the season. He farms, &c., the rest of the time. His sons Zebulon and Ebenezer Brockway own a vessel and follow coasting, and make money." Capt. Ebenezer Brockway died at Lyme May 9, 1812, and was buried in the grave-yard at Joshuatown. Mrs. Mary (*Butler*) Brockway died there November 29, 1811, in the seventy-fourth year of her age.

(iv) *John Butler* was in Wyoming in 1770. (vi) *Samuel Butler* was married about 1771 to Hester — (it is quite probable that she was Hester Brockway, a sister of Capt. Ebenezer Brockway), and prior to 1787 they had become the parents of six daughters. In 1786 the eldest of these children died. In 1774 Samuel Butler was in Wilkes-Barré, and for some months was engaged in teaching school. In the Winter of 1774-75 he taught school at "Puttapogue Woods," evidently in Lyme; and in the Summer and Autumn of 1775 he was again in Wilkes-Barré. In 1790 he and his family were settled in Saybrook, Connecticut, where, for some time then, he had been "employed Summer and Winter in the small business of keeping school"—as he wrote his brother Zebulon. (ix) *Sarah Butler* was in February, 1779, the wife of Gideon Pratt of either the county of New London or of Middlesex, Connecticut.

ZEBULON BUTLER, the eldest child of John and Hannah (*Perkins*) Butler, was, as previously stated, born in 1731 in the town of Ipswich, and accompanied his parents thence to Lyme, where he grew to manhood. In paragraphs five and six on page 297, six on page 481 and five on page 304, Volume I, we refer to the beginning of the French and Indian War in 1754, to Braddock's defeat in July, 1755, and to the vigorous but ineffective prosecution of the war on the part of the English in 1756. In April, 1755, Governor Shirley of Massachusetts and his staff passed through New London, Connecticut, on their way to meet General Braddock. News of Braddock's defeat came to New London the 22d of July following, and of the battle of Lake St. Sacrament (now Lake George) the 16th of September. Recruiting officers were busy in Connecticut from March till October, 1755, and at some time within that period—as shown by an original muster-roll now on file in the State Library at Hartford, Connecticut—Zebulon Butler, then twenty-four years of age, became Ensign of Capt. Andrew Ward's company in the battalion commanded by Lieut. Col. William Whiting, which formed a part of the Connecticut regiment commanded by Col. David Wooster. For the campaign of 1756 Captain Ward's company was mustered in April of that year, and, from about the middle of May until October or November following, was with Lieut. Colonel Whiting's battalion "in camp at Fort William Henry, for the campaign at Crown Point"—as shown by original muster-rolls in the Connecticut State Library. Before leaving home with his company Ensign Butler conveyed to his sister Mary at Lyme, May 12, 1756—as shown by an original document in his handwriting, now in the possession of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society—certain beds, bedding, curtains, etc., of the value of £60, "with the following reservation: that is, if by the blessing of God I [he] shall live to return, then she shall resign the possession of said goods."

In the campaign of 1757 (see paragraph 7, page 481, Volume I) Zebulon Butler served thirty-seven weeks and five days (from February 23d to November 13th) as Ensign of Capt. Andrew Ward's company in Lieut. Col. Nathan Whiting's battalion, receiving therefor the sum of £30, 12sh. 1ld. November 14, 1757, he became Ensign of Capt. Reuben Ferris' "Company of Rangers," and served in that capacity until May 15, 1758—a period of twenty-six weeks—for which he received a bounty of £3, and £21, 2sh. 6d. as pay. (See original muster-rolls in Connecticut State Library.) In March, 1758, Zebulon Butler was appointed by the General Assembly of Connecticut Ensign of the 11th Company (commanded by Capt. Timothy Mather of Lyme) in the 3d Connecticut Regiment, commanded by Col. Eleazar Fitch. (See paragraph 8, page 481, Volume I.) However, Ensign Butler continued to serve with Ferris' "Rangers" until May 15th, as noted above—Wells Ely serving as Ensign of Captain Mather's company. May 27, 1758, Ensign Butler was promoted Lieutenant of this company, and joined the same at "Camp Fort Edward, Lake George," early in June. Soon thereafter he was detailed to serve as Quartermaster of the 3d Regiment. A "Memorandum Book for stores belonging to the Colony of Connecticut," which was used by Lieutenant Butler in July and August, 1758, is now in the possession of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. October 4, 1758, Lieutenant Butler set out from Fort Edward with a scouting party; "marched to Saratoga; crossed the Hudson, and returned to Fort Edward about October 18th." At the muster of Captain Mather's company at Fort Edward on October 19th, the rolls and certificates were signed by Lieutenant Butler. He served in this campaign until November 22nd. (See original muster-rolls in Connecticut State Library.)

Early in March, 1759, Zebulon Butler was appointed by the General Assembly of Connecticut First Lieutenant of the 9th Company in the 4th Regiment of the Colony's troops (see paragraph 2, page 482, Vol. I); but before the first of the following May he was promoted Captain of the company, which, on the 2d of May, at Lyme, was mustered and inspected by Col. Eleazar Fitch. Sixty-seven effective men of the total strength of the company were present. (See original muster-roll in the Connecticut State Library.) In the possession of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society is a small pass-book containing the original receipts given to Captain Butler at Lyme between the 15th and 30th of May, 1759, by sixty-two of the privates and non-commissioned officers of his company, for their "bounty, back pay and month's pay." Captain Butler and his company participated with the 4th Regiment in the campaign of 1759.

At that period of his life Captain Butler was engaged—when not soldiering—in farming and, in a small way, as a trader and shop-keeper in Lyme. In March, 1760, he was appointed by the General Assembly Captain of the 10th Company in the 4th Connecticut Regiment for the ensuing campaign (see paragraph 3, page 482, Vol. I), and in his private account-book—now in the possession of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society—we find this charge: "Captain Butler's company Dr. to provisions on the passage to Albany, May, 1760—2 bbls. Pork, 640 lbs. bread, 11 bus. potatoes, &c., £19, 9sh. 6d." Soon after his return home at the close of the campaign of 1760 Captain Butler was married at Lyme (December 23, 1760) by Samuel Ely, Justice of the Peace, to Anne (born April 4, 1736), daughter of John and Hannah (Rogers) Lord of Lyme. John Lord (born at Lyme about 1704) was the second son of Lieut. Richard and Elizabeth (Hyde) Lord. His father gave him 300 acres of land on Eight-Mile River in North Lyme, where he settled and lived until his death—which occurred January 7, 1776. His wife Hannah (to whom he was married November 12, 1734) was born in 1712, the daughter of Lieut. Joseph and Sarah Rogers of Milford, Connecticut, and she died December 25, 1762. The graves of John and Hannah (Rogers) Lord are in close proximity to those of the present writer's paternal great-great-grandparents, in what is known as the Marvin burial-ground, about half-way between the villages of North Lyme and Hamburg. April 16, 1761, John Lord, "for and in consideration of the love and good-will" he bore to his "loving son-in-law Capt. Zebulon Butler," granted and conveyed to him a piece of land in Lyme.

In March, 1761, Zebulon Butler was appointed and commissioned Captain of the 8th Company in the 1st Regiment of Connecticut troops; and in March, 1762, by vote of the General Assembly he was re-appointed to the command of the same company. (See "Colonial Records of Connecticut," XI: 485, 619.) Captain Butler's company numbered ninety-one men, to whom "a bounty of £7 per head was paid." The company was in service from March till December, 1762, and took part in the fatal expedition against Havana (see paragraphs 4 and 5, page 482, Vol. I)—losing twenty-six men by death from disease. With the coming of the year 1763 Captain Butler seems to have relinquished all connection with military affairs and to have earnestly settled down to farming and trading. At that time—and, indeed, until he finally removed from Lyme some nine years later—he lived near Eight-Mile River, on the eastern bank of which, not far from the cove previously mentioned, was his "landing-place," or wharf. His immediate neighbors were Capt. Elisha Marvin and Benjamin Harvey—the latter the present writer's great-great-grandfather.

Beginning at an early day quite a trade was carried on between the towns on the Connecticut River and the West Indies, and during the forty years that Zebulon Butler lived in North Lyme several of the residents of that locality owned sloops which sailed between Eight-Mile River Cove and various ports in the West Indies—in particular, St. John on the island of Antigua. In 1765 Captain Butler and his brother-in-law Capt. Ebenezer Brockway owned the sloop *Polly* (named for Mrs. Brockway), and a few years later the *Anne* (named for Mrs. Butler), of which Captain Brockway was Master. Frequent voyages were made to Antigua in one or the other of these vessels during the years 1765-69, and miscellaneous cargoes consigned by residents of Lyme were carried and disposed of, either for cash or West Indian products. The following information, gleaned from an original account-book of Zebulon Butler, is printed in order to give the reader an idea as to the nature of the traffic carried on by the people of Lyme with the Antiguans prior to the Revolutionary War. March 20, 1765, these consignments were stowed on board the *Polly* at Captain Butler's landing: "100 bbls. fish, 8 bbls. meat, 1,100 hoops, 1,400 red-oak staves, 500 white-oak staves, 139 bus. oats, 27½ bus. corn, 3½ tons hay, 9 horses, 9 oxen, 25 sheep, 11 hogs, 15 geese, 4 turkeys and 214 dung-hill fowls"—the last-mentioned being common, everyday chickens.

In December, 1765, Captain Butler was chosen one of the Surveyors of Highways in and for Lyme.

March 12, 1760, Captain Butler purchased from Gershom Breed (previously mentioned) for fifty-four shillings one-quarter of a share in the Susquehanna Purchase. Later he acquired other rights. Having returned early in April, 1769 (see page 472), from what proved to be his last voyage to Antigua, he made preparations to join The Susquehanna Company's settlers at Wyoming. He arrived here—so far as known, for the first time—in the latter part of June, 1769, and from that time until within four or five years of his death (a period of twenty-one years) "*the life of Zebulon Butler is the history of Wyoming. Almost every letter of our annals bears the impress of his name, and is a record of his deeds*"—as Charles Miner puts it (in his "History of Wyoming," Appendix, page 61). Captain Butler did not bring his family to Wyoming until December, 1772. In the meantime, however, he made frequent visits back to Lyme. Thus, as shown by his diaries, letters, etc., he was there in April and again in September, 1772. As previously noted one of his near neighbors and intimate friends in Lyme was Benjamin Harvey, Sr., who, in the Autumn of 1772, was making arrangements to remove his family to Wyoming. Captain Butler at that time had no oxen, horses or vehicles in Lyme with which to convey his family and effects to Wyoming, and so he made arrangements to have the work done by Benjamin Harvey, who, being a farmer, had what was needed for making such a long and rough journey.

Early in December, 1772, Benjamin Harvey, Jr., his brother Elisha, their sisters Lois and Lucy, and the wife and three young children of Captain Butler set out from North Lyme. The effects of the two families were loaded upon sleds drawn by teams of oxen, which were driven by Benjamin and Elisha Harvey and Lord Butler (then but eleven years old), while Lois and Lucy Harvey rode horseback and guided a small flock of sheep and a few cows. Mrs. Butler, her son Zebulon (five years old) and her daughter Hannah (not quite three years of age) rode on one of the sleds. They journeyed to New London, distant sixteen miles, and there boarded with their effects a small coasting-sloop, the master of which had contracted to transport them to New Windsor on the Hudson River, in Orange County, New York. The voyage, including a stay of one day at the city of New York, occupied ten days, and was terminated December 20th at New Windsor. There the party was met by Captain Butler, who had come from Wyoming on horseback, and the next day, in the afternoon, they began their toilsome overland journey of about 120 miles. The road from the Hudson to the Delaware River was fairly passable at that time; but from the Delaware to the Susquehanna there was the roughest kind of a cart path, ascending mountains, running down into valleys, traversing swamps, crossing streams and winding through almost unbroken forests. According to Captain Butler's diary (in the possession of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society) the stopping places of the party on their journey from New Windsor to Wilkes-Barré were the following: Tilford's (at or near Goshen, Orange County, New York); Owens', or Owengo (in the northern part of Sussex County, New Jersey, near the New York State boundary); Welles' (in Sussex County, New Jersey, four miles east of the Delaware); Chambers'—whence they "went in the night to Esquire Van Campen's"; Christmas-day they "crossed the Delaware and went to Shaw's," at Shohola; the next day they proceeded to Parksbury (at Lackaway, in what is now Palmyra Township, Pike County, Pennsylvania); Sunday, December 27th, they "went to the Indian Spring," and the next day arrived at Wilkes-Barré.

At that time a number of the principal inhabitants of the township of Wilkes-Barré were still occupying the block-house at Mill Creek, of which they had taken possession some time previously (as is explained hereinafter), deeming it more secure than either Fort Durkee or the fort erected by the Pennamites on the river bank in 1771, and its situation more advantageous. Captain Butler was one of those who occupied the Mill Creek block-house, and to it he took his family upon their arrival. There, in the early Spring of 1773, died Captain Butler's younger son, Zebulon, and some weeks later—before May 27th—his wife died. (See Miner's "Wyoming," page 142, and Appendix, page 47.) In Captain Butler's diary we find the following entries: "1773, September 17—Wilks Barre—this day moved out of the Fort at Mill Creek down on to my Lot in Wilks Barre Town Plott. * Wilks Barre 4 January, 1774, this Day moved into my New House in this Town."

The lot above referred to was "No. 3" in the town plot; it contained three acres and 103 perches, and was located at the south-east corner of the present River and Northampton Streets. (See page 655, *post.*) Within the original bounds of that lot now stand the residences of John N. Conyngham, the Hon. Stanley

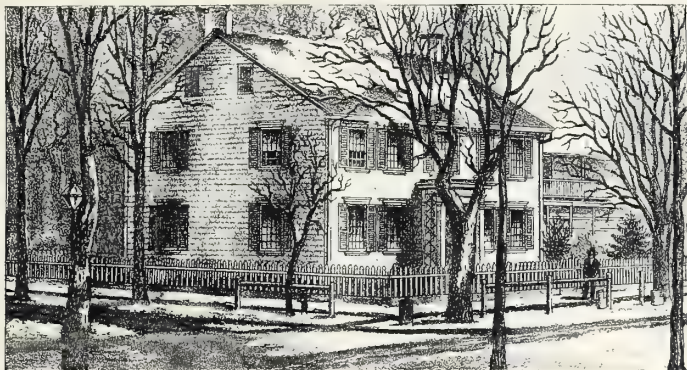


THE WOODWARD RESIDENCE, REFERRED TO ON PAGE 637.
From a photograph taken in 1902.



RESIDENCE OF MR. JOHN N. CONYNGHAM, MENTIONED ON PAGE 636.
From a photograph taken in 1902.

Woodward, J. Butler Woodward and one or two others. The "new house," mentioned in Captain Butler's diary, was a commodious two-story structure of logs, which he erected in 1773 on Lot No. 3. It stood some distance back from River Street, and was occupied by Zebulon Butler and his family until 1792 (as shown by an affidavit made by Lord Butler July 3, 1801, and recorded on page 15, Volume I, of the minutes of the Commissioners under the Compromise Law of 1799—referred to on page 25, *ante*), when Zebulon Butler removed to his farm-house on Coal Brook, within the limits of the present Second Ward of Wilkes-Barré. In 1793 Lord Butler had this log building moved to the part of Lot No. 3 near the site of the present residence of John N. Conyngham, and at the north-west corner of the lot he erected in 1793-'94 a handsome frame residence, facing River Street. (See pages 5 and 6 of the published copy of the address delivered by the Hon. John N. Conyngham at the laying of the corner-stone of the Luzerne County Court House, August 12, 1856.) The Lord Butler building, which was torn down in March, 1867, to make way for the present residence of the Hon. Stanley Woodward (which was completed in December, 1868), is referred to more at length in subsequent chapters.



RESIDENCE ERECTED BY LORD BUTLER IN 1793-'94.

From a lithograph after a photograph made in 1866.

When in May, 1775, the 24th Regiment of Connecticut Militia was established by the General Assembly of the Colony (see Chapter XII), Zebulon Butler was appointed and commissioned Colonel of the same. In August, 1775, at Wilkes-Barré, Colonel Butler was married (2d) to Lydia (born in 1756), daughter of the Rev. Jacob and Mary (*Giddings*) Johnson (see page 449); and to them was born in May, 1776, a son, to whom the name Zebulon was given. Early in September, 1776, Colonel Butler was appointed by the Continental Congress Paymaster and Commissary for the two companies then being raised in Wyoming for the Continental service (see Chapter XIII); and October 11, 1776, he was appointed and commissioned by the Congress "Lieutenant Colonel in the army of the United States of America." January 1, 1777, he was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of the 3d Regiment, Connecticut Line, in the Continental service—which regiment was commanded by Col. Samuel Wyllys of Hartford (mentioned on page 283), and had as its Paymaster Lieut. Samuel Richards of Farmington, Connecticut. This regiment went into camp at Peekskill, New York, in May, 1777, and formed a part of the brigade commanded by Brig. Gen. Samuel Holden Parsons of Connecticut (see page 658, *post*), which served under Maj. Gen. Israel Putnam along the Hudson until January, 1778, when the brigade took post at West Point and later began the erection of permanent works there. In the Summer of 1778 the 3d Regiment was encamped at White Plains, with Washington's main army.

Early in January, 1777, Colonel Butler joined the army at Morristown, New Jersey (as described in Chapter XIII), and during the ensuing April and May—and perhaps longer—he was "in command of a detachment of Connecticut troops" there, as is shown by a letter from General Washington to Governor Trumbull of Connecticut under date of May 23d. Under date of June 19, 1777, Mrs. Lydia (*Johnson*) Butler wrote from Wilkes-Barré to her husband, "in camp with his regiment," as follows: "My Dearest Friend—You will be informed by this that I have had the small-pox very lite altho I was very sickle for tow days. * * That dear little boy [Zebulon, Jr.] has not had the small pox yet, is well & harty & very knoing. Please to fetch me some snuff, and supply your self with shirts and other things that you will want for there is nothing to be got here. * * I conclude you have heard the great Honnor you have had done you to be Apinted one of Justice Jinkins Assistent Judges. Hope you want overcame with joy when you heard it."

In January, 1778, Colonel Butler was with his regiment at "Sawpitts" on the Hudson, not far from Tarrytown. Early in the following June he returned to Wilkes-Barré on leave of absence. November 15, 1778, "in orders issued by Major General Putnam," he was promoted Colonel of the 2d Regiment, Connecticut Line, in the Continental service, to date from March 13, 1778. This regiment had been raised early in 1777 (see Vol. I, page 485, paragraph 6), its Colonel being Charles Webb (who resigned March 13, 1778) and its Lieutenant Colonel being Isaac Sherman of New Haven, third son of the Hon. Roger Sherman—mentioned hereinafter—and a graduate of Yale College in the class of 1770. Upon the resignation of Colonel Webb, Lieut. Colonel Sherman sought promotion to the vacancy, but Lieut. Colonel Butler received the preferment. Under date of January 22, 1779, Maj. William Judd wrote from Hartford to Colonel Butler at Wilkes-Barré as follows: "Since Lieutenant [Obadiah] Gore left camp you are in orders as Colonel of the 2d Connecticut Regiment. Lieut. Colonel Sherman is gone to the Board of War and purpoeth to be appointed Colonel of that regiment. General Parsons has wrote to Colonel Dyer upon the subject, and insists the place is yours and the promotion your due." In the latter part of February, 1779, a Board of Officers—presided over by Lieut. Col. Thomas Grosvenor, mentioned on page 486—was convened to hear and determine the "pretensions to rank of Colonel Butler and Lieut. Colonel Sherman." This Board having made its report, Zebulon Butler was duly commissioned by Congress March 17, 1779, Colonel of the 2d Regiment, Connecticut Line, to rank from March 13, 1778. His commission was signed by the Hon. John Jay, President of Congress. Of the Colonels commanding the eight Connecticut regiments in the Continental service at that time, Zebulon Butler stood eighth in lineal rank—Col. Samuel Wyllys standing first and Col. John Durkee second.

Colonel Butler remained in command of the "Wyoming Post" at Wilkes-Barré until February 22, 1781 (see Chapter XX), when he was ordered to join, as its Colonel, the new 4th Regiment of the Connecticut Line at Camp "Connecticut Village" on the Hudson. Under a resolution of Congress passed in October,

1780, the non-commissioned officers and privates of the 6th Regiment were to compose the 4th Regiment of the new formation of the Connecticut Line. (See Vol. I, page 486, paragraphs 1 and 2.) The new arrangement was to go into effect January 1, 1781, and Zebulon Butler and Ebenezer Gray (mentioned on page 510) were respectively commissioned Colonel and Lieutenant Colonel of the new "4th." Samuel H. Parsons, promoted Major General, was placed in command of the Connecticut troops. June 26, 1781, when Colonel Butler was on duty with his regiment near Peekskill on the Hudson, his wife died at Wilkes-Barré of typhus fever after a brief illness. She was buried the following day in the family burial-ground of her father, the Rev. Jacob Johnson, on the hill near the present Memorial Presbyterian Church. The 4th Regiment continued in service along the Hudson until November, 1781, when it again went into winter-quarters at "Connecticut Village."

February 11, 1782, Maj. William Judd, at Farmington, wrote to Colonel Butler as follows: "I am most sincerely sorry the situation of the army will not permit you to call on us this Winter, nor suffer you to visit your family, which I am very sensible will disoblige you much. I saw Colonel Gray at Hartford week before last. He then informed me he should repair to camp immediately, and most particularly on your account. He frequently mentioned your situation, and wished to finish his business as soon as possible that you might have an opportunity of repairing into the country and be in a way to provide yourself a helpmeet. I have not the least doubt many a lady would think herself happy in your arms, tho at times she might be obliged to tuck up her petticoat and march with a soldier, if she thereby might contribute to your happiness or even convenience. * * I hope you will yet be relieved from camp and pay us a visit before Spring, and if any exertions of mine can facilitate a connection for you with an agreeable woman, you may command my services."

The surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown in October, 1781, virtually put an end to the war between England and the United States, and during the Spring and Summer of 1782 the main part of the American army lay along the Hudson River from Peekskill to Newburg (where Washington had his headquarters), watching Sir Guy Carleton and his British forces still in the occupancy of the city of New York and its vicinity. Early in May, 1782, while his regiment was stationed at "Camp Highlands," near West Point, Colonel Butler paid a hasty visit to his family at Wilkes-Barré. He returned to camp in time to take part in the celebration by the army in the Highlands of the birth of the Dauphin of France. By General Washington's orders the officers repaired in the afternoon of May 31st to West Point, where the General requested the pleasure of their company at dinner. At the table there were drunk thirteen toasts, each of which was announced by a discharge of artillery. In the evening there was an elaborate display of fireworks. Colonel Butler commanded his regiment at the review of the 2nd Connecticut Brigade June 17, 1782, by Washington, who, the next day, issued the following order from headquarters: "The General informs the army he had great occasion to be satisfied at the review of the 2d Connecticut Brigade yesterday—especially with the soldier-like and veteran appearance of the men, and the exactness with which the firings were performed." In the latter part of July Colonel Butler paid another visit to Wilkes-Barré. In the latter part of August, 1782, the troops moved from the Highlands to Verplanck's Point—floating down the Hudson in a fleet of bateaux and barges. In the new encampment the troops remained through September and October, making proficiency in drill and discipline under the instruction of Baron Steen. Early in November the Connecticut Line marched to West Point and vicinity, and there a new formation was made to go into effect January 1, 1783. The five regiments of the State were consolidated into three, and Colonel Butler was placed in command of the new "1st", which was composed of the old "1st" and part of the old "4th." The new "1st" remained in camp at West Point and near by until early in June, 1783, when the dissolution of the army was begun, and the "1st" was disbanded by orders from headquarters. About that time Colonel Butler became an original member of the Connecticut section, or branch, of the Society of the Cincinnati. Also, about that time, he was married to Phebe (born 1756), daughter of Daniel Haight of Dutchess County, New York. The latter, from 1779 to 1783—and perhaps earlier—kept an inn on the crossroads leading to the Peekskill and Coldspring turnpike, in Philipstown, Dutchess County, and General Washington was a guest there upon several occasions. Accompanied by his wife Colonel Butler arrived in Wilkes-Barré August 20, 1783.

August 30, 1787, Colonel Butler was commissioned by the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania "Lieutenant of the County," in and for the new county of Luzerne. In January, 1791, when it was expected that Colonel Butler was about to be reappointed to this office for a second term, Col. Timothy Pickering and Judge Obadiah Gore of Luzerne County opposed the reappointment in a letter to Governor Mifflin. (See "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, XVIII: 692.) To this letter the Governor replied that the County Lieutenant must, under the terms of his appointment, continue in the exercise of the duties of his office until September 1, 1791; "but," wrote the Governor, "at that period I shall certainly pay all the due attention to the communication which you have been pleased to make." Colonel Butler continued to hold this office until January 10, 1792, when Jesse Fell of Wilkes-Barré was appointed by Governor Mifflin to succeed him. In the ensuing Spring Colonel Butler removed from his house at the corner of River and Northampton Streets to his farm-house on Coal Brook, as previously mentioned. In 1789 and 1790 he was Supervisor of Highways in the township of Wilkes-Barré. Colonel Butler died at the Coal Brook farm July 28, 1795, and his remains were interred in the old grave-yard on East Market Street, Wilkes-Barré, where, subsequently, a grave-stone was erected "embellished with the uncouth but pious rhymes of some poet of the wilderness, reading as follows:

'Distinguished by his usefulness
At home and when abroad;
In court, in camp, and in recess
Protected still by God.'"

Mrs. Phebe (*Haight*) Butler died at the residence of her son in Wilkes-Barré January 19, 1887, aged eighty-one years, and was buried in the East Market Street grave-yard. Subsequently the remains of Colonel Butler and his wife Phebe were re-interred in Hollenback Cemetery, and the old grave-stone which for many years had marked Colonel Butler's grave was replaced by a new one bearing a different inscription.

The children of Zebulon and Anne (*Lord*) Butler were the following—all born at Lyme, Connecticut: (i) *Lord*, born December 11, 1761; died at Wilkes-Barré March 3, 1824. (For a sketch of his life, and his portrait, see Chapter XVIII.) (ii) *Zebulon*, born November 12, 1767; died at Wilkes-Barré in the Spring of 1773. (iv) *Hannah*, born February 28, 1770; married in 1788 to Rosewell Welles, Esq. (a sketch of whose life will be found in a subsequent chapter); died at Wilkes-Barré October 31, 1807.

The only child of Col. Zebulon and Lydia (*Johnson*) Butler was *Zebulon*, born at Wilkes-Barré in May, 1776, and died here March 23, 1817. (For a sketch of his life see a subsequent chapter.)

The children of Col. Zebulon and Phebe (*Haight*) Butler were the following—all born in Wilkes-Barré: (i) *Lydia*, born 1784; married July 3, 1801, to George Griffin, Esq. (a sketch of whose life will be found in a subsequent chapter); died in the city of New York May 1, 1864. (ii) *Anne*, born 1787; married January 12, 1808, to John W. Robinson (a sketch of whose life will be found hereinafter); died in Wilkes-Barré May 11, 1856. (iii) *Steuben*, born March 7, 1789; died in Wilkes-Barré August 12, 1881. (For a sketch of his life see a subsequent chapter.)

On page 502 reference is made to the men of the Paxtang region in Pennsylvania and their desire to settle in Wyoming. Some of them were here in the Summer and Autumn of 1769, when they signed the petition referred to on page 512. Those of them who were here when



A SCENE IN HOLLENBACK CEMETERY.

The tall monument in the foreground marks the burial-place of the late Hon. John N. Conyngham, while the flat, low-lying tomb at the right side of the picture is that of Col. Zebulon Butler.

From a photograph taken in October, 1901

Fort Durkee was surrendered returned to their homes in Lancaster County without delay, and there, a few weeks later, they addressed in behalf of themselves and a number of their neighbors a communication to Major Durkee, in which they renewed their former proposals relative to assisting the New Englanders to settle and hold possession of the Wyoming lands. This letter was turned over to the Standing Committee by Major Durkee at the meeting of the Company on January 10th, and a few days later the Committee replied to it as follows (see "History of Dauphin County, Pennsylvania," page 70):

"COLONY OF CONNECTICUT,

"Windham, Jan'y 15, 1770.

"JOHN MONTGOMERY* & LAZARUS YOUNG, Esqrs. *Gentlrs*: We received a letter some time ago directed to Maj. John Durkee, wherein it was proposed by John Montgomery, Lazarus Young and others that, as we have been so unjustly treated in removing our Settlers off from the Wyoming lands, if we would give unto the said Montgomery, Young and their Associates, to the number of Fifty, a township of land six miles square in our Purchase Att some suitable and commodious place, that the said Montgomery, &c., to the number of Fifty, would immediately enter on our lands at Wyoming, Take cair of our houses and effects and, with our people that are there and such as shall from time to time joyn them on said land, hold possession of those lands with us.

"We have, with the advice of a large Commtee of said Company, considered of s'd proposal, and do, in behalf of ourselves and the Susquehanna Purchase, agree to and with the said Montgomery, Young and their associates, to the number of Fifty, that they shall have a good township of land six miles square within s'd Purchase, invested with the same right to s'd township as the s'd Company now have, and shall further promise to be laid out when it shall be convenient for the purpose aforesaid, and not so as to prejudice, but in aid of, our settlers that have already been on. And it is to be understood that the said Montgomery, Young, &c., are to become parcel of our said settlers, and under the same regulations with our settlers as such. And we have sent herewith two of our proprietors as a Commtee to treat with you on the affair and go with you to Wyoming, to wit: Capt. Zebulon Butler and Mr. Ebenezer Backus,† and to lay out said township as they and you shall agree, if you think best—Captain Butler to remain at Wyoming with you, Mr. Backus to return and bring us advice as soon as the circumstances of the case will permit. You may expect Major Durkee to join you as soon as his affairs will permit; and whereas many of the Settlers will joyn you soon, we have a good deal of reason to expect success with our Assembly in May. Now as there are sundry things in favor of the Colony title that we have discovered lately, we wish you good success in this and every lawful enterprise, and are your sincere friends and very humble Servants,

[Signed] "ELIPHALET DYER, } Commtee
"SAM^L GRAY, } for s'd
"NATH^L WALES, Jun.,‡ } Company."

* The late Dr. W. H. Egle, in an address before the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society (see the Society's "Proceedings," VI:100), said: "Some of the original signers [of the letter to Major Durkee] did not leave Paxtang, but their places were taken by others. The first named to whom this proposition was addressed—John Montgomery—located on the West Branch, where his descendants are to-day."

Montgomery evidently had some thought of locating in Wyoming, for he visited Wilkes-Barré in May, 1770, and bought a right in the Susquehanna Purchase—as is shown by the recorded copy of a receipt given to him by Major Durkee. The paper was subsequently filed with the Clerk of The Susquehanna Company, and is recorded on page 77, Book "E" of the Company's records, as follows:

"Wilksbarre 4 May, 1770, rec'd of John Montgomery 40 dollars, which entitles him to one whole share, or right, of land in the Susquehanna Purchase, so called. By order of the Proprietors.

[Signed] "JOHN DURKEE, President of settlers."

† Stephen Backus was an early proprietor in Norwich, Connecticut. He was married in 1666 to Sarah Spencer, and they were, undoubtedly, the progenitors of all the Backuses of Norwich. After a residence of about thirty years in Norwich Stephen removed to Canterbury, Connecticut, where he died in 1695. Some of the Norwich Backuses early removed to what afterwards became the town of Windham. It was a saying that the Backuses always settled, if possible, near a stream of water or a pond, in order that they might make use of the water power for some mechanical contrivance. Ebenezer Backus, above-mentioned, was a merchant in Norwich, and in 1762 and '64 was one of the Representatives in the General Assembly of Connecticut from Norwich. About 1769 he removed to Windham, Connecticut, where he continued in mercantile business until, at least, 1782. In May, 1768, he was appointed a Justice of the Peace in and for New London County. In October, 1769, he was established by the General Assembly of Connecticut Cornet of the troop of horse attached to the 5th Regiment, Connecticut Militia (mentioned in the note on page 463); in May, 1770, he was promoted Lieutenant, and in May, 1772, he was promoted Captain, of this troop. In June, 1776, Captain Backus was appointed and commissioned Major of the 4th Regiment of Horse, Connecticut Militia, which had been established by the General Assembly in the previous month; and September 11, 1776, he was assigned by the General Assembly to be "commander of the 2nd and 4th Regiments of Horse ordered to march towards New York." He was an original owner of one right in the Susquehanna Purchase, and in 1768 and '69 acquired other rights. Without doubt he was at Fort Durkee, Wilkes-Barré, in November, 1769. (See his name in the list on page 634.) His daughter Eunice became the wife of Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., in 1767, as mentioned in the note on page 471.

‡ The WALES family was one of the oldest families of Windham, Connecticut. Nathaniel Wales, Jr. (mentioned above), was born about 1700, the son of "Deacon" Nathaniel Wales (who died January 22, 1744) and his first wife, Susanna — (who died February 5, 1730, aged 67 years). Nathaniel Wales, Jr.,

January 18, 1770, Captain Butler and Mr. Backus, carrying with them the foregoing letter, set out on horseback from New London County, Connecticut, for Hanover Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, where they arrived about February 1st. On February 2nd the following communication was printed in *The New London Gazette*, in answer to the article which had appeared in *The Pennsylvania Gazette* of December 21, 1769 (see page 631, *ante*), and which was republished in *The New London Gazette* of January 5th.

"We, the claimers under the Susquehanna Purchase, have always, of design, avoided disputing our claim by way of the public papers, as every one knows the title to land cannot be settled in that way. But since the author of the piece above referred to has collected together so many falsehoods and has so basely misrepresented the character of the settlers and our claim, I beg to be indulged in observing a few things in vindication of our settlers and claim. We never supposed, nor do yet believe, that we are such deluded and riotous people as he would represent us to be. In vindication of ourselves we say that we entered on those lands at Wyoming in an orderly manner, claiming the same by virtue of a *bona fide* purchase made of the Six Nations at Albany in the year 1754, for a large consideration in cash paid therefor; which purchase was in May, 1755, approved of by the General Assembly of this Colony as a *bona fide* purchase, and also as lands included in and granted by his late Majesty King Charles II to the Colony of Connecticut in 1662—which grant to the Colony of Connecticut includes the lands at Wyoming where our people were settled, and is two years before the grant of the Province of New York, and is eighteen years before the grant to the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, or any of their predecessors; and the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania have no pretence of purchasing those lands till the late Congress at Fort Stanwix in the year 1768. These, and many other stubborn facts, we have on our side to show that we are not deluded or riotous.

"The author of said piece is also pleased to make free with the characters of our settlers, and is pleased to call them 'the dregs of Connecticut, Pendergast's gang, miscreants,' &c., &c. It is an easy matter for a person that pays no regard to truth to throw out such invectives; but we challenge the author, and every other slave concerned with him, to make out his assertions. They're public and established characters, many of them being gentlemen of education and fortune. As for any person's running away for debt—I have heard of but three or four, and they were in the party that appeared to molest our settlers, and one of them was from the Jerseys and in the Proprietaries' interest and made a Justice of the Peace* in order to carry on the malicious, illegal and unjust prosecution against our settlers. The trade of horse-stealing that was carried on was by the party that came to remove us off from the land. One of them got a good flogging for it, and there were twenty more of that party that deserved the same for the same crime, and ought to have had it; and if the laws of our Nation and this land had been duly executed, a number of the same party must have suffered death for the robbery committed upon our people near Fort Augusta last September.

"The agreement upon which our people removed, as mentioned in said piece, was obtained by threats, oaths and curses, and was *never agreed to by the people* then present, but was agreed to *only by two committee-men* of the settlers out of sixteen. We expect Penn's party will avail themselves of it as much as they can. We quite disagree about the tender mercies of our persecutors. We say—and can vindicate it before any impartial tribunal—that they are cruelty against law and right and everything that has the remotest appearance of a civilized people, and they proceed from a consciousness of the badness of their cause, and the unjustness of the claim of the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania. * * * With respect to the last suggestion mentioned by the author in said piece, *viz.*: That the attempt of the Connecticut people to settle at Wyoming was the occasion of the late bloody war with the Indians—the author himself can't but know that it is false and groundless, and that he has rendered himself *infamous* by publishing it.

[Signed] "BY A PROPRIETOR UNDER THE CONNECTICUT CLAIM."

Upon the arrival of Zebulon Butler and Ebenezer Backus at Hanover Township in Lancaster County they found about forty men (the majority of whom had been members of the old "Paxtang Rangers") banded together with Lazarus Stewart† as their Captain, ready to march

who also became a Deacon in the Church at Windham, was married (1st) December 27, 1726, to Prudence Denison of New London County, Connecticut. Their fourth child was Nathaniel Wales (born June 5, 1733), who was at Wyoming in 1769 (see pages 472 and 515), 1770, 1773 and probably in other years. About 1770 he was generally known as "Nathaniel Wales, 3d." Nathaniel Wales, Jr., was one of the grantees in the Indian deed of 1754 (see page 272), and during the Revolutionary War was a member of the Connecticut Council of Safety mentioned on page 283. (See also Vol. I, page 463.) He died at Windham November 11, 1782.

* Either Amos Ogden or Charles Stewart is here alluded to.

† LAZARUS STEWART, the second child of James and Margaret (Stewart) Stewart, was born about 1734 in that part of Derry Township which later became Hanover Township, in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. James Stewart and Margaret Stewart, who were married about 1731, were first cousins, the

former being the son of Charles Stewart and the latter the daughter of Lazarus Stewart, 1st, who had emigrated with their respective families from the North of Ireland to Pennsylvania in 1729. In the Spring of 1755, when General Braddock's expedition against the French and Indians on the Ohio River was organized, Lazarus Stewart raised and commanded a company of Provincial volunteers which formed a part of the English forces; and in all the dangers and disasters of the campaign which terminated in the defeat and death of the brave but rash Braddock (see page 304), Captain Stewart fully shared. Relative to the condition of affairs on the frontiers of Pennsylvania after Braddock's defeat, see pages 320, 321, *et seq.*

During the three years following the event referred to the situation on the frontiers was truly desperate, and nothing substantial was accomplished by the Provincial Government towards securing the peace and safety of the border inhabitants. Finally, in the Summer of 1758, the British Home Government took hold of the difficulty and steps were taken to prosecute with earnestness and vigor a war against the French and Indians. During this war—which was concluded in the latter part of 1762—Captain Stewart performed valiant services. He was in command of a company of "Rangers" detailed to guard the settlements along the Juniata River. "Several skirmishes took place between his 'Rangers' and the savage foe during a period of two or three years. In these engagements he exhibited that impetuous daring and great firmness which were characteristic of the man. He was always on the alert; his vigilance never slept, and his powers of endurance were the admiration of all. His courage and fortitude were equal to every undertaking, and woe betide the red men when their blood-stained tracks once met his eye."

The treaty of peace between France and England—which was proclaimed in Philadelphia January 26, 1763, and marked the ending of the Seven Years' War—had been concluded but a few months when a new Indian war broke out, planned and fomented by Pontiac, Chief of the Ottawas. (See Vol. I, page 416.) This war, although not of very long duration, was perhaps unsurpassed in the annals of border warfare. Immediately on the opening of hostilities organizations were formed throughout Pennsylvania for the defense of the frontiers (where, as during the French and Indian War, the situation was deplorable), and the sturdy Scots-Irish and Germans settled along the frontiers were among the first to become enrolled in those organizations—one of which was the "Paxtang Rangers," mentioned on page 426. One of the companies of the "Rangers" was commanded by Capt. Lazarus Stewart.

Reference is made on pages 39-41 to the Conestoga Indians and their village in Lancaster County. In the Spring of 1763 those Indians numbered only twenty souls, living in a cluster of squalid cabins and dependent, chiefly, on the industry of the squaws. The men were wild, gipsy-like beings, and, in the troubled state of the country, while Pontiac was encircling Pennsylvania with an ever narrowing hedge of burning dwellings, excited suspicion by their careless if not threatening language. Then, too, they were charged with harboring roving, vagabond Indians—the tramps of the period—who infested certain parts of the country, robbing and killing with impunity. Finally the Indians at Conestoga were accused by the white inhabitants of the surrounding country of being guilty of many of the crimes of arson, theft and murder which had then recently been committed thereabouts. In particular, the white inhabitants of the Paxtang region charged that the influences and instruments of evil from which they suffered issued from the village of Conestoga. Appeals for relief or protection were made to the Provincial Council at Philadelphia, but the power there was in the hands of the Quakers, who shut their ears to the cries of distress and sternly refused to consider the facts presented by those who implored for relief. (See Vol. I, page 429.) "Remove the Indians from Conestoga" was the cry of the people of Paxtang. "That is impossible, as no crime has been proved against them," was the response of the Government at Philadelphia.

"The condition of the frontiers now became most alarming," says Pearce in his "Annals of Luzerne County" (page 104). "The depredations of the savages grew more frequent, and the remote settlements were deserted. In the midst of the peace and quiet of our day we cannot form an adequate conception of the perils which encompassed the Paxtang settlers at that time. * * * A feeling of hostility was awakened against the Moravians and Quakers, who were disposed to conciliate and protect the Indians. The people in and about Philadelphia and those parts of the Province secure against the fire and tomahawk of the savage, looked with a lenient eye on his bloody depredations. He was a savage, unchristianized, said they, ignorant of his duty and his destiny, encroached upon by the white man, and driven from his hunting-grounds. We should pardon much to his wild, untamed nature, and reform rather than punish him. This was the glorious doctrine of toleration, calculated for the benevolent and non-resisting Quaker, secure in his life and property. But it was ill-suited for the frontiersman who had seen his harvest desolated, his house burned, and was burying forever from his sight the scalped and mangled forms of his family."

Under the date of September 13, 1763, the Rev. John Elder (Colonel commanding the "Paxtang Rangers") wrote to Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania: "I suggest to you the propriety of an immediate removal of the Indians from Conestoga, and placing a garrison in their room. In case this is done, I pledge myself for the future security of the frontiers." To this communication Gov. John Penn—who had succeeded Hamilton early in November, 1763—replied: "The faith of this Government is pledged for their protection. I cannot remove them without adequate cause." The "Rangers," finding appeals to the authorities useless, resolved to take the law into their own hands. Early in December, 1763, several Indian murderers were traced to Conestoga, and it was determined to take them prisoners. The destruction of the Indians was not contemplated. Some fifty-seven of the "Rangers," mounted and well armed, and in command of Capt. Lazarus Stewart, reached the Indian village just about daylight, December 14, 1763. Their presence was made known to the inhabitants by the barking of some dogs; whereupon a number of strange Indians rushed from several of the huts brandishing their tomahawks. This show of resistance was all that was needed to provoke the visitors from Paxtang to violence, and without ado they fired upon the Indians, six of whom fell dead. All the others in the village fled in dismay and disorder, whereupon the "Rangers" set fire to the huts and departed to their several homes. On December 22d Governor Penn issued a proclamation relative to this affair, calling upon the people to apprehend the offenders. The people, however, outside the Quaker and Moravian settlements, heartily approved the doings of the Paxtang men.

The Indians who escaped destruction at Conestoga fled for protection to the authorities of Lancaster County, by whom they were placed in the work-house in the town of Lancaster. Among the Indians thus harbored were supposed to be two who were well known to Captain Stewart and his men as vagabonds. The Captain proposed to capture one of these—the principal miscreant of a band which, a short time before, had murdered with great barbarity a family near Paxtang—and take him to the jail at Carlisle, there to be held for trial. This was heartily approved of, and December 27, 1763, between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, fifty men from Paxtang and Donegal, armed with rifles, hangers and tomahawks, galloped into Lancaster with Captain Stewart at their head. They turned their horses loose in Slough's inn-yard and proceeded to the work-house, which they surrounded. Their entrance into the building was opposed by the Sheriff and the Coroner of the County and others in the building, but Stewart detailed a number of his men to break down the door, enter the building and bring out to him the Indian whom they sought. The "Rangers" to whom this duty was confided became so enraged at the Indians, who fought desperately with billets of wood, that before their resentment could be repressed all the Indians present—fourteen in number—were slain. No children were killed by the "Rangers," and no act of savage butchery was committed. After they had finished their work the "Rangers" gave three cheers, and then declared: "We have presented the citizens of Lancaster with a Christmas-box, and we will present the Philadelphians with a New Year's gift!" So, at least, stated a writer in Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania* in 1830; and the same writer said, further, that Captain Robinson, with a company of Highlanders, was in Lancaster at that time on the march from Pittsburg to Philadelphia, and that Edward Shippen,

Esq. (see page 360), the principal magistrate in the town, hurried to the quarters of Captain Robinson and besought him to hasten with his Highlanders to the rescue of the Indians or the arrest of the Paxtang and Donegal "Boys"; but that officer replied: "Damn them! I would not care if the whole race were slain, for my company has suffered enough by them already. I will not stir one step!"

"If the excitement throughout the Province was great after the affair at Conestoga, this last transaction set everything in a ferment," states Dr. W. H. Egle in his "History of Pennsylvania." "No language can describe the outcry which arose from the Quakers in Philadelphia, or the excitement which swayed to and fro in the frontiers and in the city. The Quakers blamed the Governor, the Governor the Assembly, and the latter censured everybody but their own inaction." Under date of January 2, 1764, Governor Penn issued a proclamation calling upon all good citizens "to make diligent search and enquiry after the authors and perpetrators of the said last-mentioned offense, their abettors and accomplices; and that they [the good citizens] use all possible means to apprehend and secure them in some of the public gaols of this Province to be dealt with according to law. And I do promise and engage that any person who shall apprehend and secure, or cause to be apprehended and secured, any three of the ringleaders of the said party, and prosecute them to conviction, shall have and receive for each the public reward of £200; and any accomplice, not concerned in the immediate shedding of blood of the said Indians, who shall make discovery of any or either of said ringleaders, and apprehend and prosecute them to conviction, shall, over and above the said reward, have all the weight and influence of the Government for obtaining His Majesty's pardon for the offense."

None of the known or suspected offenders was mentioned by name in this proclamation!

Pamphlets and letters without number, truth or decency now poured like a torrent from the press. The Quakers took up the pen to execrate the crimes of the Paxtang and Donegal "Boys," and many others seized the opportunity to defame the Scots-Irish Presbyterians as religious zealots, ignorant bigots and lawless marauders, who had imbibed in their native country a fanatical spirit and hatred of pagan institutions, which had been excited to a pitch of wildest enthusiasm by their spiritual teachers in Paxtang and neighboring districts. The following (see Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania*, VI: 298—November, 1830) emanated from one of the Quaker pamphleteers of Philadelphia at that period: "The frontier inhabitants are mostly emigrants from the North of Ireland—by religious profession, rigid Presbyterians. In some of the townships are a few Germans, but these are in general settled in the more interior parts of the Province. To the wicked and inhuman conduct of the former may be in some measure attributed the general corruption and depravity of the Indians, through their trading with them in times of peace, intoxicating them with spirituous liquors, defrauding them in their bargains, and, since the treaties held with them by the Government, taking opportunity of creating fresh broils by quarreling with and abusing in many instances such who had lived in friendship with the English. The Indians being by nature revengeful, *an implacable hatred has long subsisted between them and the Scotch and Irish.*"

Although the men who exterminated the Conestoga Indians belonged to the Rev. John Elder's "Paxtang Rangers", it has never been proved that he had previous knowledge of the plot formed. When the deed was done, however, and the Quaker authorities were determined to proceed to extreme lengths with the participants, and denounced the frontiersmen as "riotous and murderous Irish Presbyterians", he took sides with the border inhabitants and sought to condone the deeds of December. In a letter to Col. James Burd (see note, page 360) Colonel Elder said, among other things: "Lazarus Stewart is still threatened by the Philadelphia party. He and his friends talk of leaving. If they do [leave] the Province will lose some of its best friends, and that by the fault of others—not their own; for if any *cruelty* was practised on the Indians at Conestoga or at Lancaster, it was not by his or their hands. * * It is evidently not the wish of the [Government] party to give Stewart a fair hearing. All he desires is to be put on trial at Lancaster, near the scenes of the horrible butcheries committed by the Indians at Tulpehocken, etc., where he can have the testimony of the scouts and 'Rangers'—men whose services can never be sufficiently rewarded."

(See pages 750 and 751 of "The Harvey Book"—published at Wilkes-Barré in 1890—for the remainder of Colonel Elder's letter; and also for a "Declaration" published some time later by Captain Stewart, in which, among other matters, he asserted: "If a white man kill an Indian, it is murder far exceeding any crime upon record; he must not be tried in the County where he lives, or where the offense was committed, but in Philadelphia, that he may be tried, convicted, sentenced and hung without delay. * * Were we tamely to look on and see our brethren murdered, and see our fairest prospects blasted, while the inhabitants of Philadelphia, Philadelphia County, Bucks and Chester slept, and reaped their grain in safety? * * These hands never shed human blood! Why am I singled out as an object of persecution? Why are the bloodhounds let loose upon me? * * All I ask is that the men accused of murder be tried in Lancaster County. All I ask is a trial in my own County. If these requests are *refused*, then not a hair of those men's heads shall be molested. Whilst I have life you shall not have either them or me on any terms.")

All efforts to carry into effect the proclamation of Governor Penn for the apprehension of the Paxtang and Donegal "Boys" seem to have been early suspended—at least so far as the Governor's authority went. And because of this grave complaints were made by the Assembly, the members of which seemed to bend all their energies to persecute the offenders. Stone, in his "Poetry and History of Wyoming," refers to the Conestoga and Lancaster incidents, and says (page 157): "It is a singular fact, that the actors in this strange and tragic affair were not of the lower orders of the people. They were Presbyterians, comprising in their ranks men of intelligence, and of so much consideration that the press *dared not disclose their names*, nor the Government attempt their punishment. It was, indeed, believed by some that the murder of the Indians was by no means the chief end of their design; but that, taking advantage of the wide-spread consternation they had produced, they intended to overturn the Government and revolutionize the Colony."

At the time of the Conestoga and Lancaster tragedies there were in the neighborhood of 150 Indians—men, women and children—living in barracks on Province Island, about four miles from Philadelphia. They included 120 or more who had lived under the care of the Moravian Brethren near Bethlehem, and Papoonhank and his family and Job Chillaway and his family and others from Wyalusing (see page 435), all of whom had been removed by the Government to the locality mentioned both by way of security to them as well as to obviate the clamors of the people who accused them of holding intercourse with the intimal Indians. Early in January word was brought to Philadelphia that a large body of Paxtang and Donegal "Boys" purposed marching down to Philadelphia to destroy the Indians on Province Island. The following paragraphs from a letter written by a Quaker in Philadelphia to a friend, under date of February 29, 1764 (see Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania*, XII: 9—July 6, 1833), give a brief account of the excited feelings of the Philadelphia Quakers at that time and their willingness to go out and fight the on-coming Lancastrians.

"At last, on the fourth of this month [February, 1764], we received certain intelligence that a considerable body of them were coming down with arms, to destroy every Indian they could meet with. The Governor, immediately upon this, ordered the Sheriff and his officers to summon the inhabitants to meet in the afternoon at the State House. A vast concourse accordingly assembled, when it was proposed that they should enter into an association to defend the Government, for it was imagined that killing the Indians was not the only motive of this hostile insurrection. * * In the morning, the weather proving fair, though very cold, a number of carpenters were hired, who, by directions of Captain Schlosser [of the 'Royal Americans' previously mentioned], built a redoubt in the center of the parade, at the military barracks [whither the Indians had been brought from Province Island]. Several pieces of cannon were likewise hauled up, and the best preparations were made that the time would admit of. Notwithstanding these warlike measures the Government was still unwilling to proceed to extremity, * * and therefore sent the Rev. G—t T—t, with two or three more pious divines of the same order, to convince them

if possible, by the force of reason and argument, or by the opposition of texts of Scripture, that they were in error, and to prevail upon them to return home. Perhaps some people may be inclined to censure this step when they consider that a proclamation had been published, offering a reward of £200 for apprehending any of the parties concerned in the murder of the Indians at Lancaster, and that the Riot Act had been extended to this Province a few days before.

"The day passing over, and no enemy appearing, nor any intelligence of their motions, we began to hope that the rumor was without foundation. For my own part I went to bed as free from any apprehensions of danger as ever I did in my life, and slept very soundly till after midnight, when all of a sudden I was alarmed by the ringing of the bells. * * One of the neighbors thundered at the door and called to us to put out the lights, for the Paxtang Boys were coming. Then I heard the old militia drums with solemn dubb beating to arms, and saw the inhabitants running from all quarters to obey the summons. By sunrise they had got themselves officers. The remains of the old artillery company were likewise mustered, and two pieces of cannon brought out of the magazine and stationed before the Court House. All business was now suspended, the shops and stores were close shut, and every person seemed anxious to know what would be the issue of all this tumult. The number of persons in arms that morning was about 600. * * About eleven o'clock there was a general uproar. 'They are coming! They are coming! Where? Where? Down Second Street!' Such of the company as had grounded their firelocks flew to arms and began to prime; the artillery-men threw themselves into order, and the people ran to get out of the way, for a troop of armed men on horseback appeared in reality coming down the street. * * They proved to be a company of German butchers and porters under the command of Captain Hoffman. * * A false alarm was now called out, and all became quiet again in a few minutes.

"In the afternoon we received word that the Paxtoneers had actually crossed the [Schuylkill] River and were got as far as Germantown, where they proposed to take up their quarters for the night. Several persons went out from town to view them, and from the best accounts that could be obtained their numbers did not exceed 200; but they pretended that the whole were not yet come in. This formidable body consisted principally of a set of fellows dressed in blanket-coats and moccasins, like our Indian traders or back-country wagoners. They were armed with rifles and tomahawks, and some of them had a brace of pistols besides. * * Their chiefs assumed an air of command and importance. One of them was called Smith, another Gibson; the third I have forgot. They behaved with great civility to those they conversed with; were surprised to hear that the citizens had taken up arms to oppose them; declared that they had no intention of injuring any one, but only wanted satisfaction of the Indians, as some of them had been concerned in the murder of the friends and relations of the Paxtoneers. When it first became known that the latter were at Germantown it was proposed in council to go and take them prisoners; but that advice was overruled—though Capt. Turbutt Francis [see Vol. I, page 489] of the 44th Regiment (who, at the request of a number of young persons, had undertaken to command them), voluntarily offered to make the attempt. As it was reported they [the Lancasterians] were excellent marksmen, and as a great deal of blood might probably be spilt upon the occasion, it was resolved to send a body of select patricians to inquire into the object of their coming, and to persuade them to return home.

"The weather being now very wet Captain Francis, Captain Wood and Captain Mifflin drew up their men under the market-house, which, not affording shelter for any more, they occupied the Friends' Meeting-house, and Capt. Joseph Wharton marched his company up stairs into the monthly-meeting room. * * Nothing of any consequence passed during the remainder of the day, except that Captain Coultas came into town at the head of a troop which he had just raised in his own neighborhood. * * In the evening our negotiators had come in from Germantown. They had conferred with the chiefs and prevailed with them to suspend all hostilities till they should receive an answer to their petition, or manifesto, which had been sent down the day before. As it was necessary that these requisitions should be laid before the Governor and Assembly, the chiefs agreed to disband their troops and come to town with the envoys—being promised protection on the faith of the Government. * * The Paxtang chiefs are gone home without being heard, and we are daily threatened with a return of a more formidable force. Many people are now convinced of the *utility of a military force*, to secure our lives and property, and the Assembly have passed a law for that purpose, which now lies before the Governor. Whether he will give his assent to it or not is doubtful, for the Assembly have vested in the people the power of choosing officers."

Under date of February 9, 1764, Joseph Shippen, Esq., Secretary of the Provincial Council, wrote from Philadelphia to Col. James Burd at Fort Augusta as follows (see "The Shippen Papers"): "I should have returned an answer before now, but was prevented by the great disturbance made here by the approach of 700 armed men near to this city, with a design to *destroy the Indians in the barracks*. The whole city was under arms three days. * * The rioters rendezvoused at Germantown, where Messrs. [Benjamin] Chew, [Benjamin] Franklin, [Joseph] Galloway and [Charles] Willing went to confer with them and demand their reasons for assembling in arms, and approaching. They continued with them several hours, and happily settled the affair, so that they [the Lancasterians] agreed to return peaceably to their homes, leaving three of their principals behind to lay an humble petition of their grievances before the Governor and Assembly."

After this emeute Lazarus Stewart and the other Paxtang "Boys" settled down at their respective homes and proceeded with their various vocations, undismayed and undisturbed.

In January, 1768, it was feared that Indian hostilities were about to break out again, and Sir William Johnson formally stated that one cause of dissatisfaction on the part of the Six Nations was that Pennsylvania had neglected to punish the perpetrators of the Conestoga and Lancaster murders. The Pennsylvania Assembly thereupon addressed a message to Governor Penn, in which they suggested that "although Justice may sometimes *sleep*, it can never *die*." They asserted, further, that in order to prevent an Indian war "the principles, both of Justice and Policy, call for a speedy redress of the grievances complained of by the Indians. * * * For when we consider the manner of committing the murder at Lancaster—that it was done at noonday, in the midst of a populous borough, and in the presence of many spectators, by men probably of the same county, undisguised and well known—we apprehend their names may be easily discovered, and their persons brought to that punishment their heinous offenses deserve." Nothing came of this, however, and Captain Stewart and his Paxtang "Boys" continued to reside on their farms in Paxtang, Derry and Hanover, unmolested so far as we know.

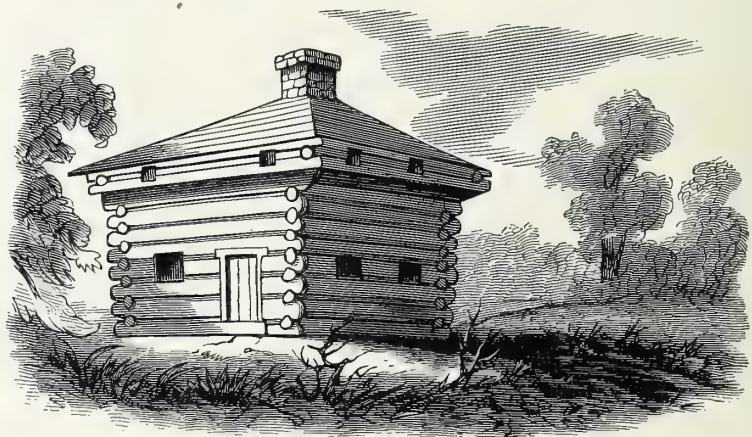
In addition to the share in the Susquehanna Purchase to which Captain Stewart became entitled in consideration of his services in helping to regain and maintain possession of the Wyoming lands, he purchased a "right" in the Summer of 1770, as is shown by a receipt, recorded in the "Proceedings of the Commissioners under the Confirming Law of 1787," in the following words: "*Windham, 6 April, 1771*. This is to certify that Mr. Lazarus Stewart some time last Summer paid £7, 11s., Pennsylvania money, in part pay for a whole share or right in the Susquehanna Purchase promised him by Major Durkee, and that I gave Mr. Stewart a receipt for said money. [Signed] "ZEB^B BUTLER."

In the Autumn of 1771 Captain Stewart began the erection of a block-house in Hanover, originally Nanticoke, Township, on "Lot No. 3, First Division." This was the first building erected in the township by a settler under The Susquehanna Company, and it stood on a slight rise of ground a few rods from the bank of the river, a short distance below the Wilkes-Barré-Hanover boundary-line. It was built of logs, was one and a-half stories high, and contained four rooms on the ground floor with ample space on the floor above for the convenience of its occupants. The part of the building above the second floor projected beyond the walls of the first story—this "overshoot," as it was called, enabling the defenders of the house to protect the walls from assaults by attacking parties.

Lazarus Stewart was married in Hanover Township, Lancaster County, about 1766 or '67 to Martha (born 1747), fourth child of Josiah and Elizabeth (*Crain*) Espy. They settled on a farm in Hanover which Captain Stewart had owned for some years and was cultivating. The children of Captain Lazarus and

to Wyoming. Within a few days thereafter Butler and Backus, in company with Captain Stewart and his band, departed northward. At some distance from Wyoming they were joined by eight or ten men who had been among those who were forced from the valley at the time of the surrender of Fort Durkee. On Sunday, February 11, 1770, the Hanover and Connecticut men quietly entered the valley.* At that time Fort Durkee was garrisoned by a band of ten Pennamites; Sheriff Jennings and his *posse comitatus* had returned whence they came; Amos Ogden was temporarily in New Jersey and Charles Stewart was in Philadelphia. With scant ceremony Captains Butler and Stewart and their followers ousted the Pennamites who were in possession of the fort, and took up their quarters there.

Captain Ogden, at his home in New Jersey, having been notified of the happenings at Wyoming, hastened hither with a number of his adherents and found, upon his arrival, that the block-house at Mill



LAZARUS STEWART'S BLOCK-HOUSE.

Martha (*Espy*) Stewart were: (i) *James Stewart*, born in 1768, prior to August; md. June 20, 1799, to Hannah (born September 17, 1782), daughter of John and Abigail (*Alden*) Jameson; died February 15, 1808. (ii) *Margaret Stewart*, born in 1770; md. in 1791 to James (born in 1766), son of John and Jane (*Stewart*) Campbell of Lancaster County; died in November, 1832. (iii) *Priscilla Stewart*, born in 1771; md. before 1793 to Joseph Avery Rathbun, and in November, 1802, they were living in Steuben County, New York. (iv) *Josiah Stewart*, born in 1772; md. to Mercy Chapman, and in November, 1802, was living in Wyoming Valley. (v) *Mary Stewart*, born in 1774; md. in 1792 to the Rev. Andrew Gray (born January 1, 1757, in county Down, Ireland), pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Hanover, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania; in 1796 removed to "the Genesee Country," later Steuben County, New York; Mary (*Stewart*) Gray died in Livingston County, New York, March 10, 1847, and the Rev. Andrew Gray died there August 13, 1839. (vi) *Elizabeth Stewart*, born in 1777; md. May 5, 1796, to Alexander (born September 10, 1764), eleventh child of Robert and Agnes (*Dixson*) Jameson of Voluntown, Connecticut, and Hanover Township, Wyoming Valley; died in Salem Township, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, August 20, 1806. (vii) *Martha Stewart*, born July 2, 1778; died in 1796, unmarried.

When Captain Stewart marched with his company from Hanover (in Wyoming Valley) July 2, 1778, he left in his block-house, previously mentioned, his wife and children—the eldest child being only ten years of age—together with a number of their neighbors who had gathered there for shelter and protection. That same day a daughter was born to Lazarus and Martha (*Espy*) Stewart, and two days later, when news came to Mrs. Stewart of the disastrous ending of the battle of July 3d on Abraham's Plains, and of the death there of her husband (see Chapter XV), she, with the aid of friends, placed her seven children, together with some provisions and a few of her most valuable belongings, in two canoes lashed together side by side, and in them floated down the Susquehanna. Arriving at what is now Bloomsburg, Pennsylvania, where her sister Mrs. James McClure resided, Mrs. Stewart and her children tarried there for awhile, and then proceeded on down the river to McAllister's, near the present Harrisburg, accompanied in canoes by the McClures, who fled from their home dreading a general incursion of the savages. Mrs. Stewart went to her old home in Lancaster County, where she remained with her children until the latter part of 1780 or early in 1781, when they all returned to their former home in Hanover in Wyoming Valley. In a "true list of the polls and estate of Westmoreland [Wyoming], ratable by law the 20th August, 1781," Mrs. Martha Stewart is assessed at £36, 10sh. For other interesting items concerning Lazarus Stewart and his family, see subsequent pages in this history; also "The Harvey Book," previously mentioned.

* In the collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society is an original account rendered to the "Susquehanna Proprietors" in 1770 by Zebulon Butler. Two of the items thereof are as follows: "To 24 days' journey of myself and horse from Lyme [in Connecticut] to Hanover, Pennsylvania, and from thence to Wyoming, at 10 shillings per day. To expenses on the above journey, 5 shillings and 6 pence per day."

Creek, a mile and a-half north-east of Fort Durkee, had been broken into by The Susquehanna Company's party and the formidable Fort Augusta 4-pounder, with all the ammunition appertaining to it, had been transferred to Fort Durkee. Ogden and his companions took possession of the Mill Creek block-house and prepared to oppose the encroachments of the Yankees and their Lancastrian allies. The story of the few weeks following the arrival in Wyoming of Captains Butler and Stewart and their adherents has been told by Captain Ogden, in an affidavit which he made before Gov. John Penn at Philadelphia, May 25, 1770. The original document is now in the possession of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and reads in part as follows:

"About the 14th of February last, the deponent being absent in Jersey, news was brought him that a number of people from Lancaster County had arrived at Wyoming, and in a warlike manner, in support of the Connecticut right, had taken possession of the fort and had broken open one of the deponent's houses and taken thereout one piece of small cannon, and several other effects; and thereupon he went over to Wyoming and found said account to be true. The party from Lancaster was commanded by Lazarus Stewart and Lazarus Young*; and the people in the fort, both Pennsylvanians and New Englanders, were commanded by Zebulon Butler. That on or about February 23d an armed party from the fort, about thirty in number, commanded by Lazarus Stewart, broke open in a violent manner the house of Captain Salmon† (who was settled on the said Proprietaries' tract‡ by lease under the said Proprietaries), pulled the same down and destroyed all the effects of the said Salmon. That on February 26th the said Captain Butler and Lazarus Stewart came to the house of this deponent, and demanded of him that he and all the settlers under Pennsylvania—then about ten in number—should leave the ground by the 28th following; telling them that if they refused to go they must abide by the consequences. On the said 28th of February a party of forty or fifty men, headed by Lazarus Stewart and Lazarus Young, armed with guns, pistols and tomahawks, attacked the house of Charles Stewart, Esq., pulled it down and destroyed all his effects."

Early in March, 1770, at Easton, a warrant§ was issued by Justice Lewis Gordon upon an information setting forth:

"That Lazarus Stewart, William Stewart, Lazarus Young, Robert Young, William Young, Asa Ludington, Joseph Billings, Simeon Draper, Peregrine Gardner, Frederick Spyer, Felty Deran [Valentine Doran], Nicholas Philipson, Thomas French, Thomas Robinson, John Simpson, John Grimes, Lodowick Shillmar, James Robinson, James Stewart, Jedidiah Olcott, John Stephens, Adolph Diehl, Felix Diehl, Thomas Bennet, James Forsyth, Jacob Clark, James Grimes, Jr., John Butler, Samuel Hotchkiss, George Espy, John Espy, John Hopple, Jacob Fulk, Reuben Shilman, Nathan Beach, Peter Walcker and Henry Hopple did, on or about the 23d day of February last, riotously, routously and unlawfully assemble themselves together at a place called Wyoming, in the said county of Northampton, and the dwelling-house of John Salmon, the dwelling-house of Charles Stewart and the dwelling-house of Thomas Osburn did deface and pull down, etc." * *

Under date of Sunday, March 11, 1770, Major Durkee wrote to "Capt. Z. Butler at Wilkesbarre," as follows||:

"I this moment heard that you're safe as yet. I have been much concerned, but can't steer towards you. Mr. [Jacob] Brinker is coming to you with some men and some provisions. If you are in want, send me word; I and friends will supply you if possible. Take all that comes in your way that are not friends, and send them home with a striped jacket¶—and Stewart,** if possible. If you can send me word how it is with you, I may

* He was a first cousin of Lazarus Stewart, was from Hanover, Lancaster County, and had been at Wyoming in the Summer of 1769. See page 512.

† JOHN SALMON, who had located about two and a-quarter miles south-west of Fort Durkee, near the mouth of Moses' Creek (see Vol. I, page 56), to which stream his name was subsequently given. Many years later, through the careless speech of the people, the name "Salmon" became corrupted into *Solomon*—by which name the creek has since been known. In September, 1787, when Timothy Pickering, William Montgomery and Stephen Balliet were attempting to carry out at Wilkes-Barré the provisions of the "Confirming Law" (see Chapter XXV, *post*), they received and examined a claim for lands made by "Joseph Salmon, in behalf of the heirs of John Salmon, deceased; lying in Nanticoke, or Hanover, about two miles and a-half below the town of Wilkesburgh" (which would be two and a-half miles below the present South Street, Wilkes-Barré). The lands in question consisted of 212 acres, "including an island called Buttonwood Island." (See "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, XVIII: 669.) The island thus referred to is the one described on page 52 as "Fuller's", or "Richards'".

‡ The Manor of Stoke. See pages 455, 456 and 516, Vol. I.

§ The original writ is now in the possession of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

|| See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, IV: 364.

¶ In other words, give them a beating or whipping.

** Charles Stewart, Esq.

do as much good as though I was with you. Let the Paxton Boys know that they shall be rewarded in the best manner. * * I have desired Mr. Brinker to bring you some flour and some rum, &c."

Jacob Brinker, mentioned in Major Durkee's letter, was settled as early as 1755, at least, in Lower Smithfield Township, Northampton County, at what is now Sciota, in Hamilton Township, Monroe County, Pennsylvania, about seven miles south-west of Stroudsburg. In 1779 the place was known as Brinker's Mills. Close by Brinker's ran the old Indian trail (mentioned on page 445) from Teedyuscung's town (near the site of which Fort Durkee had been erected) to the Wind Gap. This trail had become, by the year 1770, a well-beaten path (for foot-travelers and horsemen) from Wyoming to the Wind Gap, from which point to Easton ran a passable wagon-road. At or near Brinker's a path branched off from the main path and ran in a north-easterly direction (through what is now Stroudsburg) to the Delaware River, and thence along the western bank of the river to Wells' Ferry, mentioned on page 487. This path from Fort Durkee to the Delaware, via Brinker's, was known to the Yankee settlers at Wyoming as the "Lower Road to the Delaware"—the road from Wilkes-Barré to the mouth of the Lackawanna, thence to Capouse Meadows, thence over the mountains and through what are now the counties of Wayne and Pike to Wells' Ferry, being called the "Upper Road to the Delaware." (See page 636, *ante*.) However, early in 1770 the "Lower Road" began to be called also "the Pennamites' Path" by the Yankees, inasmuch as the Pennamites from lower Northampton County and New Jersey traversed this path in their frequent journeys to and from Wyoming.

When Major Durkee wrote to Captain Butler the former was waiting at Brinker's, or somewhere in that neighborhood, to be joined by a number of New Englanders, with whom he purposed marching to Wyoming to reinforce the Yankees and Lancastrians in Fort Durkee. About the 20th of March Major Durkee and the men for whom he had been waiting quietly entered the valley and proceeded to Fort Durkee. They brought along a goodly supply of provisions and ammunition, and their coming was hailed with delight by the occupants of the fort. About the same time Dr. Hugh Williamson, a representative either of Governor Penn or of the Proprietaries' agents, arrived at Ogden's block-house from Lebanon and Hanover in Lancaster County where, as he wrote Governor Penn, "several of the rioters were just arrived from Wyoming for recruits of men and provisions." They made no recruits, he stated, "except among the Germans." Under date of March 24, 1770, Dr. Williamson wrote to Governor Penn as follows* :

"On my arrival at Wyoming I found the Messrs. Ogden in possession of the field. The rioters had closed themselves up in the fort, and in a few hours the people who had taken lots in the Manor [of Stoke] being assembled with their friends, were determined to storm the fort. I, with great difficulty, prevailed on a number of men, driven almost to desperation, to desist from their intended attack. An accidental event yesterday morning convinced me that I had not been mistaken concerning the temper of the rioters. A few of them passing Captain Ogden's house, through the woods, were discovered and suspected to be a party of New England adventurers. A party went to examine them, and were immediately fired on by the rioters, though this was not necessary in self defense, as they were so near the fort they could not then possibly be taken prisoners. I once more, with great difficulty, restrained the inhabitants from attempting to burn the fort.

"The day before yesterday evening Captain Ogden and company took eight adventurers from New England and New York Government; and last night three German lads, seventeen, or eighteen years of age, late recruits from Hanover [in Lancaster

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, IV : 366.

County], were made prisoners, having mistaken Captain Ogden's for the fort. * * * The prisoners go down [to Easton] to-day under a small guard—some of them [the guard] being [seven] Hanover men who were apprehended* some days ago by the constables between this [place] and Easton and permitted by Charles Stewart, Esq., to come up here, having made oath that they would aid the Government. * * It seems probable that in a few days the fate of this place may be determined. * * I wish the people who keep possession of the Manor under the Government had express orders to leave the ground, or had such instructions as might enable them to conduct themselves without any breach of law. * * *

"Since I wrote the above the seven Hanover men who had been suffered to come here under promise of attempting to dissuade their friends from their design of keeping possession of the ground, and were immediately to set off as a guard to the prisoners, having gone down to the fort to speak with their friends, are there detained, or *said to be detained*.

"P. S.—The Hanover men above mentioned have this instant, by a messenger, declared themselves in favor of the rioters, and threatened to rout Captain Ogden in a few days."

Under date of April 2, 1770, Charles Stewart, Esq., wrote from Easton to Governor Penn as follows†:

"The New England men, accompanied by a number of Germans, appeared [on the 28th of March] before the houses at Wyoming possessed by people under the Proprietaries, whooping, yelling, and swearing they would have the prisoners who had been taken from them; and after expressing much abusive language they began to fire upon the people in the houses, who immediately returned the fire, by which one of the Germans was shot dead, and thereupon the New England men returned to the fort."

The man of the Fort Durkee party who was killed was Baltzer Stager,‡ and his was the first blood shed in the memorable Pennamite-Yankee contest for the possession of Wyoming. Chapman, in his history of Wyoming, says: "Which party commenced the firing [in which Stager was killed] is not known, as each accused the other of doing it. The party from the fort finding that Ogden and his party in the house were armed and could fire at them without being exposed (his house being a well-built block-house fitted for a siege), returned to Fort Durkee to devise means of expelling Ogden and his party from the settlement before reinforcements could arrive—each party being too strong in its fortification to be taken by storm with the forces the other possessed." Captain Ogden, in his affidavit mentioned on page 645, *ante*, relates the happenings at Wyoming in April, 1770, in the following words:

* The following items taken from an account rendered to the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania in 1770 by Garrett Brodhead (previously mentioned), for services performed by himself, have some connection, undoubtedly, with the incidents above described. "To sixteen days at Beamy's, to oppose and apprehend the Hanover men and Yankys, £8. To taking and bringing down two prisoners, £6." (See "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, XVIII: 614.)

The following items are contained in an account against the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania for services rendered, etc., in 1769 and 1770 by James Logan, a mulatto residing in Northampton County—probably in the neighborhood of Easton. "To carrying flour to Wyoming with horses and one man, £2; my expenses in going to assist the Sheriff, £1, 10sh.; assisting in three expeditions, man and two horses, and finding our own provisions, &c., £10; my servant taken prisoner for six months and three days, £12; six times carrying prisoners to Easton, £6; the use of several horses on different expresses for nearly three years, £10; assisting to take the Hanover men out of Jacob Brinker's and going to Wyoming with them, and one man with me, £4; riding express to Philadelphia for Mr. Brodhead on said business, £3." Relative to this account Charles Stewart, Esq., stated June 9, 1772: "I do not know of his [James Logan] being paid. He was very active in apprehending the rioters over the mountain, and had no land granted him." (See "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, XVIII: 613.)

† See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," IX: 663.

‡ Miner erroneously states ("History of Wyoming," page 116) that the name of this victim was "William Stager." The following items relative to the man in question have been extracted from the minutes of the Commissioners under the Confirming Law, mentioned in paragraph "(4)," page 29, Vol. I.

Jacob and Frederick Stager claimed (in 1787) a right in the township of Hanover, and produced the following: "Wilkesbarre, August 25, 1769. Rec'd of ADAM STAGER 20 dollars & $\frac{2}{3}$ which entitles him to one whole right or share of land in the Susquehanna Purchase, he paying 19 dollars more. [Signed] JOHN DURKEE, President." Also the following: "This may certify that ADAM STAGER and his sons Butcher and Jacob Stager's rights are in the township commonly called and known by the name of Nanticook Township, on Susquehanna River. Wyoming, June 30, 1770. Teste, JOHN DURKEE, ZEBULON BUTLER, Committee." Col. Zebulon Butler testified before the Commissioners in 1787 "that the aforesaid Frederick and Baltzer Stager came into this settlement in company with Lazarus Stewart and others from Paxton and Hanover in Pennsylvania and were originally entitled to a settling right, &c., but does not know that any particular right was ever assigned to them. The latter of them was killed in an engagement on the ground." There was a William Stager in Wyoming in 1787. His wife was Margaret, daughter of John Comstock, then deceased.

"2d April a party from the fort commanded by Lazarus Stewart came to the house of deponent in which one Osburn lived as a tenant, turned Osburn and family out and pulled down the house and destroyed the goods of the family, after which they shot several of the cattle, and took out of the stable a young horse of the English blood belonging to Nathan Ogden. 9th April the Connecticut people began to build a block-house on the other side of the river, and on the 13th they fired a cannon-ball at the deponent's house."

Chapman (see page 19, Vol. I) refers as follows to the bombardment of Ogden's block-house at Mill Creek :

"In pursuance of the resolution agreed upon in full council at Fort Durkee, the Connecticut party on the 9th April commenced the erection of a block-house on the west side of the river opposite Ogden's block-house, which they fortified in a strong manner, and in which they mounted the 4-pounder which they had taken from Ogden. With this piece they commenced a cannonade upon Ogden's house, which was renewed at intervals for several days; but finding that it did not force Ogden to surrender, and their shot nearly expended, they resolved upon a different manner of attack."

In the morning of April 23d a large armed party from Fort Durkee, in command of Major Durkee, advanced towards Ogden's block-house "with drum beating, and Indian shouts," declares Amos Ogden in his affidavit previously mentioned; "and coming near the house they separated into three divisions, and each division immediately began to make breastworks, declaring they would soon have the deponent's party out of their houses." The breastworks were completed about noon the same day, whereupon the Yankees opened fire upon the block-house from each of the breastworks. The Pennamites returned the fire, and a mutual firing was carried on at intervals during the ensuing five days. On April 25th, the third day of the siege, a detachment from the Connecticut party advanced from one of the breastworks, under a brisk fusillade from the block-house, and set fire to one of Ogden's store-houses, which was consumed with its contents—a considerable quantity of goods and provisions.

On Saturday, April 28th, Major Durkee sent under a flag of truce a note to Captain Ogden, requesting a conference. Ogden accordingly waited upon the Yankee commander, whereupon a cessation of hostilities until the next day (Sunday), at twelve o'clock, was agreed upon. On Sunday Major Durkee sent to Captain Ogden, in a friendly way, an invitation to dine with him at Fort Durkee. In his affidavit (previously mentioned) Captain Ogden states that he "went accordingly and dined with him [Durkee], and after dinner was acquainted by Capt. [John] Collins of Connecticut that he, the deponent, was not to leave the fort till matters were settled and the deponent's works given up." Articles of Capitulation were thereupon immediately drawn up, which were "agreed to and signed by Captain Ogden in behalf of himself and his party, and Zebulon Butler for himself and his party." The Articles were as follows :

"1st. Captain Ogden agrees that the fort [at Mill Creek] shall be delivered to Captain Butler.

"2dly. All the men with Captain Ogden that has not effects on the ground, to depart the 1st of May next.

"3dly. Six men of Captain Ogden's party to continue to take care of the effects belonging to Ogden and his party until June 1st next, and then to depart with all the effects belonging to said party.

"4thly. The people of Ogden's party have the privilege of selling their wheat that is in the ground.

"5thly. Ogden's party to keep one house for the six men, with two fire-arms, to take care of his effects.

"6thly. The people that have stock on the ground, and have not made sufficient provision for said stock, shall pay all the damages done by said stock to the men that suffer by them."

Captain Ogden further deposed (at Philadelphia, May 25, 1770, as previously noted) "that, after the capitulation, having reason to think that the other party had designs of confining him, he took the first fair opportunity of leaving the place; and that he is informed that after he left the people in the fort took possession of all his effects and burnt his house." Nathan Ogden remained in Wyoming for several days after his brother the Captain had departed, and then he too left, and at Philadelphia, on May 25th, he made an affidavit before Governor Penn in which he corroborated the facts stated by Captain Ogden in his affidavit, and in addition thereto detailed the happenings that had occurred in Wyoming from the 1st to the 5th of May. The original affidavit sworn to and signed by Nathan Ogden is now "No. 115" of the "Penn Manuscripts," described on page 30, Volume I, and no part of the same has ever been printed heretofore. The following paragraphs from the document are interesting and important:

* * * "That he [Nathan Ogden] remained at Wioming about four days after his brother Amos Ogden had left the place, as in his deposition made this day is mentioned. That on the 1st day of May last a party of the New Englanders and Pennsylvanians set fire to Joseph Ogden's house, situate on the Proprietary tract of land there, and burnt it to the ground. That on the 2d of May *inst.* Capt. John Collins, with a party of the same people, broke the locks of the said Amos Ogden's store-house and robbed the same of several hundred deer-skins and a number of other articles, and then demolished the house. That on the 3d May Captain Collins, Lazarus Stewart, Lazarus Young and others of the New England party broke the locks of the said Amos Ogden's dwelling-house and shop, took away all the goods in them and a large quantity of furs and some hundred deer-skins, and then set fire to the house, which was soon consumed.

"The deponent further saith that the said New England party at several times made prisoners of several of the people settled on the said Proprietary manor under the Proprietaries, turned their families out and destroyed the houses and effects; and when he left Wioming he saw several of them, to wit: Martin Tidd, Robert Duchee, Michael Hendershute, John Murphy and Thomas Neal, confined in a gaol* in a miserable condition. And that one of them who had been confined, of the name of Patrick White, he saw lying dead in the said gaol; who (he heard amongst the people of the fort) had been taken out of the said gaol by the said Connecticut party in good health, and by them bled in both his arms till he died, after which he was brought back dead within an hour, and thrown into the gaol amongst the rest of the prisoners—but he knows not the truth of this information.

"This deponent further saith that when he left the fort at Wioming on the 5th day of May last past he believes there were upwards of 200 people belonging to it; and that the persons named in the list hereunto annexed are of the party. The names of any others of them he has not been able to learn. This deponent further saith that he has frequently heard the leaders and many others of the said New England party declare that they would dispossess the inhabitants of Pennsylvania who would not join them, as low down as the Blue Mountains—which inhabitants are esteemed to consist of about 300 families.

* * * "Names† of Connecticut people and Pennsylvanians in the Connecticut fort at Wioming:

Ashley, Benjamin
Beach, Nathan
Bidlack, James
Brockway, Richard
Buck, Elijah
Buck, William
Cochran, John
Collins, John
DeLong, John
Durkee, John
Ellis, William
Espy, George
Espy, John
Espy, Joseph
Follett, Benjamin
French, Thomas
Frink, Joseph
Fuller, Stephen

Gaylord, Samuel
Gaylord, Timothy
Gillow, Francis
Goss, Nathaniel
Grimes, James
Hibbard, Ebenezer
Hibbard, Jonathan
Holley, John
Holley, Samuel
Hungerford, Stephen
Johnson, Edward
Jones, Crocker
Kidd, Peter
Ludington, Asa
Mead, David
Morse, Joseph
Nisbitt, Samuel

Phillips, Nicholas
Ray, James
Ray, William
Robinson, John
Robinson, Thomas
Simpson, John
Smith, Oliver
Smith, Timothy
Solley, John
Stewart, James
Stewart, Lazarus
Stewart, Lazarus—Jr.
Stewart, William
Weeks, Thomas
Woodworth, Douglas
Young, Lazarus
Young, Robert
Young, William"

* Undoubtedly the guard-house attached to, or forming a part of, Fort Durkee.

† Fifty-three in number, and alphabetically arranged by the present writer.

From the journals of the Moravian missionaries* at *Friedenshütten* (Wyalusing)—see Volume I, page 443—under the date of May 1, 1770, we glean the following :

"A white man, who had been held prisoner by the New England men at Wyoming upwards of three weeks, was brought by Job Chillaway.† From him we learned of the calamity that had befallen Captain Ogden and his brother."

It will be recalled that the fight at Golden Hill, in the city of New York, and the Boston Massacre had taken place, respectively, in January and March, 1770. (See Volume I, page 594.) Those events aroused throughout the American Colonies much bitter feeling and no end of sharp comment, which the Sons of Liberty took good care should not die down or become dulled. It was well known to the Pennsylvania authorities who were familiar with the events of that period that Maj. John Durkee—then the leader of the Yankees in Wyoming—was prominent in the ranks of the Sons of Liberty; and so, when news came to Governor Penn at Philadelphia April 4, 1770, concerning the happenings at Wyoming on March 28th, he and his Councilors concluded that Pennsylvania, just as New York and Massachusetts, was about to become the scene of general disorder and a hotbed of disloyalty to the King. To those officials it seemed, indeed, as if "lurid flames of threatening war shot up from every point of the surrounding horizon." Without delay, therefore—a formal meeting of the Provincial Council having first been held—Governor Penn wrote to Major General Gage (see pages 508 and 599) on April 6th, as follows‡ :

"It is now about a year since a number of people of the Colony of Connecticut, assisted, as I am informed, by some of Pendergrass' Gang, in a riotous and forcible manner took possession of a large body of land on the River Susquehanna. * * The intruders were at first removed without much difficulty by due course of law. They soon returned, however, with a formidable armed force; took possession of the lands and, setting the laws at defiance, built a large stockaded fort, in which they have since planted cannon; appointed their own officers; erected, as I am informed, mock Courts of Justice, and had the daring insolence—without the least warrant or authority in law—to arrest one of our people, upon whom they inflicted a very severe corporal punishment. * *

"They have at length prevailed on a number of profligate and abandoned people on our frontiers (many of whom have been concerned in the late Indian murders and disturbances) to join them in their unlawful enterprise, and they now not only openly resist the execution of the King's process, and set Government at naught, but have lately gone so far as to attack and fire upon a party of our people who had several of their associates under legal arrest, which obliged them to return the fire; and it unfortunately happened that one of the rioters was killed and another wounded, so that it is no longer safe to attempt executing the process of the Government against these atrocious offenders. Not having any militia in the Province, I find myself under the disagreeable necessity of applying for the aid of the military to support the civil power."

Under the date of April 15th General Gage replied to Governor Penn, in part as follows§ :

"The troops in all the Provinces have orders, in general, to assist the civil power when they shall be legally called upon; but the affair in question seems to be a dispute concerning property, in which I can't but think it would be highly improper for the King's troops to interfere. * * I shall immediately lay before His Majesty's Ministers the requisition you have been pleased to make, and wait His Majesty's commands thereupon."

About the time Governor Penn received the foregoing letter Governor Trumbull of Connecticut received a letter written by Dr. William Samuel Johnson (see Vol. I, page 504) at London under the date of February 26, 1770, and reading, in part, as follows|| :

* See "Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society," I: 202.

† An Indian friendly to the white people. His name is frequently mentioned in these pages. See page 456.

‡ See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," IX: 664.

§ See *ibid.*, page 665.

|| See the "Trumbull Papers", mentioned in paragraph "(6)", page 29, Vol. I.

"The grants we are searching for, if discovered, will give some light in the Susquehanna affair, and may be necessary to give a complete opinion upon the subject; but, as thus advised, *I have a very good opinion of the legal right of the Colony* [of Connecticut] to those western lands, notwithstanding the settlement with New York [as to the New York-Connecticut boundary], and know not how it could be avoided upon a fair trial at law. Those lands are plainly within the words of the Charter, and that settlement [with New York] ought not to preclude the title to the remainder. The opinion, however, that in general prevails here, founded upon some decisions of the Lords of the Council, is, that all the ancient Charters and Patents in the Colonies—being vague in their descriptions, drawn by persons often unacquainted with the geography of the country, and interfering frequently with each other—must be limited by the actual occupation, or other efficient claim, evidenced by overt acts of the early settlers.

"It seems plain, therefore, that such claim would not be very highly favored here, and will probably give much offense if made by the Colony. Whatever opinion I have, therefore, of the legal right (and though I wish extremely well to The Susquehanna Company, and have great reason to do so), yet, in faithfulness to the Colony, I must say that I think it by no means advisable for them to interfere at all in the affair at this critical conjuncture. * * * With regard to The Susquehanna Company, for whose interests, as I have said, I am enough solicitous, it does not appear to me that a grant to them is at all necessary from the Colony to enable them to defend against Mr. Penn. He must make out his own title, and recover in his own strength. They are in possession, and that possession is good against him until he establishes a clear title—both under the Crown and from the Indians—which he can never do while it appears that the lands were granted to the Colony of Connecticut in 1662. * * * I should think it perfectly right to give them a release of the Colony title when the controversy is over; but to do it now, while the dispute is on foot, will seem to be taking some part in the controversy. * * I doubt the wisdom of setting up such a claim at present, or of interfering in the dispute of The Susquehanna Company at this time."

In October, 1769, the General Assembly of Connecticut directed Governor Trumbull and George Wyllys, Secretary of the Colony (see page 282, Vol. I), to collect all the documents relating to and bearing upon the Royal grants to the Colony of Connecticut, and to report to the Assembly concerning the same. These gentlemen having made their report at the session of the Assembly held in May, 1770, it was determined to transmit "a State of the Case to counsel learned in the law in England," and the same gentlemen were appointed to prepare the necessary papers. The original draft of the "Statement of the Case," prepared in pursuance of this vote of the Assembly, is now among the "Trumbull Papers," previously mentioned. It contains a number of comments and suggestions made by Governor Trumbull, and concludes with the following "queries":

"(1) Whether the said Governor and Company of the Colony of Connecticut have not the full and clear right and title to the purchase [from the natives] and full enjoyment of the lands lying within the limits and boundaries described in their Charter, lying westward of the Province of New York, and to extend their jurisdiction and government over the same—the claim and challenge of the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, or any other, notwithstanding?

"(2) What manner of proceeding, to settle and prevent all differences and disputes relative to the same, is most expedient and unexceptionable?

"(3) What is legal and best for the Governor and Company of the Colony of Connecticut to do and act on the whole state and circumstances attending this cause?"

At London, under the date of May 21, 1770, William Samuel Johnson wrote to Governor Trumbull:

"You will see by the copy of Mr. Penn's petition against The Susquehanna Company, which I have forwarded to Colonel Dyer, that they are determined if possible to involve the Colony in that controversy."

A month later Dr. Johnson writes to the Governor that he has had several conferences with the agent of the Penns, who asserts that "he *knows* the Colony [of Connecticut] do take part in that business—no matter what I [Johnson] or anybody else can say to the contrary."

An important meeting of The Susquehanna Company was held at Hartford, Connecticut, June 6, 1770, Maj. Elizur Talcott acting as Mod-

erator. The principal business transacted—other than receiving a full report relative to the happenings and conditions at Wyoming—was as follows :

"Voted, That Ozias Yale on Benjamin Yale's right, and John Jolly on Job Yale's right—settlers on the lands on Susquehanna River—be of the number of the First Forty settlers, and entitled to their rights in the township that shall be laid out to the said Forty ; and that [Henry] Dow Tripp be excluded from the number of the said Forty and any right in the township which shall be laid out for them. The said Yale and Jolly for the future to do and perform their duty as settlers on said lands, according to the votes of said Company.

"Voted, That the five townships of land granted by this Company for the encouragement of the first 240 settlers, shall be laid out according to Mr. David Mead's survey made last Fall ; and as our Paxton friends that have come on to settle with us have agreed to take the township called the Nanticook Township, we now grant the same to them according to the number of them that have complied with the proposals made to them by the Standing Committee. The remainder of said town to be filled up out of ye 200 settlers, under the same regulations and with the same reserves made in the other townships granted to the settlers, in fulfillment of ye engagements of the Committee of this Company with our said Paxton friends in their letter to them by Captain Butler and Mr. Ebenezer Backus. And that a township six miles square be laid out at a place called Lackawanna, or on the south of said Nanticook Township, adjoining thereto, in lieu of said Nanticook, for the fifty settlers which the said Nanticook Township would have belonged to—upon the same conditions and with the same reserves made and received in the other townships granted to the settlers ; and if neither of the said places shall suit to lay out the last-mentioned township, that then the same shall be laid out by the direction of Major Durkee and Captain Butler so as to do justice to said settlers and the Company.

"Voted, That there be at present but one trading-house set up in our Purchase on Susquehanna River for trading with and accommodating the Indians with such necessities as they from time to time shall want ; and that those persons that shall trade and deal with the Indians shall be under the direction and control of Major Durkee, Captain Butler and Deacon Timothy Hopkins, who are hereby authorized to take care of and oversee the trade and deal with the Indians, and see that justice is at all times done to them.

"Voted, That the Standing Committee, as soon as they can with convenience, procure some able and orthodox minister of ye gospel to repair to our settlements at Wyoming and remain with them for one year in the Discharge of his Ministerial office among them ; and that the said Committee shall Draw their order on Capt. Zebulon Butler for such part of the whole of ye money in his hands as they shall Judge Necessary for the support of said minister.

*"Whereas, It is probable that many proprietors not included in the 240 first settlers have repaired and will repair to join our settlement on our Purchase on Susquehanna River, in order to settle themselves and families on said lands—in part of their general rights in part of said Purchase—it is now Voted, That the committee that shall hereafter be appointed to oversee and direct the whole settlement on said land shall—and they are hereby authorized and empowered—at the cost of those that apply for the same, to lay out townships five miles square for such proprietors within said Purchase * * ; each of which townships to be divided into fifty equal parts, or shares, for quantity and quality—three of which rights, or shares, to be reserved for the public benefit of said township, in the same manner and for the same purposes as the reserved rights in the townships heretofore granted to the first 240 settlers.*

"Voted, That Capt. Z. Butler, Isaac Tripp, Benjamin Follett, John Jenkins, Timothy Hopkins, David Marvin, William Buck, Benjamin Shoemaker, John Smith, Thomas Dyer, Ebenezer Gray, Jr., Obadiah Gore, Stephen Fuller, Robert Young and Nathaniel Wales, 3d, be and are hereby appointed a committee to assist Major Durkee in ordering and directing in all the affairs relating to the well government of said settlers, and in directing the settling of said lands—till otherwise ordered by the Company."

By the 10th of May, 1770, Wyoming was again in the undisturbed possession of the Yankees, who, apparently, were masters of the situation. Peace reigned. Hope, joy and confidence began to prevail. Planting time had come, and not only was a large quantity of corn planted, but many new improvements were projected, and preparations were begun for distributing the proprietor-settlers throughout the five "settling" towns. As explained on page 515, Vol. I, those towns, or townships, had been located and their boundaries surveyed by David Mead* and his assistants in the Autumn of 1769. The Susquehanna

* See a subsequent chapter for a sketch of his life.

Company having accepted the surveys and directed that the townships should be "laid out" according to them (see page 652)—that is, that each township should be laid out in *divisions*, which in turn should be subdivided into *lots*—it was necessary that that work should be done before any individual allotments of land could be made.

In order to expedite the work Major Durkee procured the services of Samuel Wallis,* a skilled and experienced surveyor from Philadelphia, who, with his half-brother Joseph Jacob Wallis, had effected in 1769 a settlement on a tract of land on the West Branch of the Susquehanna, within the bounds of The Susquehanna Company's Purchase—although surveyed under a warrant issued from the Provincial Land Office. About the middle of May, 1770, Samuel and Joseph Jacob Wallis were at Shamokin, or Fort Augusta, en route from Philadelphia to their plantation, "Muncy Farm," on the West Branch, and in response to a request from Major Durkee they came up the East Branch of the river to Fort Durkee. It was then that Samuel Wallis ascertained the latitude of the fort, as noted on page 495, Vol. I. (See, also, note below.)

Early in June, 1770, the "town-plot" of Wilkes-Barré was planned by Major Durkee, and under his direction was surveyed and plotted by Samuel Wallis, assisted by Joseph Jacob Wallis and others. The plot was laid out on the level stretch of land, comprising some 200 acres, lying just north-east of Fort Durkee. The plot was in the form of a

*SAMUEL WALLIS was of Quaker origin, and was born in Elkton, Maryland, about 1730. He received a good general education, and later, having studied surveying, became interested in land speculations. Prior to 1767 he settled in Philadelphia—his residence being in the "North Ward" in 1769, and in the "Middle Ward" in 1774. Early in 1768 he was employed with other surveyors in making surveys along the Juniata River in southern Pennsylvania. Soon after the "Fort Stanwix Treaty Line" was established (see Vol. I, page 451) he surveyed for himself, under a Provincial land-warrant—as mentioned above—a tract of land located three miles west of the present borough of Muncy and ten miles east of the present city of Williamsport, in what then was Berks County, later was Northumberland County and now is Lycoming County. There, early in 1769, he began the erection of a large and substantial stone dwelling-house, which was nearly completed in September of the same year and was then occupied by Mr. Wallis and his brother. This building, increased in size and modernized, was still standing a few years ago—the oldest house in Lycoming County—and probably is in existence now.

Meiginnis, in his "History of the West Branch Valley" (I : 344), says: "Among the noted pioneers of 1769 was SAMUEL WALLIS, who became the most extensive landowner of that time. He was aggressive and venturesome, and acquired one tract after another until he owned over 7,000 acres in one body in Muncy Valley alone. His famous plantation, known as 'Muncy Farm,' figures more in history than the balance of all his possessions. * * He was constantly on the lookout for other lands. There is in existence an ancient draft showing the outlines of a tract of 5,900 acres including the ground on which Jersey Shore, in Lycoming County, is built. This was surveyed in 1773 on 'orders of survey' issued in April, 1769."

Samuel Wallis was married March 1, 1770, to Lydia, daughter of John Hollingsworth of Philadelphia. Mr. Wallis continued to reside in Philadelphia until the Spring of 1775, spending, however, a considerable portion of his time at "Muncy Farm," where his brother Joseph Jacob lived continuously from 1770 till the Spring or Summer of 1775, when he vacated the plantation and Samuel and his family established themselves there permanently. In April, 1774, Pelatiah Webster of Philadelphia wrote to Silas Deane at Wethersfield, Connecticut, as follows (see Johnson's "Historical Record," III : 70): "Fort Augusta, half a mile south-east of the conflux of the East and West Branches of the Susquehanna, is, by exact observation, in latitude 40° 53', 32"; Fort Durkee at Wyoming is in 41° 14', 27"; Buffalo Creek, in 41° 1', 1"—as taken by Mr. Samuel Wallis, a gentleman of good merit and well known to the Wyoming people, who is now going up with very accurate instruments to take the latitude of 42°, in order to ascertain how far north you extend." (The boundary-line between New York and Pennsylvania was supposed to be coincident with the 42d parallel of latitude, and the northern boundary of the Connecticut claim was understood to lie there—as previously explained, and as shown on the map near the end of this chapter.)

January 24, 1776, Samuel Wallis was appointed Captain of the 6th Company of the 2d Battalion of the Northumberland County Militia. When the "Big Runaway" occurred in June, 1778 (see Eggle's "History of Pennsylvania," pages 574 and 916), Captain Wallis abandoned his improvements on the West Branch and fled with his wife and three children and the other inhabitants of that region to Fort Augusta. Thence the Wallises repaired to Elkton, Maryland, where Mrs. Wallis' parents, the Hollingsworths, were then residing. The family of Captain Wallis remained at Elkton until some time in 1779 or 1780, when they joined him at Philadelphia, where they continued to reside until 1785, when they returned to their old home at "Muncy Farm."

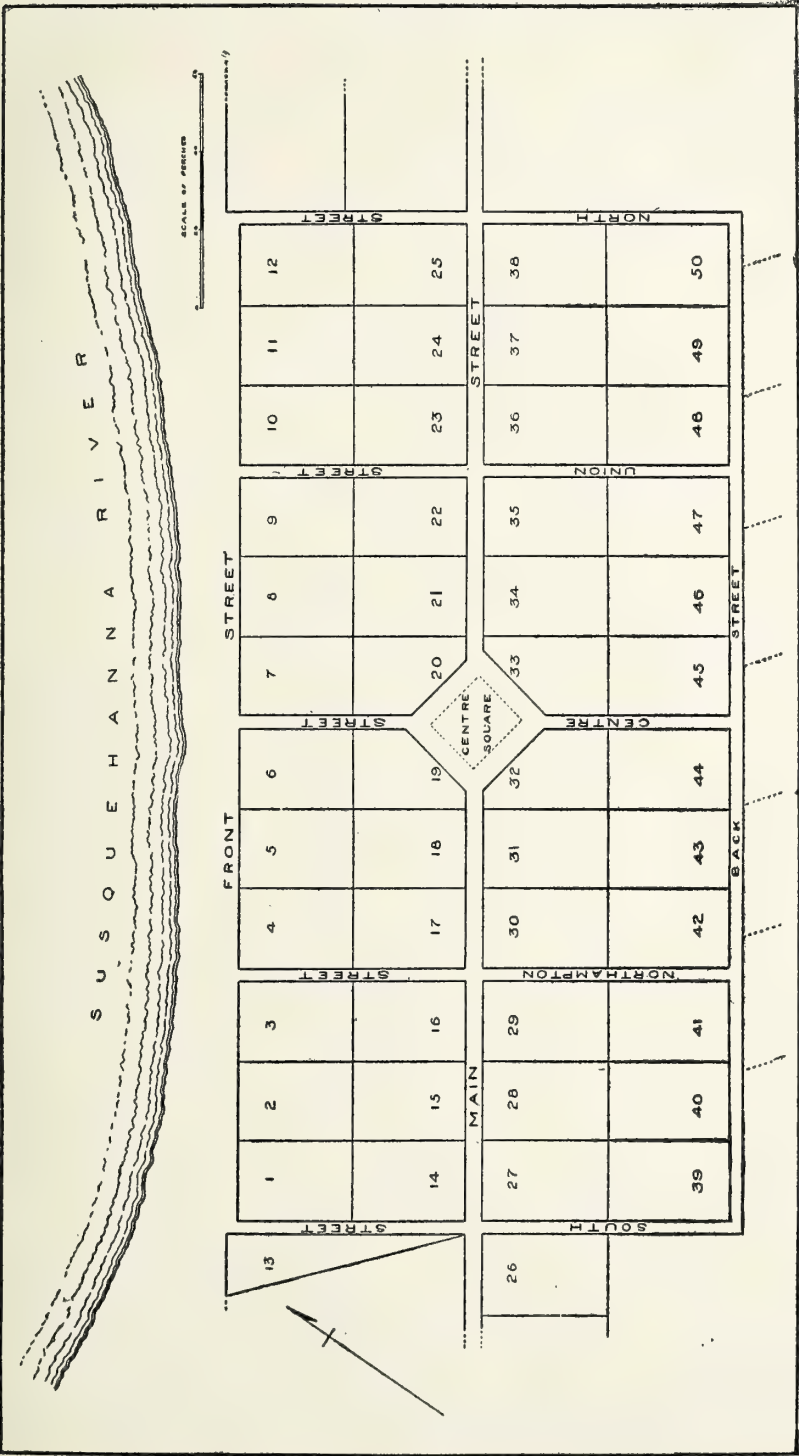
When Lycoming County was erected in 1795 Governor Mifflin appointed Samuel Wallis one of the Associate Judges of the County Courts, and he occupied the bench at the first term of Court, which was held at Jaysburg. Before that time Mr. Wallis had become one of the most noted land speculators of his day, and alone, and in partnership with James Wilson and George Clymer (signers of the Declaration of Independence), Samuel Meredith, and other gentlemen, he owned many thousands of acres of land. Judge Wilson, at the time of his death by suicide in the Summer of 1797, owed Mr. Wallis £88,500 on account of their land deals. Wilson was bankrupt, and his death was the beginning of trouble for Wallis, which culminated in the sacrifice of the latter's magnificent landed estate after his death, which occurred at Philadelphia October 14, 1798. He was on his way home from North Carolina, where he had been on business, and upon reaching Philadelphia he was attacked by yellow fever, which caused his death in a few hours. His business affairs were very much complicated. In addition to his private transactions in land with many individuals, he had been the agent of the Holland Land Company. Among his numerous land-claims were eighty-four, covering as many tracts (aggregating nearly 34,000 acres) in

parallelogram, its longer sides being parallel with the river. (See the following page.) It was bounded on the north-east by what is now known as North Street; on the south-east by the present Pennsylvania Avenue; on the south-west by South Street, and on the north-west by River Street. The parallelogram was intersected by three cross streets, now known as Northampton, Market and Union; while lengthways it was intersected by Main Street. No names were given to any of these streets until some years later. (See Chapter XXXVI.) River Street was continued for some distance below the town-plot, while Main Street ran south to the township of Hanover and north to Pittston, and from the beginning was known, for a number of years, as "the main road." In the center of the town-plot was laid out a diamond-shaped space containing four acres and forty-one perches of ground, which remained a part of the common, or public, undivided lands of the township. A few years later this open space received the name of "Center Square", but for some time now it has been known as "Public Square". The land lying between River Street and the river—upwards of thirty-five acres in extent, and now known as the River Common—also remained a part of the public, undivided lands of the township, and was *not included in the town-plot*.

The town-plot was divided into forty-eight lots; but as the regulations of The Susquehanna Company required that there should be fifty "town-" or "house-lots" apportioned among the fifty proprietors of the township, it was found necessary to lay two lots outside the town-plot proper. One of these lots, numbered "13", was at the south-east corner of River and South Streets, while the second, which was numbered "26", was at the south-east corner of Main and South Streets. Forty-five of the lots were parallelograms, while the four lots contiguous to Luzerne County—chiefly in that part where, a few years later, the townships of Clifford, Nicholson, Abington and Tunkhannock were erected.

Samuel Wallis was survived by his wife Lydia (who died at Milton, Pennsylvania, September 4, 1812) and the following-named children: (i) *Mary*, born at Philadelphia April 25, 1771; married in 1800 to Dr. William K. Lathey, a native of Exeter, England. (ii) *John*, born March 20, 1775; died at Northumberland, Pennsylvania, September 14, 1810. (iii) *Cassandra*, born October 6, 1776; married to Daniel Smith, who was admitted to the Bar of Luzerne County June 1, 1790, as a non-resident attorney, and who in 1802 was residing at Milton, Pennsylvania, engaged in the practise of his profession. (iv) *Sarah*, born August 19, 1778, at Elkton, Maryland; married to Hugh Brady (born at Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, in 1768, son of Capt. Samuel Brady, the famous Indian fighter, who became a Brigadier General in the United States Army, and died at Detroit, Michigan, in 1851. (v) *Hannah*, born February 21, 1781, at Philadelphia; married in 1816 to William Miller; died February 28, 1859, at Muncy, Pennsylvania. (vi) *Samuel Hollingsworth*, born January 18, 1784, at Philadelphia. He studied medicine, and in March, 1806, at the age of twenty-two years, located in Wilkes-Barré. Under date of April 4, 1806, he advertised in *The Luzerne Federalist* that he was "about to commence the practice of medicine, surgery, &c.," in Wilkes-Barré—his office being at John P. Arndt's tavern on River Street. April 14, 1806, Dr. Wallis became a member of Lodge No. 61, F. and A. M., Wilkes-Barré, and in May he advertised a list of drugs "for sale at his shop nearly opposite Benjamin Perry's store." Dr. Wallis seems to have removed from Wilkes-Barré in the following September. April 17, 1807, he was married to Elizabeth Cowden, and later they settled at Dunns town, Clinton County, Pennsylvania, where Dr. Wallis died April 19, 1832. He left a daughter, Mary, wife of Philip Shay, and a son, Cowden Smith Wallis.

Joseph Jacob Wallis, the half-brother of Samuel Wallis, was married in 1771 or '72 to Elizabeth, daughter of John Lukens. The latter was a native of Horsham, England, and in December, 1761, on the death of Nicholas Scull, Surveyor General of Pennsylvania, succeeded him in that office. Mr. Lukens, who was reappointed Surveyor General in April, 1781, under the Commonwealth, died in office in October, 1789. Joseph Jacob Wallis died in 1795, in Northumberland County, Pennsylvania, leaving a large estate and the following-named children: (i) *John Lukens*, born at "Muncy Farm" in 1773, and said to have been the first white male child born west of Muncy Creek; he was married to Catharine —, and died in 1863. (ii) *Grace*, born in 1777; married in 1797 to Evan Rice Evans (born in 1768), originally of Clay Creek, Maryland, but for a number of years a prominent lawyer at Sunbury, Pennsylvania, where he died in 1813. He was admitted to the Bar of Luzerne County, as a non-resident attorney, in 1804. Mrs. Grace (Wallis) Evans died in 1804, leaving three daughters—Elizabeth, Margaret and Sarah. (iii) *Sarah*, married prior to 1801 to Daniel Smith, Esq., of Sunbury, Pennsylvania. (iv) *Thomas*, who became a physician. (v) *Gayner*, married in 1801 to Enoch Smith, a well-known lawyer of Sunbury, Pennsylvania. He was admitted to the Bar of Luzerne County about 1798, as a non-resident attorney. (vi) *Elizabeth*, married to John Evans—younger brother of Evan Rice Evans, mentioned above—in 1804, and located in Wilkes-Barré, where, in the same year, John Evans was admitted to the Bar of Luzerne County. March 10, 1806, he became a member of Lodge No. 61, F. and A. M., Wilkes-Barré. John Evans practised his profession at Wilkes-Barré until 1818, at least, when—his wife having died in 1817—he removed elsewhere. John and Elizabeth (Wallis) Evans were the parents of the following-named children (all born in Wilkes-Barré): (1) Grace, born in 1805; married to Morgan T. Rhees. (2) Elizabeth Margaret, born in 1807; married to John Cooper, Jr. (3) Mary, born in 1809; married to William Erwin. (4) Thomas, born in 1811; married to Annie D. Homar. (5) Margaret Garrett, born in 1813; married to Miller Fox. (6) Cassandra, born in 1815; died unmarried. (7) Jane, born in 1817; married to Dr. Henry L. Aitken. (vii) *Joseph Jacob*, born in 1789, and married in 1813 to Catharine Schaeffer, was the youngest child of Joseph Jacob and Elizabeth (Lukens) Wallis.



THE ORIGINAL "TOWN-PLOT" OF WILKES-BARRÉ.

Specially prepared for this work, from original data, by William H. Sturdevant, Civil Engineer.

the "Diamond" were pentagonal in shape, and Lot No. 13 was triangular. The lots numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18 contained three acres and one hundred and three perches each; those numbered 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 21, 22, 23, 24 and 25 contained three acres and ninety-eight perches each; those numbered 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43 and 44 contained three acres and one hundred and forty-one perches each; those numbered 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49 and 50 contained three acres and one hundred and thirty-six perches each, and those numbered 13, 19, 20, 32 and 33 contained about three acres each.

The survey of the town-plot having been completed, the Messrs. Wallis and their assistants proceeded with the surveying and plotting of the remainder of the township of Wilkes-Barré.* It had been previously voted by the proprietors assigned to this township that the lands thereof (comprising about twenty-three square miles,† or nearly 15,000 acres) should be laid out in four divisions, entitled as follows: "1st Division, or Meadow Lots"; "2d Division, or House Lots" (being the town-plot, previously described); "3d Division, or Back Lots"; "4th Division, or Five-acre Lots." The survey was made according to this plan, and then each division was subdivided into fifty lots (one lot for each proprietor)—excepting the 3d Division, which comprehended fifty-five lots; being fifty lots for allotment to the proprietors, and five "public" lots as follows: (1) containing about 300 acres, to be appropriated to and bestowed upon "the first settling minister of the gospel"; (2) containing about 300 acres, set apart for "the support of the ministry" after the death, resignation or removal of the first settled minister; (3) containing about 300 acres, to be used for the support of public schools in the township; (4) containing fifty acres, to be the common property of the proprietors, and to be disposed of by their votes: (5) a mill-seat, or lot, some eight or ten rods in width, lying along the north bank of Mill Creek, and extending from the present bridge at the head of North Main Street to the mouth of the creek—which lot, also, was to be the common property of the proprietors, to be disposed of by their votes. The 1st Division of Wilkes-Barré comprised the flats from the bend of the river (near Fort Durkee) to the Wilkes-Barré-Hanover boundary; also the flats extending from a point just above Wyoming Falls (see Vol. I, page 37) to the Wilkes-Barré-Pittston boundary, together with the rolling uplands to the east of them—the whole forming "Jacob's Plains", described on page 50, Vol. I. The 2d Division comprised the lots in the town-plot, as previously explained. The 3d Division (excepting the "mill-seat" and the "50-acre lot") comprised the lands on the Wilkes-Barré Mountain and on the foot-hills along its north-western base, while the 4th Division comprised small parcels of land in various localities within the bounds of the township.

As previously indicated, each of the fifty proprietors of the township of Wilkes-Barré was entitled to one whole share in the township, which would give him *one lot in each of the four divisions*—these four lots ag-

* This fact is proved, in part, by a paragraph in a letter written at Wilkes-Barré July 13, 1801, by the Hon. Thomas Cooper and Gen. John Steele, Commissioners under the Compromise Act of 1799. (See Chapter XXVI.) The letter was addressed to the Secretary of the Land Office, and is printed in "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, XVIII: 454. The paragraph in question reads as follows: "The town of Wilkesbarre was originally surveyed in 1770, by Jos. Jac. Wallis and Samuel Wallis; a part, a very small part, of the draught of this Survey we have obtained. Mr. Cooper has personally applied to Daniel Smith, Esq., of Sunbury, the executor and son-in-law of J. J. Wallis, to procure any copy or field notes of the original survey, but without effect."

† Not "nearly twenty-nine square miles", as erroneously stated on page 517 in Volume I.

gregating about 265 acres of land. As a share in Wilkes-Barré was a "gratuity" (see page 466, Vol. I), the recipient or holder thereof, being a general proprietor in the Susquehanna Purchase, was entitled in addition to "draw" or be allotted, for each right that he owned in the company, 600 acres (or 300 acres for each half-right) in another township—to be laid out at some time in the future.

While the Messrs. Wallis were surveying Wilkes-Barré, David Mead, assisted by a number of his fellow proprietor-settlers, was surveying the four other "settling" towns—Nanticoke (later Hanover), Pittstown (later Pittston), The Forty (later Kingstown, and now Kingston) and Plymouth. In the meantime the number of settlers was being rapidly increased—many of the proprietors who had been in the valley on previous occasions returning to make another effort to establish themselves in the rich and attractive region; while a score or more of men from southern Northampton County, southern Pennsylvania, the Minisinks, New York and New England, who were not proprietors in The Susquehanna Company—drawn to the valley by the surprising accounts which they had heard and read concerning the Pennamite-Yankee contest, so unusual and vigorous in its character—were persuaded, without much difficulty, to buy rights and half-rights in the Susquehanna Purchase from Major Durkee, Captain Butler and others at Wilkes-Barré who composed "the committee appointed to admit settlers." Among the new proprietors thus secured was Samuel Holden Parsons* of Lyme,

*SAMUEL HOLDEN PARSONS (mentioned on pages 485 and 486, Vol. I, and page 637, *ante*) was born at Lyme, New London County, Connecticut, May 14, 1737, the third son of the Rev. Jonathan Parsons, for some years minister of the Congregational Church in Old Lyme, and later of Newburyport, Massachusetts. Samuel H. Parsons was graduated at Harvard College in 1756, in the same class with Joseph Trumbull (mentioned on page 471, Volume I), and then read law with his maternal uncle, the Hon. Matthew Griswold of Lyme, subsequently Governor of Connecticut. He was admitted to the Bar in 1759, and practised his profession in Lyme (in the meantime representing the town in the General Assembly of the Colony for about ten years) until 1774, when, having been appointed King's Attorney for New London County, he removed to the town of New London. It was he who, in 1773, first suggested to Samuel Adams of Massachusetts the idea of holding a Continental Congress; and June 3, 1774, he moved in the Assembly of Connecticut that representatives from that Colony be sent to such a Congress. (See Vol. I, page 393, 4th paragraph of note.) In April and May, 1775, the 6th Regiment of Connecticut was raised for service at Boston, and Samuel H. Parsons was appointed and commissioned its Colonel. The regiment was in service until December, 1775. In organizing the Connecticut regiments for the campaign of 1776, Colonel Parsons was appointed to command one of them, and with it he was stationed at Roxbury, Massachusetts, until after the evacuation of Boston.

While in camp at Roxbury Colonel Parsons and other American officers who were Free Masons organized at Waterman's Tavern, in Roxbury, an army Lodge of Free Masons, which was warranted February 20, 1776, by the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, under the name of American Union Lodge, No. 1, F. and A. M. This Lodge worked in the Continental army until April 23, 1783. Colonel Parsons was its second Worshipful Master, and Brig. Gen. Benedict Arnold, Col. Samuel Wyllis, Lieut. Col. Ebenezer Gray, Jr., Rufus Putnam (mentioned on page 458, and subsequently a General in the Continental Army, and later the First Grand Master of Masons of Ohio), Lieut. Col. Isaac Sherman, Maj. William Judd, Lieut. Col. Thomas Grosvenor, Lieut. (later Capt.) Samuel Richards and other Continental officers mentioned in these pages were members of the Lodge. General Washington attended the meetings of the Lodge upon several occasions. Since June 28, 1790, American Union Lodge, No. 1, has been established at Marietta, Ohio, being the oldest Masonic Lodge in the United States west of the Alleghenies.

Early in August, 1776, Colonel Parsons was appointed by Congress "a Brigadier General of the army of the United States," and in October, 1780, he was promoted Major General. He was the ranking officer of the board that tried and condemned Major André at Tappan, New York, September 20, 1780. For his successful attack on the British troops at Morrisania, New York, in 1781, Congress requested General Washington to express to him their thanks. He was an original member of the Society of the Cincinnati, and subsequently became President of the Connecticut branch of the Society. Upon the establishment of peace in 1783 General Parsons opened a law office in Middletown, Connecticut, and was admitted to the Bar of Hartford County. He was mainly instrumental in having the county of Middlesex erected, with Middletown as its county-seat, in 1785. In the same year he traveled to the Ohio region, and in January, 1786, in connection with Generals George R. Clark and Richard Butler, held a treaty with the Indians near the mouth of the Great Miami. (See Vol. I, page 131.) In October, 1787, he was appointed by Congress the first Judge of the territory north-west of the Ohio, but did not go forward to enter upon the duties of his office until he had taken part in the Connecticut State convention which adopted the Federal Constitution in January, 1788. Later in that year he, Gen. Rufus Putnam and other New England soldiers founded Marietta, the oldest town in what is now the State of Ohio. General Parsons was accidentally drowned November 17, 1789, while descending the rapids of the Great Beaver Creek, Ohio.

Samuel H. Parsons was married at Lyme, Connecticut, September 10, 1761, to Mehetabel, eldest child of Richard and Deborah (*Ely*) Mather of Lyme, and they became the parents of several children who grew to maturity.

Under the right which he owned in the Susquehanna Purchase Samuel H. Parsons was allotted certain lands in Plymouth Township. Prior to November, 1773, he sold "House Lot No. 5, one-half of Meadow Lot No. 5, and one-half of Meadow Lot No. 8—Lower Tier of Lots in Plymouth," to Seth Marvin, formerly of Lyme but then of Wilkes-Barré; and November 29, 1773, Seth Marvin sold the same lands for £100 to Crocker Jones, then of Wilkes-Barré. September 1, 1789, "Samuel Holden Parsons, of the city of Marietta, Washington County," [Ohio], sold for \$100, "all his title in a certain right of land in Plymouth Township" to Arnold Colt, then of Wilkes-Barré, but formerly of Lyme.

Connecticut, who, at Wilkes-Barré, June 13, 1770, paid to Captain Butler "thirteen dollars for one settling right (as per vote of April 20, 1770) in the four townships granted by The Susquehanna Company to the 200 first settlers". Mr. Parsons spent only a few days in Wyoming, and then returned to his home in Connecticut.

Among the original early Wyoming documents now in the possession of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society is "A List of the Proprietors of the Five Townships, 17th June, 1770." This list of 283 names, which was prepared at Wilkes-Barré on or about the date indicated, is presumed to comprise the names of all the proprietor-settlers of The Susquehanna Company then on the ground here. The following is a copy of the same, and it is now printed for the first time. (In the original the word "*Comtee*" is affixed to the names of those who composed the "Committee of Settlers," mentioned on page 652.)

Alden, Prince	Corey, Jenks	Gaylord, Joseph
Avery, Christopher	Comstock, Peter	Gore, Daniel
Ashley, Benjamin	Carey, John	Gaylord, Timothy
Ayres, Peter	Cheeseborough, Sylvester	Gold, Samuel
Atherton, James	Carter, Lukens	Gore, Obadiah— <i>Comtee</i>
Arnold, Ephraim	Churchill, Wm.	Gore, Obadiah—Jr.
Atherton, Asahel	Durkee, Maj. John— <i>Comtee</i>	Gray, Ebenezer—Jr.
Angell, Daniel	Draper, Major Simeon	— <i>Comtee</i>
Butler, Capt. Zebulon	Dean, Josiah	Hopkins, Deacon Timothy
— <i>Comtee</i>	Delong, John	— <i>Comtee</i>
Bingham, Abisha	Dole, Edmund	Hunter, Robert
Belding, Ezra	Dean, Jonathan	Hopkins, James
Buell, Ezra	Denison, Nathan	Hopkins, David—Esq.
Ball, Francis	Downing, Jonathan	Harris, Elijah
Bennit, Thos ^s	Durkee, John—Jr.	Hibbard, Ebenezer
Budd, John	Davis, Reuben	Hyde, Ichabod
Budd, Benj ⁿ	Dart, William	Harper, Adam
Bennit, Joshua	Dorchester, Benj ⁿ	Hollinback, Matthew
Bennit, Benj ⁿ	Dorrance, John	Hane, Ronemous
Buck, Jonathan	Durkee, Oliver	Hotchkiss, Saml.
Buck, Lieut. Wm.— <i>Comtee</i>	Dyer, Thomas— <i>Comtee</i>	Harris, Asher
Baker, John	Ely, George	Holly, Danl.
Babcock, Elisha	Elison, Wm.	Haines, Daniel
Babcock, John	Ewings, James	Hopkins, Timothy—Jr.
Brockway, Richard	Espy, George	Hopkins, Ichabod
Bennit, Isaac	Espy, John	Hopkins, Robert
Beach, Nathan	Follett, Benj ⁿ — <i>Comtee</i>	Heffelfinger, Jacob
Brown, Daniel	Fish, Thos ^s	Hungerford, Stephen
Baker, Coonrod	Fish, Jabez	Holly, John
Barney, John	Farnum, Levi	Harris, Josiah
Buck, Asahel	Farnum, Reuben	Heffelfinger, Henry
Buck, Aholiab	French, Thos ^s	Hibbard, Wm.
Bingham, Silas	Faulk, Jacob	Hedsell, James
Bidlack, James	Forsyth, James	Hopson, Jordan
Beckwith, David	Franklin, Roasel	Hibbard, Moses
Buck, Elijah	Farrins, Nicholas	Izehower, Peter
Briggs, Wm.	Fuller, Stephen— <i>Comtee</i>	Jenkins, Stephen
Crain, Silas—Esq ^r	Farnum, Ebenezer	Johnson, Edward
Collings, John	Frink, Joseph	Jones, Crocker
Comstock, Wm.	Frazier, Robert	Jones, Israel
Canhoron, John	Franklin, John	Jenkins, Jonathan
Carpenter, Wm.	Gallow, Francis	Jolly, John
Clark, Jacob	Gallup, Wm.	Jenkins, Palmer
Cary, Eleazar	Gore, Asa	Johnson, Solomon
Canhoron, Hugh	Gaylord, Samuel	Jones, Asa
Comstock, John	Gardner, Peregreen	Jenkins, John— <i>Comtee</i>
Cypher, Andrew	Grimes, James	Jameson, John
Carrington, Jonathan	Grimes, James—Jr.	Kenne, Jesse
Cook, Jacob	Geers, James	Kidd, Peter
Cary, John (A boy)	Goss, Philip	Kidd, Robert
Cook, Jabez	Gore, Silas	Kenne, Daniel
Clark, ———	Goss, Nathaniel	Killam, John

Ludington, Asa
 Lard, John
 Lyons, Asa
 Leonard, Wm.
 Lee, Stephen
 Marvin, Capt. David
 —*Comtee*
 Mecan, Robert
 Meniger, Daniel
 Mead, David
 McDonnor, John
 McDonnel, John
 McKee, George
 Mead, Ely [Eli]
 Morse, Joseph
 Messenger, Saml.
 Marvin, Uriah
 Minard, George
 Murphy, John
 Montgomery, John
 Manvil, Nicholas
 Mead, Darius
 Metcalf, Andrew
 McClure, Thos^s
 Mosely, Peabody
 Marvin, Matthew
 McCoy, Ephraim
 Matthews, Benjⁿ
 Neal, Joseph
 Nisbitt, James
 Olcott, Jedidiah
 Olcott, Samuel
 Pupp, John
 Phillips, Nicholas
 Pelton, Samuel
 Pelton, Gideon
 Pelton, Paul
 Palmer, Daniel
 Palmer, Joseph
 Philip, Coonrod
 Park, Capt. Silas
 Post, Eldad
 Perkins, John
 Peirce, Abel

Peirce, John
 Parkes, Nehemiah
 Rood, Michael
 Robinson, John
 Robinson, Thos^s
 Reker, Caspar
 Ray, James
 Roberts, Gideon
 Reynolds, Benjamin
 Ray, William
 Roberts, Jabez
 Roberts, Elias
 Reed, Noah
 Simpson, John—*Comtee*
 Stewart, Capt. Lazarus
 Stewart, William
 Stewart, James
 Stewart, Lazarus—Jr.
 Seaman, Peter
 Stager, Adam
 Stagard [Stager], Jacob
 Stilly, John
 Shawley, Luke
 Salt, John
 Stephens, John
 Smith, Oliver
 Shelman, Lodowick
 Smith, Timothy
 Skinner, Joseph
 Shaw, John
 Smith, Frederick
 Strong, Henry
 Skeels, John
 Shaw, Ichabod
 Smith, Rev^d Matthew
 Stewart, Oliver
 Stover, Adam
 Starling, Jacob
 Starling, John
 Sill, Jabez
 Story, Saml.
 Stark, Christopher
 Spencer, Caleb

Spencer, John
 Stark, Aaron
 Stearns, Ebenezer
 Smith, Lemuel
 Sealy, Samuel
 Tripp, Isaac—*Comtee*
 Terry, Parshall
 Thomson, Hugh
 Taylor, Preserved
 Tracy, Zevan
 Tidd, Zopher
 Thomas, Benjⁿ
 Vandegor, John Henry
 Vandegor, Felix
 Vincent, Cornelius
 Verpillion, Francis
 Walter, Aaron
 White, Henry
 Windecker, Henry
 Wyley, John
 White, William
 Walker, George
 Williams, Thomas
 Weeks, Jonathan
 Weeks, Thomas
 Warner, Isaac
 Wilder, Aaron
 Whittlesey, Asaph
 Warner, William
 Woodworth, Douglas
 Walter, Joseph
 Weeks, Philip
 Wales, Nathaniel—*Comtee*
 Walworth, Thos^s
 Williams, Timothy
 Williams, Zopher
 Williams, Enos
 Westover, Theophilus
 Young, Robert—*Comtee*
 Young, Lazarus
 Young, William
 Young, Robert—Jr.
 Yale, Enos
 Yale, Ozias^s

While the townships were being surveyed the settlers not engaged in that task were industriously employed at various points in the valley clearing up land for agricultural and other purposes. All were busy. Fort Durkee was still the dwelling-place of all the settlers, as it was not yet considered safe to separate them into small bodies and locate them throughout the valley—thereby inviting further attacks from the Pennamites.

Capt. Zebulon Butler, in conformity with the rule laid down by The Susquehanna Company (see page 652, *ante*), set up a trading-house at the fort, where, as circumstances and the Pennamites permitted, he trafficked in a small way from March till September, 1770, with the Yankee settlers at Wyoming and with the few Indians who semi-occasionally visited the valley. In his account-books we find the following charges within the period mentioned: "The Susquehanna Proprietors Dr. to expense of provisions for prisoners at Wyoming, —; paid T. French for whisky in the siege, £3, 11sh. 6d.; paid Mead for whisky, 30sh.; 3 bbls. flour, —; 20 galls. rum, —; paid George Espy for powder, 30sh.; 6 lbs. of bread for prisoners in April, 2sh.; 1 qt. of whisky for raising guard-house, —; to victualling eighteen Indians, 18sh.; to 18 drams, one bus. wheat and one bus. corn (for Indians), 10sh." In

March, 1770, "Lazarus Young Dr. to 35sh. cash; one shirt, 15sh.; one fourth pound of powder, 1sh. 3d." "Peregreen Gardner, Cr. by four bus. corn @ 3sh. 6d." "Wilks Barry, April 23, 1770—Asa Ludington Dr. to one pair of shoes, 8sh. 6d." May 7, 1770, Aaron Wilder and five others each debtor to one pair of shoes, @ 9sh. "Wilks Barre, July 6, 1770, John McDonnor Dr. to flour, molasses, beef, shirt, shoes and tobacco delivered February 14, 1770; and Dr. to his board and expenses from February 12 to July 6, 1770." Also charges—for sugar, paper, rum, whisky, toddy, cordial, cash, scythes, molasses, flour, powder, lead, salt, etc.—against the following-named:

Peter Ayers, James Atherton, Ephraim Arnold, Silas Bingham, Abisha Bingham, Nathan Beach, Elisha Babcock, Lieut. William Buck, "Mr. George Beckwith" (only two charges, and each for " $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. powder"), Capt. — Crain, John Comstock, Capt. John Collings, Sylvester Chesebrough, Eleazar Cary, Jonathan Carrington, Jenks Corey, Nathan Denison, Jonathan Dean, Maj. John Durkee, Reuben Davis, Maj. Simeon Draper, John De Long, Benjamin Espy, Josiah Espy, John Espy, Stephen Fuller, Roasel Franklin, Ebenezer Farnum, Levi Farnum, James Forsyth, Joseph Frink, "The Frenchman", Capt. Benjamin Follett, Reuben Farnum, John Franklin, David Fowler, Jabez Fish, Peregreen Gardner, William Gallup, James Geers, James Grimes, Philip Goss, Daniel Gore, Samuel Gaylord, Jordan Hopson, Peter Harris, — Hopkins, Samuel Hopkins, William Hurlbut, Elijah Harris, John Holly, Daniel Holly, Solomon Johnson, Israel Jones, John Jenkins, John Jameson, John Jolly, Jonathan Jenkins, Asa Ludington, Asa Lyon, George Minard, Richard Manning, Ephraim McCoy, Thomas McClure, John McDonnor, Capt. David Marvin, John Murphy, "Samuel Moore (an Indian)", Darius Mead, — Manvil, Jedidiah Olcott, Short Olcott, Paul Pelton, John Perkins, David Phillips, Abel Peirce, Gideon Pelton, James Ray, Robert Rath, William Stewart, Jabez Sill, Lemuel Smith, John Starling, Oliver Smith, Ichabod Shaw, Lazarus Stewart, Jr., "Isaac Tripp, Esq.", Parshall Terry, Francis Verpilion, Aaron Wilder, Isaac Warner, Thomas Weeks, William Warner, — Wells and Robert Young.

In compliance with the vote of The Susquehanna Company (see page 652, *ante*), the Standing Committee arranged with the Rev. George Beckwith, Jr.,* of Lyme, Connecticut, an "orthodox minister of the Gospel,"

*GEORGE BECKWITH, JR., was born at Lyme, New London County, Connecticut, about 1741, the eldest son of the Rev. George Beckwith, Sr., and his wife Sarah, daughter of Nathaniel and Sarah (Bacon) Brown of Middletown, Connecticut. George Beckwith, Sr., was born at Lyme in 1703, the son of Matthew Beckwith, Jr., who was a seaman and who resided for awhile in Guilford, Connecticut, then in New London and finally in Lyme, where he died June 4, 1727. George Beckwith, Sr., was graduated at Yale College in 1728, and January 22, 1730, was ordained the first pastor of the Congregational Church then lately organized in the North Parish, or North Society, of Lyme, now called Hamburg. (See page 635.) In March, 1755, he was appointed by the General Assembly of Connecticut, and commissioned by Governor Fitch, "Chaplain for the regiments ordered to be raised" for the expedition against Crown Point (see page 297, Vol. I), and in September, 1755, he was present at the battle of Lake George. He referred to it subsequently in one of his published sermons in these words: "I was myself an eye-witness of that great action, and saw the salvation of the Lord on that day, the particulars of which are carefully recorded in my journal of that expedition." Annually in March, from 1758 to 1761, inclusive, he was appointed and commissioned Chaplain of the 1st Regiment of Connecticut troops, and served in the campaigns against the French and Indians described on pages 481 and 482, Vol. I. From June 28, 1763, till September 10, 1777—when he resigned the office on account of infirmity—he was a Fellow of Yale College. During the course of his long and active life Mr. Beckwith published a number of sermons and essays. In 1762 and again in 1773 he was Moderator of the General Association of the Congregational Churches of Connecticut. He continued as the active pastor of the North Lyme Church until October, 1787, when he became emeritus pastor and the Rev. David Higgins succeeded him as pastor. Mr. Beckwith died at Lyme December 26, 1794, and his wife died there January 3, 1796.

In the year 1759—as shown by an original muster-roll in the Connecticut State Library, and by an original receipt-book in the collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society (see the last paragraph on page 635, *ante*)—George Beckwith, Jr., then eighteen years of age, was a private in the 9th Company (commanded by Capt. Zebulon Butler) of the 4th Regiment of Connecticut troops. With his younger brother, Nathaniel Brown Beckwith, George Beckwith, Jr., was graduated a Bachelor of Arts at Yale College in 1766, and in 1769 received from the college the degree of Master of Arts. One of his college classmates was Jared Ingersoll, Jr. (son of the Hon. Jared Ingersoll mentioned on page 488, Vol. I),

to repair to Wyoming to officiate as pastor for the settlers. He arrived at Fort Durkee about the last of June, 1770, and continued there in the performance of his duties until the latter part of September, when the Yankees and their adherents were all driven from the valley—as is fully described hereinafter.

From the journals of the Moravian missionaries* at *Friedenshütten* (previously mentioned) we glean the following, under the date of June 16, 1770:

"There arrived here two Mohawks, sent by the Six Nations with a message and a belt to the New Englanders at Wyoming, to the effect that if they, the New Englanders, delayed evacuating the valley they [the Mohawks] would come down and take them by the hair of their heads and shake them. Colonel Croghan† and Dr. Forbes here, and left soon for Wyoming."

Whether or not the Mohawks above referred to continued their journey to Wyoming, we are unable to state.

About the middle of June—the work of surveying the five "settling" townships being well under way—the matter of assigning to the several townships the various proprietor-settlers then on the ground was accomplished; whereupon some of the proprietors (not singly, but in bands and companies) began to make improvements in their respective townships—continuing, however, to dwell at Fort Durkee, to which place of safety they returned each evening.

The surveying and plotting of the township of Wilkes-Barré having been completed in the manner previously described, a "drawing of lots" took place at Fort Durkee on Friday, June 29th. Slips of paper, upon which were written the names of the township proprietors present to participate in the drawing, were placed in a hat, while in another hat were deposited slips bearing the numbers—"1" to "50"—of all the lots in a particular division of the township. Then from the one hat a "number" slip was drawn, and simultaneously a "name" slip was drawn from the other hat, and to the bearer of the name thus drawn the lot corresponding to the number which "came out" was formally allotted. This process was carried out with respect to the distribution of the lots in each of the four divisions of the township. Owing, however, to the destruction and loss of many of the early records of The Susquehanna Company and of the township of Wilkes-Barré, we are unable to give any detailed information concerning the distribution of the Wilkes-Barré lots on June 29, 1770, beyond what is contained in an original document prepared on or shortly after that date, and now in the possession of a Member of Congress from Pennsylvania and the first Attorney General of Pennsylvania under the Constitution of 1790. F. B. Dexter, in his "Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College," states (III : 172) that George Beckwith, Jr., "studied theology, and is first heard of as exercising his gifts as a preacher at Wyoming in the Susquehanna country, where he arrived with the Colony called the 'First Forty,' in February, 1769. He remained there till late in 1770." The latter part of this statement—which is based on a somewhat similar statement made in Pearce's "Annals of Luzerne County" (page 278)—is, of course, erroneous, as Mr. Beckwith did not come to Wyoming Valley until June, 1770, and he left in the following September, as mentioned above. A tutorship in Yale College was offered him in October, 1770, states Mr. Dexter, but was not accepted.

October 22, 1772, the Rev. George Beckwith, Jr., "was ordained to the pastoral care of the Second Congregational Church in the town of Litchfield, Litchfield County, Connecticut. The Rev. George Beckwith, Sr., of Lyme, preached a sermon suitable to the occasion, and gave the charge." Mr. Beckwith was the first pastor of this Church, which was located in the parish of Litchfield South Farms, now Morris. "His career as a clergyman," states Mr. Dexter, "was clouded by some misconduct, which led to his dismissal in 1781." Shortly afterwards he removed to Great Barrington, Massachusetts, where he engaged in the practise of medicine, returning, however, in the course of a few years to Litchfield South Farms. In 1790 he was expelled from the Church there on account of drunkenness. About 1807 he removed to Triangle Township, Broome County, New York, where he resided with his son George until his death—which occurred in October, 1824, from a stroke of paralysis. For a considerable period prior to his death he was partially deranged. He was married about 1774 to Rachel, daughter of Capt. John and Sarah (*Webster*) Marsh of Litchfield, Connecticut, who died at Triangle, New York, in May, 1825, aged eighty-two years. Besides the son George mentioned above two daughters, at least, were born to the Rev. George Beckwith, Jr., and his wife Rachel.

* See "Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society," I : 200.

† Col. GEORGE CROGHAN, mentioned on page 347, Vol. I.

sion of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. A copy of that document is here printed for the first time, as follows:

"DRAFT OF THE LOTTS as they came out by Lottery of the 2D DIVISION* in the Town of WILKS BARRE.

Ely Mead,	No. 26.	James Geers,	No. 29.
Ebenezer Hibbard,	" 42.	Aaron Wilder,	" 8.
James Bidlack,	" 33.	Reuben Farnum,	" 39.
Daniel Brown,	" 48.	Isaac Bennit,	" 19.
Daniel Gore,	" 20.	Jabez Fish,	" 13.
Peregreen Gardner,	" 36.	John Collins,	" 1.
Henry Heffelfinger,	" 50.	Asa Gore,	" 2.
Samuel Pelton,	" 7.	Daniel Hanes,	" 9.
Silas Gore,	" 27.	Asa Ludington,	" 44.
Jonathan Weeks,	" 15.	William Warner,	" 43.
Robert Hopkins,	" 18.	David Mead,	" 31.
George Minard,	" 40.	Stephen Fuller,	" 16.
Ichabod Downing,	" 45.	James Grimes,	" 12.
David Beckwith,	" 3.	Joseph Morse,	" 32.
John Stephens,	" 25.	Levi Farnum,	" 28.
Frederick Smith,	" 4.	William Comstock,	" 14.
Andrew Cypher,	" 6.	Thomas Fish,	" 21.
Ichabod Hyde,	" 5.	Ebenezer Farnum,	" 24.

"The above is a true entry of the Draft of Lotts as they came up against the several names† at the meeting June 29th, A. D. 1770. [Signed] "CHRIST AVERY,‡ Clerk."

* See the draft of the town-plot (the "2d Division") on page 655.

† It will be noticed that the names of only thirty-six men appear in this list. Whether or not those men were the only proprietors who, at that time, had been assigned to Wilkes-Barré, it is now impossible to tell. It would appear, however, from the following minute recorded on page 580 of Book "C" of the original transactions of The Susquehanna Company (referred to on page 28, Vol. I), that in 1770 there was at least one other proprietor who had drawn lots in Wilkes-Barré.

"Whereas Jonathan Hebard of Windham, in the State of Connecticut, has stated to the Commissioners of The Susquehanna Company that he settled at Wilksbarre in 1769; that he was there a settler a great part of two years, when he found a certain Conrad Baker to do his duty, who was accepted by the Committee. That *he drew a right* throughout the town of Wilksbarre; that said Conrad being taken prisoner the lot was assigned to some other person; that said Jonathan could never gain his said right. That he also did sundry services for the Company, for which he hath not had compensation—and he now applies for compensation in lands elsewhere. It is therefore agreed by the Commissioners that the said Jonathan Hebard have liberty to lay out to his own use 1,000 acres upon any of the unappropriated lands in the Company's Purchase. Certified by order of the Commissioners at Athens, 20 June, 1795.

[Signed] "JOHN FRANKLIN, Clerk."

‡ CHRISTOPHER AVERY (mentioned on pages 512, 515 and 629, and on subsequent pages), was a native of Groton, New London County, Connecticut, being fifth in descent from Christopher Avery of Gloucester, Massachusetts. This Christopher was one of the Selectmen of Gloucester between 1646 and 1654. About 1665 he removed to New London, Connecticut, where he purchased a house and lot in the town-plot. In October, 1669, he was made a freeman. He died before 1685. His son James, who was born in England in 1620 and came with his father to Gloucester, and removed thence to New London in 1650, settled between 1660 and 1670 in that part of the town of New London known as Poquonock (on the east side of the River Thames) and which in May, 1705, was erected into the town of Groton. James Avery took an important part in the affairs of New London. He was Townsman for twenty-three years up to 1680. He was successively Ensign, Lieutenant and Captain of a train-band in the town, and was in active service in King Philip's War in 1675. Prior to 1680 he served twelve times as a Deputy from New London in the General Court, or Assembly, of Connecticut. Captain Avery built at Poquonock (Groton) the house known as "The Hive of the Avers," and which stood there until only a few years ago. The site of this old homestead was marked in 1900 by a handsome memorial erected by the descendants of Captain Avery. He was married November 10, 1643, to Johanna Greenslade, and they became the parents of nine children. Captain Avery died at Poquonock in 1700.

Samuel Avery, the youngest child of Capt. James and Johanna (Greenslade) Avery, was born at New London August 14, 1664. The first town-meeting of Groton was held in December, 1705, and Samuel Avery acted as Moderator. At that meeting he was chosen First Townsman, and thereafter was annually re-chosen to that office until near the time of his death in 1723. In 1709, '16, '18 and '19 he was a Representative from Groton to the General Court of the Colony. In May, 1716, he was established and commissioned Captain of the Groton train-band. In 1718 Captain Avery was chosen Town Clerk of Groton and in that office he served until his death, when he was succeeded by Lieut. Christopher Avery. The wife of Capt. Samuel Avery was Susannah Palmes, and they were the parents of several children—one of whom, Col. Christopher Avery (born February 10, 1697; died January 17, 1768), was a Representative from Groton in the General Assembly of Connecticut from 1738 to 1764, inclusive.

Humphrey Avery, a younger son of Capt. Samuel and Susannah (Palmes) Avery, was born July 4, 1699, in what is now Groton. From 1732 to 1743, inclusive, he was one of the Deputies from Groton to the General Assembly. He was a skilled surveyor, and in 1733 was appointed by the General Assembly one of the Surveyors of Lands in and for New London County. From 1735 to 1751, inclusive, he was a Justice of the Peace in and for New London County. In 1737 he was one of the Commissioners for Connecticut appointed "to perambulate" the Connecticut-Rhode Island boundary-line. About 1744 or '45 Humphrey Avery removed with his family from Groton to the town of Preston, adjoining Norwich, in New London County, and in 1747 he was a Deputy from Preston to the General Assembly. In the "Colonial Records of Connecticut," IX: 537, we find in the proceedings of the General Assembly for May, 1750, the following: "Upon a memorial of Humphrey Avery of Preston, shewing to this Assembly the great difficulty and distress himself and family are brought to by his dwelling-house and household goods, cloaths, &c., being consumed by fire; praying for relief from this Assembly. Resolved by this Assembly that the memorialist have out of the publick treasury of this Colony the sum of £2,100 in bills of credit of the old tenor on the Colony of Rhode Island or New Hampshire, for the space of two years, interest free—provided he give bond with good and sufficient sureties * * for the repayment of the like sum at the expiration of said two years." Mr. Avery repaid this loan in 1754.

In October, 1752, Capt. William Witter was appointed by the General Assembly Surveyor of Lands in and for New London County "instead of Mr. Humphrey Avery, who has moved away." (See "Colonial

At Easton, Pennsylvania, only a few days before the abovementioned drawing of lots took place, the "Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace and Gaol Delivery in and for the County of Northampton" convened, and action was taken with reference to the alleged riots at Wyoming—which was probably the most important business of the term. Amos Ogden, John Murphy, Charles Stewart, Alexander Patterson, John Dick and Thomas Craig were examined under oath by the Grand Jury, whereupon that body made a presentment to the Court, the formal document being drawn up by the Hon. Andrew Allen, Attorney General of Pennsylvania, and reading, in part, as follows* :

"The Grand Inquest * * do present that LAZARUS STEWART, late of the same County, yeoman, JOHN DURKEE, late of the same County, yeoman, and JOHN COCHRAN, late of the same County, yeoman, and divers others persons to this Inquest as yet un-

Records of Connecticut," X: 149.) Humphrey Avery undoubtedly lived in Windham County, Connecticut, from 1753 till 1759. In the year last mentioned he located in the town of Norwich, New London County, and there he resided until within a few years of his death, when he moved back to Groton. From 1760 to 1773, inclusive, he was a Justice of the Peace in and for New London County. May 14, 1772, he wrote from Norwich to Capt. Zebulon Butler at Wilkes-Barré as follows: "Christopher, Samuel and William [Avery] intend soon to be with you, and mean to plant what they can. Remember me to Mr. Johnson, * * and be kind to Mr. Johnson." (This was the Rev. Jacob Johnson, formerly minister of the Groton Congregational Church, and then at Wilkes-Barré.) Humphrey Avery died at Groton March 28, 1788. His wife was Jerusha Morgan, and they were the parents of ten sons who "were great travelers and land-owners. They all owned land—some in New Hampshire, some in Vermont, others in Pennsylvania and others in New York."

Solomon, son of Humphrey and Jerusha (*Morgan*) Avery, was born at Groton June 17, 1729. He settled in Norwich about the time his father removed there, and from Norwich he immigrated to Wyoming Valley. In the Summer of 1772 he drew Lot No. 36 in the town-plot of Wilkes-Barré (see page 655), and lots in the three other divisions of the township. May 15, 1780, he was admitted a proprietor in the township of Putnam in the Susquehanna Purchase. In 1786 he was residing in the township of Wilkes-Barré, but a few years later he removed with his family to Putnam Township, then in Luzerne County, Pennsylvania. May 8, 1798, he deeded to his sons Solomon, Miles, Stephen, Punderson and Henry part of Lot No. 11 in Putnam Township. Another of his sons—who was then residing in Putnam Township—was Cyrus Avery. Solomon Avery died in Putnam Township—at what is now Tunkhannock, Wyoming County, Pennsylvania—December 23, 1798. In September, 1799, his son Miles resided at Great Barrington, Massachusetts, and Henry resided at Livingston, Columbia County, New York.

Samuel, son of Humphrey Avery, was born at Groton October 17, 1731. In 1762 he was still living in Groton, but prior to October, 1769 (see page 513, Vol. I) he had removed to Norwich. In the Summer of 1772 he removed from Norwich to Wilkes-Barré. In *The Luzerne Federalist* (Wilkes-Barré) of April 4, 1803, it was stated that "the first man who made a fence and cut a road in Wilkesbarre" was Samuel Avery, who then (1803) resided at or near Tioga Point (now Athens), Pennsylvania. This statement, undoubtedly, is erroneous. How long Samuel Avery remained in Wyoming Valley we are unable to state. In 1795 he was an inhabitant of Vermont (see further in a subsequent chapter), but about 1796 he removed to Tioga Point, abovementioned. He was the author of a pamphlet of 150 pages which was printed at Wilkes-Barré in 1803 by Asher and Charles Miner, and which was entitled: "The Susquehanna Controversy Examined; the material objection against the Connecticut title or claim answered, with some general reasoning on the whole matter (done with truth and candour)." Samuel Avery died at Owego, New York, August 14, 1805.

CHRISTOPHER AVERY, son of Humphrey and Jerusha (*Morgan*) Avery, was born at Groton May 3, 1739. He removed with his parents to Preston, and in 1758 or '59 accompanied them to Norwich, where he was living in 1762. August 24, 1762, he purchased a half-right in The Susquehanna Company's Purchase, and December 1, 1762, he purchased a whole right, which he sold to his father August 30, 1773. As noted on page 284, Vol. I, Christopher Avery bought of Benedict Arnold and his sister two rights in the Susquehanna Purchase. Certificates for these rights were issued August 30, 1773, and under one of them 300 acres of land were laid out to Christopher Avery in Putnam Township in 1776. Christopher Avery came to Wyoming from Norwich in May, 1769, with the company of settlers led by Major Durkee. (See page 487.) He was not here, apparently, in 1771, nor in the Spring of 1772, but arrived at Wilkes-Barré June 18, 1772—from which time until his death he resided here, and was active in the affairs of the settlement. At the drawing of lots in Wilkes-Barré in 1772 Jordan Hopson drew Lot No. 41 in the town-plot (see page 655) and lots in the other divisions of the township. Later in that year Hopson's rights were forfeited, and Christopher Avery became the possessor of the lots in question. A few years later Mr. Avery became the owner, also, of Lot No. 2 in the town-plot of Wilkes-Barré, and after his death his administrator sold the lot to Thomas Neill of Wilkes-Barré, who, the same day (October 18, 1786), sold to Jacob Fridley for £62, 10sh. the lot "and likewise one house-frame now [then] on said lot, 2,600 brick, 2,000 feet of boards, 2,000 pine shingles three feet long—all to be delivered on said lot." January 27, 1792, Jacob Fridley, abovementioned, sold Lot No. 2 to Thomas Wright of Wilkes-Barré, who, April 1, 1800, sold the same to Arnold Colt for \$2,600. Christopher Avery was one of the original Ensigns of the 24th Regiment, Connecticut Militia. (See Chapter XII.) He was killed at the battle of Wyoming, July 3, 1778, and at the time of his death was one of the Justices of the Peace in and for the county of Westmoreland. His brother Solomon was appointed administrator of his estate, the inventory of which (real and personal), made September 22, 1778, amounted to £1,069, 11sh. So far as known Christopher Avery was never married. (For further mention of him see other pages in this history.)

William Avery, a settler at Wyoming, whose name is mentioned several times in these pages, was a brother of Samuel, Solomon and Christopher Avery. He was born at Groton September 13, 1726, and was married at Preston, Connecticut, September 27, 1749, to Hannah Meach. They had children, Cynthia, Jerusha, William, Humphrey, Elisha, and perhaps others. William Avery came to Wilkes-Barré in the latter part of 1772 or early in 1773. His name appears in the "rate bills", or tax lists, "for Wilkesbarre District" for the years 1776, 1777, 1778 and 1781—the only lists of that early period now in existence, so far as known. It is doubtful (judging by the tax list) if any of his immediate family were here with him in 1781. He was still here in September, 1782, at which time he became surety for Daniel Dana, Administrator of the estate of Anderson Dana, deceased. William Avery was a private in the 24th Regiment, Connecticut Militia, and was at the battle of Wyoming, July 3, 1778. In the following October he was at the Wyoming Post (Wilkes-Barré) under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Butler. (See Chapters XV and XVI.) He removed from Wyoming Valley to northern Vermont probably about 1785 or '86.

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, XVIII: 615.

known, on the 30th day of April, in the year of our Lord, 1770, at Wyoming, in the County aforesaid, did unlawfully, riotously and routously assemble and gather together to disturb the Peace of our said Lord the King; and so being then and there assembled and gathered together, in and upon one JOHN MURPHY, in the peace of God and our said Lord the King then and there being, unlawfully, riotously and routously did make an assault, and him the said JOHN MURPHY unlawfully, riotously and routously did beat, wound and ill treat, so that of his life it was greatly despaired; * * and without legal warrant or justifiable cause did imprison and detain for the space of sixteen days."

The records of the Court show that Major Durkee subsequently appeared, pleaded "not guilty," and put "himself upon the County."

At Philadelphia, June 28, 1770, the day before the Wilkes-Barré lands were distributed by lottery, Gov. John Penn issued the following proclamation,* which was printed, not only in the newspapers of Philadelphia, but in the form of a broadside, copies of which were duly distributed throughout eastern Pennsylvania.

"WHEREAS, a number of Persons, chiefly of the Colony of Connecticut, have lately, as well as at different Times heretofore, without any License or Grant from the Honorable the Proprietaries of this Province, or authority from this Government, made Attempts to possess themselves of and settle upon a large Tract of Land within the known Limits of this Province, lying at and between Wyoming, on the River Susquehanna, and Cushietunk on the River Delaware.

"AND WHEREAS, I have lately received intelligence that divers People of the said Colony of Connecticut have persuaded and enveigled many of the Inhabitants of this Province to join them, and with their Assistance have, with Force and Arms, *in the most hostile and warlike manner*, not only possessed themselves of the lands at and near Wyoming, * * but have also, in the same hostile and warlike manner, driven and expelled from their lawful Settlements and Possessions divers Persons there settled by lawful Authority under the said Proprietaries, burned their Houses, killed their Cattle and other stock, destroyed their other Effects, and imprisoned the persons of many of them, in open Defiance of all Law and Justice.

"WHEREFORE, as well to assert the just Rights of the Proprietaries of this Province to the said Lands, as to warn and prevent any of the Inhabitants of this Province from being unwarily drawn in to join the said Intruders in prosecuting their illegal settlements, I have, by and with the advice of the Council, judged it proper to issue this my Proclamation, hereby strictly enjoining and requiring, in His Majesty's Name, all and every Person and persons already settled and residing on the said lands without the license of the Proprietaries or authority from this Government, immediately to evacuate their settlements and to depart and remove themselves off and from the said lands without delay. And I do hereby forbid all His Majesty's subjects of this or any other Province * * to intrude upon, settle or possess any of the aforesaid lands or any other lands within the limits of this Province, without the express permission of this Government—as they will answer the contrary at their peril. * *

"AND I DO HEREBY DECLARE, that all and every person or persons who have joined or shall join the said intruders in supporting or holding their present illegal and unjust possessions, or in making further settlements within this Province, shall not only be deprived of the benefit of taking up any lands within this Province, but shall be treated with the utmost strictness in respect to any lands they have heretofore taken up, or do possess under the said Proprietaries, which have not been fully paid for. And I do hereby strictly charge, enjoin and require all Magistrates, Sheriffs and other officers, as well as all other His Majesty's liege subjects within this Province, to exert themselves and use their utmost endeavors to prosecute and bring to Justice all offenders in the premises."

At the same time the Governor issued special commissions to Col. Turbutt Francis† and Capt. Samuel Hunter‡—both residing at Fort Augusta, then within the bounds of the county of Berks—appointing them Justices of the Peace in and for said county.

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," IX: 679.

† Mentioned on page 489, Vol. I. According to a statement made by Tench Coxe, Esq., in 1800 (see "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, XVIII: 740), Colonel Francis died in 1777.

‡ SAMUEL HUNTER, mentioned on page 419, Vol. I, was born in county Donegal, Ireland, in 1732. He was commissioned Captain in the Pennsylvania service November 10, 1763, and served in the Bouquet campaign of 1764. He resided at or near Fort Augusta (now Sunbury), Pennsylvania, from 1763, at least, until his death in April, 1784. February 8, 1776, he was commissioned Colonel of the 1st Battalion, Northumberland Associators (Pennsylvania Militia), and from March 21, 1777, till his death he held the office of County Lieutenant of Northumberland County, with the rank of Colonel. He made his headquarters at Fort Augusta (he owned the land upon which it was built), and was in command of the military department of the West Branch. He was a brave and generous man.

The following is a copy of the original minutes* (in the handwriting of Ebenezer Gray, Jr., mentioned on page 292, Vol. I) of a meeting held at Fort Durkee. These minutes are now printed for the first time.

"Att a meeting of the Committee of Settlers on the Susquah^a Lands July 19th 1770 at WILKESBARRE.

"Present—Maj. John Durkee, *President*; Capt. Zebⁿ Butler, Isaac Tripp, Esq^r, Capt. David Marvin, John Jenkins, Timothy Hopkins, Benjⁿ Follett, William Buck, Stephⁿ Fuller, Thomas Dyer, Eben^r Gray, Jun^r, *Committee of Settlers*.

"*Voted* that Nath^l Wales† hath not any right in the Forty Township on account or by reason his Laying out s^d Township.

"*Voted* that Nathan Walsworth on Benajah Pendleton's right in the Forty Township be precluded any right in said Township, because s^d Pendleton hath not performed the service & condition of the Grant of s^d Township to s^d settlers, but hath been absent since the Two Hundred first settlers came on the Land, until this June.

"*Voted* that Allen Whitman's right in said Forty Township be vacant & forfeit according to the vote of the settlers on s^d land last Octob^r.

"*Voted* that Doct^r Andrew Metcalf's‡ right in s^d Forty Township be vacant & forfeit in s^d Township on the same account that Wales was excluded.§

"it appeared to this Committee that Douglass Woodworth refused to pay 13 Dollars, according to the vote of the settlers, on account of Allen Whitman's right, and said that if he must Purchase he would purchase on his [own] account.

"Meeting per adjournment, July 20th, [1770].

"It is the opinion of this Committee that Ozias Yale on Benjⁿ Yale's Right & John Jolly on Job Yale's right, on supposition that the vote of the Proprietors relative to their right in the Forty Township at their meeting at Hartford in June last had never been, are not Intitled by anything that they have done to any right in the Forty Township.||

"*Voted* that John Holley be admitted [and] John Holley be accepted on Zerub^e Jearum's right in the 40 Township.¶

"*Voted* that Maj. John Durkee, Mr. John McDole [McDowel] and Eben^r Gray, Jun^r, be and they are hereby placed & put into the Forty Township and be Intitled to their equal rights & Shares in s^d Township as fully as any others in s^d Township, being on the vacant rights of the Forty."**

In London, July 13, 1770, Lord Hillsborough and others, composing the Board of Trade, reported to the Right Honorable the Lords of the Committee of the Council for Plantation Affairs that, pursuant to their Lordships' orders of May 25, 1770, they had taken into consideration the petition of Thomas and Richard Penn, Esquires. They stated further††:

"The request contained in the Proprietaries' petition that the Governor and Company of Connecticut be ordered to set forth their claim (if they have any) to the lands in question appears to us to be a very proper one, and to contain the only matters necessary for His Majesty's consideration in the case to which their petition refers. * * We are clearly of the opinion that the forcible intrusion alleged by the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania is a matter entirely within the jurisdiction of this Province, and that it would be both unnecessary and improper for His Majesty to interpose his authority in a case where there is not the least colour of a plea that the Charter of the Province of Pennsylvania does not contain the powers necessary to the decision of any suits which may be brought into the Courts there, in cases where the title to lands may be in question; nor that the state of the Province does not afford the means to support the execution of the laws, preserve the public peace and enforce the legal process of the magistrates and Courts of judicature."

A copy of this report was sent to Henry Wilmot, Esq., Bloomsbury Square, London, the solicitor of Thomas and Richard Penn, and after a consultation with his clients he forwarded the copy in question to the

* In the possession of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

† NATHANIEL WALES, 3d, mentioned in a note on page 640, *ante*.

‡ See F. C. Johnson's "Historical Record" (Wilkes-Barré, 1887), I: 70.

§ On this resolution Messrs. Butler, Follett, Tripp, Jenkins, Buck and Dyer voted "Yea," and Messrs. Hopkins and Gray voted "Nay."

¶ On this "opinion," or declaration, Messrs. Jenkins, Butler, Buck, Fuller, Follett, Tripp, Dyer, Durkee and Gray voted "Yea"; Marvin voted "Nay"; and Hopkins "said nothing."

|| On this resolution Messrs. Dyer, Gray, Marvin, Fuller, Hopkins, Follett, Butler and Durkee voted "Yea," and Messrs. Buck, Jenkins and Tripp voted "Nay."

** On this resolution Messrs. Fuller, Gray, Dyer, Hopkins, Buck and Follett voted "Yea"; Durkee voted "Nay"; and Tripp "said nothing."

†† See an original contemporaneous copy—never heretofore printed—among the collections of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

agents of the Proprietaries at Philadelphia, together with a letter dated August 13, 1770, in which he wrote, among other things, the following* :

"The Lords of the Council have made no further report, and the Lord President is out of town, so that nothing further will be done by their Lordships till the Winter. There is not the least doubt but that their report to His Majesty will be conformable to this of the Board of Trade, and the dispute *not being between Colony and Colony* the Proprietaries will be left to get rid of these intruders as they can. The Proprietaries, therefore, must get rid of them as they can, *at any expence!* They are settled in Pennsylvania, and the laws of that Province must remove 'em! Will the Assembly, upon an application to them, do nothing to assist? May not the publication of the report of the Lords of Trade, shewing that Connecticut disavows any right, and that no assistance can be expected from them, be of use with some of the most rational of the intruders? Will it be of use to offer them the lands they have at the usual rents, or even at *less?* In short, you who are upon the spot are the best judges what steps are to be taken." * * *

At London, August 20, 1770, Dr. Samuel William Johnson wrote to Governor Trumbull of Connecticut as follows :

* * * "We are, I trust, happily delivered from any apprehension of further trouble from Mr. Penn's petition to the Crown relative to the Susquehanna lands. * * We received a summons to attend the Board of Trade. I attended with our solicitor, Mr. [Thomas] Life, and their Lordships were pleased to give me an opportunity to state to them at large the claim of The Susquehanna Company, their proceedings from the beginning, the ground of their title, the part the Colony had taken in the affair, etc."

During June and July the settlers at Wyoming made and stacked a large crop of hay; early in August they began to harvest a bountiful crop of wheat from the sowing of the previous Autumn (see page 628); the corn which had been planted in May was growing finely, and health, happiness and feelings of gratification and of comparative safety prevailed among the settlers. About the middle of August Major Durkee, accompanied by Elisha Avery,† a surveyor, and two or three members of the Committee of Settlers, left Fort Durkee on horseback for the West Branch of the Susquehanna—in what is now northern Northumberland County.‡ There, as is shown by the following extracts from original records, rights were disposed of, and lands were surveyed within the bounds of, the Susquehanna Purchase. The following is a copy of a receipt recorded on page 176, Book "B," of The Susquehanna Company's records (mentioned on page 28, Vol. I):

"*West Branch Susq^h August 27, 1770.* Received of WILLIAM SPEEDY £6 Lawful money, which intitles him to one half-right or -share of land in the Susquehannah Purchase so called.

"*Teste, JOHN DURKEE.*"

August 29, 1770, Major Durkee received from Daniel and Isaiah Old their note for £6, in return for one half-right. The following paragraphs are extracts from page 1,288 of "The Town Book of Wilkes Barre," described in the third paragraph on page 27, Vol. I.

"*28th August, 1770.* These certify that as Mr. MARK HULING, JR., has in times past done signal services to ye Susquehannah Company, do give unto ye s^d Mark one-quarter of a Right or Shair of Land in ye Susquehannah Purchase so called. By order of s^d Company.

[Signed] "JOHN DURKEE, President of settlers."

"A survey of a tract of land lying on ye River & up Lime Stone Run, § known by that Name. Done by order of Maj. John Durkee for MARCUS HULING. S^d tract contains 374 acres & 87 Perches—which survey was made ye 22d Day of Sept^r, 1770.

[Signed] "ELISHA AVERY, Surveyor."

About the last of August Capt. Lazarus Stewart and a number of the Lancastrians left Fort Durkee for Lancaster County, intending to return with their families in November. A few days later Major Durkee and some of his companions returned from the West Branch.

* The original letter, heretofore unprinted, is now in the possession of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and appended to it is the following memorandum made by the Proprietaries: "We do approve of the contents of this letter, and desire all legal means may be used for the removal of these Intruders."

† Undoubtedly a member of the Avery family of New London County, Connecticut. See note, page 662.

‡ See, farther on in this Chapter, the "Map of a Part of Pennsylvania as it is to-day."

§ Limestone Run is in what is now Turbutt Township, Northumberland County.

Although the Colony of Connecticut did not at that time claim jurisdiction over the Wyoming region, yet a large majority of the settlers then at Fort Durkee were citizens of Connecticut and familiar with the laws of that Colony and the methods of their enforcement. It is not surprising to learn, therefore, that at an early date in the history of the settlement certain Connecticut laws were introduced here for the good of the community, and were duly enforced by officers of the law who had been appointed by the General Assembly and commissioned by the Governor of Connecticut to exercise their respective offices in their several home towns. One of the earliest evidences of this fact now in existence—so far as the present writer can learn—is an original writ in the possession of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, and reading, in part, as follows :

"To WILKS BARRE COUNTY Sheriff, His Deputy or the Constable of said Wilksbarre —*Greeting* : In His Majesty's name you are hereby commanded to summon JOHN HENRY VANDEGOR of said Wilksbarre to appear before JOHN DURKEE, Esqr., one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for sd county at his dwelling-house at Wilksbarre within sd county on the 14th day of Sept^r *inst.* * * to answer unto ELEAZAR CARY of sd Wilksbarre in an action of the case. * * * Dated at Wilksbarre the 7th day of Sept^r 1770. [Signed] "SILAS PARK, Justice of the Peace."

It seems (according to the testimony adduced in this case) that Eleazar Carey, who was a proprietor in The Susquehanna Company, had in his house in Wilkes-Barré in September, 1769, "six bushels of Indian corn worth 24 shillings ; 50 feet of split plank of oak, well secured and laid for the use of a floor overhead in his said house, for his own use—worth 12 shillings." Sometime in the month of January or February, 1770 (while Fort Durkee—of which Carey's "house" formed a part—was in the possession of the Pennamites), "said corn and plank, by means to him [the said Carey] unknown, came into possession of the Defendant, who converted the same to his own use." The defendant, Vandegor, was either a New Jerseyman or a Pennsylvanian, who, prior to June, 1770, had been admitted as a settler by the New Englanders.

From the journals* of the missionaries at *Friedenshütten* (Wyalusing) we glean, under the date of September 8, 1770 :

"The English clergyman residing at Anohochquage,† with his interpreter—a locksmith by trade—called on his way to Wyoming and spent a day with us. His name is Mosell.‡ October 1st he returned, and stated that he had been at Bethlehem."

The first note of discord among the Yankee settlers at Fort Durkee—so far as we can learn—was sounded in a petition§ to The Susquehanna Company, dated "at Fort Durkee in Wilksbarre, September 10, 1770", and signed by Richard Brockway, Samuel Gaylord, Oliver Smith, Asahel Atherton, Elias Roberts, Thomas Bennet, Elijah Buck, Elijah Harris,|| Peter Harris, Ezra Belding and Reuben Davis. These petitioners set forth that they had been admitted, by the committee appointed for the purpose, "settlers in the first five townships according to the vote at a meeting in December, 1768, and thereby, by virtue of the aforesaid vote, intitled each to the sum of £5 bounty given by said Company to each of the forty first settlers." Continuing, the petition recites :

* See "Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society," I : 208.

† Oghwaga, mentioned in the note on page 257, Vol. I.

‡ Perhaps the Rev. Richard Moseley, a missionary employed about that time by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, located at Litchfield, Connecticut.

§ See the original among the unpublished papers of Dr. William Samuel Johnson, in the possession of The Connecticut Historical Society.

|| ELIJAH HARRIS was not one of the "First Forty" (see Vol. I, page 478), but prior to June 28, 1770, had been "accepted on Peter Harris' right."

"That the Committee appointed to regulate and manage the affairs of said settlement was to receive and pay to each of said Forty the said bounty money, and did receive the same for that purpose ; but until this time have neglected and refused to pay the same to us the subscribers, or in any manner to settle the same, although we have repeatedly requested them to do the same. And whereas there was more than forty shillings granted to bear the expenses of some of us that was bound over to Easton Court, and paid to the aforesaid Committee, which money hath never been paid to those of us for whose use it was granted. We have great reason to believe that some of the Committee of said Forty have imbezzled the Company's money Intrusted with them, and converted the same to their own use ; and we have sufficient evidence and can fully prove that some of the aforesaid Committee have admitted sundry persons into said number of Forty Settlers on condition that they would not require the bounty of £5 granted, and would permit said Committee to retain the same in their hands, and would not admit them without."

The petitioners also declared, further, that the committee had required payments of money from some men for the privilege of being admitted as settlers. In conclusion they (the petitioners) asked "to have said committee of the Forty render an account, and order the payments due to be made."

At the Northampton County Court of Quarter Sessions, held at Easton about the middle of September, 1770, the Grand Jury made a presentment* setting forth that *Daniel Angell*, Christopher Avery, *Conrad Baker*, *Conrad Baker, Jr.*, Nathan Beach, Thomas Bennet, Asa Buck, William Buck, *Ezra Buell*, Zebulon Butler, *Jonathan Carrington*, *Aaron Clawson*, John Collins, John De Long, John Donnel, Valentine Doran, *John Dorrance*, Ichabod Downing, Oliver Durkee, *George Espy*, Joseph Espy, Roasel Franklin, *Jabez Fish*, Thomas French, Benjamin Follett, Stephen Fuller, John Gardner, Peregrine Gardner, Samuel Gaylord, Daniel Gore, Obadiah Gore, Silas Gore, James Grimes, *Daniel Haines*, Ebenezer Hibbard, William Hibbard, Ichabod Hyde, Matthew Holliboy [*Matthias Hollenback*], John Jenkins, Palmer Jenkins, *Solomon Johnson*, John Jolley, Crocker Jones, *Jesse Kenney*, Peter Kidd, Robert Kidd, John Laird, Asa Ludington, John Lyons, Thomas McClure, David Marvin, Samuel Marvin, *Uriah Marvin*, Darius Mead, David Mead, Eli Mead, Joseph Morse, Silas Park, Abel Peirce, John Peirce, *Gideon Pelton*, Nicholas Philipson, James Ray, William Ray, *Robert Ross*, *Andrew Seiffers*, John Skeels, Lazarus Stewart, Lazarus Stewart, Jr., William Stewart, John Simpson, Oliver Smith, Timothy Smith, Nathaniel Solomon, Parshall Terry, Isaac Tripp, Samuel Uplinger, Ebenezer Vernon,† Levi Vernon,† Reuben Vernon,† Cornelius Vincent, Isaac Warner, Philip Weeks, Thomas Weeks, *Peter Welker*, Thomas Williams, *Zophar Williams*, Douglass Woodworth, David Young, Robert Young and William Young (ninety-one in number), "and divers other persons as yet to this Inquest unknown, on the second day of May, 1770, at Wyoming, in the County aforesaid, with force and arms, and with an intention the peace of the King to disturb, * * the close and dwelling-house of Amos Ogden, Esq., then and there did break and enter" and carry away goods and merchandise of the value of £100, current money of Pennsylvania.

Forthwith the Hon. George Taylor, Judge of the Court, issued a warrant containing all the names set forth in the foregoing presentment, with the exception of those printed herein in *italics*. The warrant was made returnable "to the next Court of Sessions of the Peace, to be held March 19, 1771," and was directed to the Sheriff of Northampton

* See a fragment of the original document in the collections of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

† Intended, without doubt, for FARNUM.

County, who was commanded to arrest all the persons named in the writ. The Sheriff immediately endorsed the warrant* as follows:

"I deputize and appoint NATHAN OGDEN, JAMES LAWSON and JOHN SEELY to execute this Process or Writt (with such others as they call to their assistance) upon all or any of the persons within named. [Signed] "PETER KACHLEIN,† Sheriff."

The warrant is endorsed also as follows: "First plea issued, returnable June, 1771"; and so on thereafter, from time to time, till the "eighteenth plea" was issued, returnable in September, 1775.

With this warrant in his hands, and his authority strengthened and his intended mission to Wyoming popularized by the Governor's proclamation of June 28th (see page 664), Nathan Ogden, aided by his Lieutenants Lawson and Seely, and by his brother Amos, Alexander Patterson, Capt. Thomas Craig and Capt. John Dick, raised without much difficulty a force of about 140 armed men in Northampton County, and on the 19th of September set out for Wyoming. The expedition began its march at Fort Allen, on the Lehigh (see page 339, Vol. I), and took the old and then little-used "Warrior Path" described on page 237.

Theretofore the Pennamites from New Jersey and southern Northampton County had always traveled to and from Wyoming over the "Pennamites' Path" (described on page 646), and therefore, to guard against a surprise by hostile invaders, that path alone was being watched by the Yankee sentinels. Ogden, doubting that his strength was sufficient to permit him to attack the Yankees openly and boldly, determined to overcome them by strategy. Having arrived in sight of Wyoming Mountain the Pennamites left the path for greater safety, and in the evening of September 21st encamped on the head-waters of Solomon's Creek. Kindling no fires, creating no smoke, giving no alarm, the expedition spent the night there. Early the next morning Ogden and a few of his companions ascended to the top of the mountain, whence, by the aid of a telescope, they observed the settlers leave Fort Durkee in detached parties to pursue their various occupations on the flats and uplands throughout the valley. It was decided to attack the settlers in that situation, and accordingly Ogden divided his force into several detachments, each being placed in charge of one of his trusty aids—Craig, Patterson, Dick and others. They were directed to make their way into the valley quickly, quietly and simultaneously, by different routes, and, as nearly as possible at the same time, to pounce upon the Yankees in the fields and hurry off with them to a designated place of rendezvous in Solomon's Gap. This plan worked admirably, and many men were taken prisoners; a number, however, succeeded in eluding the Pennamites and reaching Fort Durkee. Among the first of the Yankees to be captured was Maj. John Durkee, who, only a few days previously, had returned from his trip to the West Branch.

As the day drew to a close Ogden and his men retired from the valley to Solomon's Gap, and thence, with their Yankee prisoners, to the spot on the mountain where they had bivouacked during the preceding night. There was gloom and confusion in Fort Durkee at nightfall on

* The original writ is now in the collections of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

† PETER KACHLEIN, mentioned on page 507, Vol. I. (His surname is indiscriminately spelled Kuechlein, Kuechlein, Kechlein and Kachlein on original documents and records in Northampton County.) Having previously been Sheriff of that County he had again been elected to the office, as the successor of John Jennings. May 22, 1776, he was commissioned Captain of the Easton company in the Pennsylvania Associators (Militia); July 17, 1776, he was promoted and commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of the Northampton County Battalion of Associators, and March 3, 1780, he was appointed and commissioned County Lieutenant of Northampton County.

Saturday, September 22d. The position and number of the invaders were unknown, while on the other hand it was certainly known that a considerable number of the most effective men of the settlement had been captured. A consultation of the principal men in the fort was held, and it was concluded that, as they had in hand provisions and ammunition sufficient to last some time, they would send messengers to the friendly settlement at Cushetunk* on the Delaware for assistance. Four men were thereupon selected for this purpose, and shortly before midnight they departed on their mission. Taking it for granted that the "Upper Road to the Delaware" and the "Pennamites' Path" would be guarded by Ogden's men, the messengers determined to travel over the old "Warrior Path." Scarcely had they ascended the mountain, however, when they found themselves prisoners in the hands of the men they had expected to elude. From these reluctant captives Ogden learned of the confused condition of affairs at Fort Durkee, where there were only a few men with a considerable number of women and children.

Ogden's whole force—with the exception of the men detailed to guard the prisoners—was immediately put in motion, and before daylight (on Sunday, September 23d) had noiselessly arrived within a short distance of Fort Durkee. A storming party, under the command of Captain Craig,† having been detailed to begin the attack on the fort, the Captain stepped lightly forward in advance of his men, and, speaking in a low tone, as a friend, to the sentinel at the gate of the stockade, threw him off his guard, knocked him down, and rushed into the en-

* See pages 336, 390 and 391, Vol. I.

† THOMAS CRAIG, (JR.), was born in 1740 in what is now East Allen Township, Northampton County, Pennsylvania. His father was Thomas Craig, Sr., who was born near the close of the seventeenth century—probably in Philadelphia—the son of a Scots-Irish immigrant from Antrim in the North of Ireland. In 1728 Thomas Craig, Sr., his brother William, their sister Jane and her husband John Boyd, accompanied by the father of the Craigs, went from Philadelphia to the Forks of the Delaware and settled at the springs of Caladague Creek, about four miles from the present borough of Bath in East Allen Township, abovementioned. During the next few years they were joined by a number of other Scots-Irish families. At first this locality—extending from Menakasy Creek on the east to Hokendaugua Creek and the Lehigh River on the west—was known as "the Craig Settlement." Later it became known as "the Irish Settlement," and for many years Thomas Craig, Sr., William Craig and Hugh Wilson (a native of the North of Ireland) were the most influential men there.

When, in March, 1752, the Act of Assembly creating the county of Northampton was passed, Thomas Craig, Sr., was one of the four commissioners named in the Act to purchase a site and erect thereon a county court house and prison. He was also appointed a Justice of the Peace in and for the new county in May, 1752, and served in the office for a number of years. William Craig was also appointed a Justice of the Peace in May, 1752, but later in the year he was elected the first Sheriff of Northampton County. It was he who visited Wyoming Valley in December, 1753, as noted on page 256, Vol. I. In 1752, or earlier, a tract of land near Easton, containing 500 acres, was surveyed and laid out for Thomas Craig. In 1755 and '56, during the progress of the Indian hostilities in eastern Pennsylvania (as described in Chapter V, Vol. I), Thomas Craig, Sr., was Captain of one of the Northampton County military companies in the service of the Province. (See Eggle's "History of Pennsylvania," page 988.)

The first connection of THOMAS CRAIG, JR., with Wyoming affairs occurred, perhaps, in 1769, when he was employed by Charles Stewart to summon men to go to Wyoming—as mentioned in the foot-note on page 514, Vol. I. In 1770 he was known as "Captain" Craig; but we have been unable to learn how or whence he derived this title. In December, 1775, the Continental Congress authorized the raising of the 2d Pennsylvania Battalion, to serve one year in the American army. January 5, 1776, Thomas Craig, Jr., was commissioned Captain of a company enlisted principally in Northampton County and assigned to the 2d Pennsylvania Battalion, whose commander was Col. Arthur St. Clair. September 7, 1776, Captain Craig was promoted Lieutenant Colonel of this Battalion. In December, 1776, the 3d Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Line, was organized on the basis of the Second Battalion, aforementioned, and Thomas Craig was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel. August 1, 1777, he was promoted Colonel of the regiment, and in that rank he served until January 1, 1783, when he was retired.

July 1, 1788, Colonel Craig was appointed County Lieutenant of Northampton County, and in that office he served until September, 1784, when, Montgomery County having been erected, he was appointed Prothonotary, Clerk of the Courts, Recorder of Deeds and an Associate Justice of the new county. Thereupon he removed to Norristown, Montgomery County, where he performed the duties of the various offices mentioned until 1789. A few years later he was commissioned Major General of the 7th Division of the Pennsylvania Militia, and this office he held until the latter part of 1798, when he removed from Montgomery County to Lehigh Gap, at the junction of Aquashicola Creek and the Lehigh River, in what was then Towamensing Township, Northampton County, and is now Lower Towamensing Township, Carbon County, Pennsylvania. April 17, 1800, he was commissioned Major General of the 8th Division of the Pennsylvania Militia—comprising the organizations in the counties of Northampton and Wayne—which office he held for a number of years.

General Craig died at Allentown, Pennsylvania, January 20, 1832, in his ninety-third year. He was married prior to 1770 to Catharine, daughter of John Hagenback, and they became the parents of several children who grew to maturity. A number of their descendants now reside in the counties of Carbon and Northampton.

closure closely followed by his men. Chapman, in his "History of Wyoming," states (pages 85 and 86) that the invaders "arrived at the door of the block-house [within the stockade] before the garrison received notice of the attack. Several of the latter were killed in attempting to make resistance in the block-house, and Captain Craig's men having forced a number into a small room where they were trampling upon the women and children, knocked down Captain Butler and were about to pierce him with their bayonets, when Captain Craig himself entered the apartment, drove the soldiers back and prevented further bloodshed." Charles Miner, writing of this occurrence, states ("History of Wyoming," page 123): "But the armed men did not yield without a short but severe struggle. Several lives were lost, and Captain Butler was only saved from a bayonet aimed at his breast by the noble humanity and timely interposition of Craig. Severely hurt, Captain Butler was taken into the hut of Mr. [Nathan] Beach and had his wounds dressed." Both these writers erred in stating that lives were lost on this occasion. Considerable blood was shed on both sides during the struggle, but it is certain that not a life was lost by either party.

Some time in July or August a number of the "First Forty" had repaired from Fort Durkee to the township which had been assigned to them, where (within the limits of the present borough of Forty Fort) they erected a small group of cabins which, in September, they were occupying while making further improvements. Having captured Fort Durkee Ogden sent a detachment of men across the river to these cabins, and, as is more fully explained hereinafter, demanded their surrender.

Leaving at Fort Durkee a garrison of about twenty Pennamites in command of Col. Asher Clayton (mentioned on page 428, Vol. I), Ogden set out for Easton with the remainder of his force and all the prisoners who had been captured. The women and children who were inmates of the fort were permitted to remain there. Easton was reached about the 26th of September, and the prisoners were crowded into the small and unwholesome jail of Northampton County.* After a confinement there of some three weeks all the prisoners were released, with the exception of Maj. John Durkee, Maj. Simeon Draper and Capt. Zebulon Butler, who were sent in irons to Philadelphia and committed to the City Jail, which stood near the corner of Market and Third Streets. During his stay in the Easton jail Major Durkee was taken before the Court of General Quarter Sessions, arraigned on the indictment mentioned on page 664, and required to plead thereto.

Relative to the capture of the Yankees at Wyoming in September, 1770, Messrs. Dyer, Gray, Elderkin and Wales, in their communication to Governor Trumbull referred to on page 514, Vol. I, made the following statement:

"September 22, 1770, Ogden, with 140 men, armed (in the night season), broke into our houses and, with unrelenting barbarity, beat, wounded and grievously abused our people, after they had surrendered; and carried many of them to Easton, where some of them were put in irons and fed only with a small quantity of bread and water; and without any form of law extorted from others of them great sums of money for their dismissal—at the same time stealing and driving away our settlers' horses, oxen, cows, etc."

* Among the collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society is a note, or due-bill, given by Captain Butler while in the Easton jail to one of his fellow-prisoners from Wyoming—Capt. Harris Colt, formerly of Lyme, Connecticut. The due-bill having been subsequently paid by Captain Butler, passed into his possession. It reads as follows: "East Town Goal September 28, 1770. Received of Capt. Harris Colt 4 Dollars, which I promise to account with him for. [Signed] "ZEB" BUTLER."

Capt. William Gallup, in his affidavit mentioned on page 630, *ante*, refers to the same event in the following words :

"Some time in the month of June, [1770], he [Gallup], with a number of Connecticut settlers, returned back to said Susquehanna, where he remained unmolested till some time in September then next following, when he and the Connecticut settlers, in the dead of the night, whilst in their houses asleep, was broke in upon by the Pennsylvania party and abused to a great degree by beating with swords, staves, and other enormities, and took from him his horse and saddle, and destroyed a large quantity of grain, and then carried under a strong guard and committed to prison at East-town, where he was kept—on coarse bread and water only—about twenty days, and then released without any trial by Law."

Parshall Terry, in his very full and interesting affidavit mentioned on page 403, Vol. I, has the following to say with reference to Ogden's invasion of Wyoming in September, 1770 :

"The Ogdens and others having collected a large reinforcement from New Jersey and Pennsylvania, as it was said, they made an attack upon our settlers in their houses at Wilkes-Barre, in the night season, and wounded a number of our people, and took the whole of them prisoners ; that the next morning following the Ogdens and their party appeared at Kingston, surrounded our people in their houses, and demanded a surrender of our possessions. This was complied with by the committee on the part of the settlers ; that among other things seventeen of the settlers were permitted to remain on the ground with their families—the deponent being one that was allowed this indulgence ; that all the settlers, except the seventeen aforesaid, were plundered* of all their property by the Pennsylvania party."

Thomas Bennet, one of the "First Forty" who at Fort Durkee, September 10, 1770, signed the petition mentioned on page 667, *ante*, left Wilkes-Barré a few days later to go to Orange County, New York, for the purpose of bringing his family and movable property to Wyoming. It was during his absence, of course, that Fort Durkee was captured by the Pennamites ; but Mr. Bennet did not learn of this until he and his family had got as far as Shohola (in what is now Pike County, Pennsylvania) on their journey towards Wyoming. Leaving their children with friends at Shohola Mr. and Mrs. Bennet journeyed on to Wilkes-Barré, "to endeavor to get a settlement there," as Mr. Bennet later declared.† Having arrived about the middle of October, they were permitted by the Pennamites to remain and lodge in "one of the houses of the fort."

October 17, 1770, a lawfully-warned meeting of The Susquehanna Company was held at Windham, Maj. Elizur Talcott acting as Moderator, and it was voted :

"That Elizur Talcott, Esq., Increase Moseley, Esq., Edward Mott and Samuel Gray, Esq., be a Committee to repair to New Haven and join our agent and Committee there to represent to the Honorable the General Assembly of this Colony, now Setting in New Haven, to represent to said Assembly the present distressed Case of our Settlers on the Susquehanna Purchase, and pray the interposition of said Assembly, and that the matter respecting the claim of this Colony to the extent of our Charter may be now determined by said Assembly ; and that said Assembly would invest our settlers, now on said Purchase, with powers of Government according to the original institution of said Colony, and their predecessors ; and that his Honor, the Governor of this Colony, be desired to write to his Honor Governor Penn to release our settlers that are imprisoned at Easton from their imprisonment."

The Company then adjourned, to meet at Hartford on Tuesday, November 27, 1770, at ten o'clock in the morning, at which time and

* Among the original manuscripts in the collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society is one in the handwriting of Col. Zebulon Butler, of which the following is a copy :

"LOSSES IN 1770. Oct. 1770. Mem. of part of Z. Butler's effects lost at Wyoming.

"1 yoke of oxen 5 years old ; 1 yoke and draft chain—yoke marked 'Z. B.' ; 1 cow about 5 years old ; 3 large swine ; a complete set of Horse tackling for 2 horses, & 1 plow ; a set of Blacksmith's tools left in the care of Daniel Gore, with about 200 bushels of coles [anthracite coal] & about 70 lbs. of iron and steel ; 2 axes ; 2 hoes ; 1 ox-cart ; sundry other small tools ; 8 stacks of hay—4 on the East side of Susquehanna River, opposite the upper end of the Island [now Fish's] in the River above the Island called Buttonwood [see note on page 645, *ante*], on the other side of the River, nearly opposite the Fort."

† See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, IV : 391.

place the following business was transacted—Ebenezer Gray, Jr., acting as Clerk.

"*Voted*, That the Committee of this Company do, as soon as may be, send £50, L. M., to Philadelphia & Easton for Major Durkee and the rest of the New England prisoners in gaol, to maintain and support them. * *

"*Voted*, That the Rev. Mr. George Beckwith, Jun., of Lyme, be entitled to one whole share* in the Susquehanna Purchase, in part for his service in the Ministry at Wyoming, for the benefit of the settlers there.

"*Voted*, That all the settlers at Wyoming that do again take possession of the land at Wyoming aforesaid by the 15th of May next, and continue thereon, holding under this Company according to the former votes respecting said settlement, shall still have their settling rights, notwithstanding all that has passed.

"*Voted*, That the 300 settlers on the West Branch that do, by the said 15th of May next take possession of the Susquehanna land and hold according to the vote relating thereto, shall be entitled according to the former votes respecting the settlement there.

"*Voted*, That any proprietor, or man under a proprietor, that with the aforesaid settlers do again take possession of the Susquehanna lands, shall be entitled to the vacant settling rights—if any there be—until all the vacant rights are taken up. * *

"*Voted*, That Nathaniel Wales, Jun., Esq., with the assistance of the Committee, be desired to draw up an Historical account of the Colony's title to those lands west of New York, and this Company's title under this Colony to the Susquehanna lands; as also the rise and history of this Company, and transactions of the Authority and Courts of Pennsylvania with our settlers on the lands on Susquehanna River. * *

"*Voted*, That the Committee be desired to use every prudent and proper method that there be a full and universal meeting of the proprietors at the next adjournment, by advertising in the newspapers and otherwise, as they think proper." * * *

Reference is made on page 666 to the departure of Capt. Lazarus Stewart from Fort Durkee for Lancaster County. About the middle of September Captain Stewart was in the town of Lebanon, Lancaster (now Lebanon) County, on business, when he was placed under arrest. The story of the occurrence was told by John Philip de Haas, Esq. (then a Justice of the Peace of Lebanon, but a few years later a Colonel in the Continental Army), in a deposition made by him at Philadelphia September 26, 1770, as follows† :

"That on the 15th September deponent delivered to the Constable [Henry Johnson, a carpenter] of Lebanon a warrant from one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the Province for apprehending Lazarus Stewart, Lazarus Young and Zebulon Butler, to answer the charge of burning houses, and other misdemeanors; and the said Constable, about ten o'clock the same day, arrested the said Lazarus Stewart in deponent's presence. That the said deponent, understanding that Stewart was a dangerous, turbulent man, and apprehending a rescue might be attempted, employed three men to assist the Constable to convey him down the country, promising them a reward of £5 to each of them if they accomplished it. * *

"Word was brought deponent that Stewart had rescued himself with the assistance of one Matthias Mause, who gave Stewart the handle of an ax, with which he had knocked down the Constable and beat him in a cruel and unmerciful manner. That thereupon this deponent went to the place where the said Stewart was, and called to sundry of the inhabitants who were there standing, and had been witnesses to the aforesaid outrageous proceeding, charging them in His Majesty's name to assist him, the deponent, and the said Constable in retaking the said Stewart, at the same time acquainting them of the crimes of which he was charged. That none of the inhabitants would obey the deponent, some of them being friends and abettors of Stewart, and the rest afraid. That the said Stewart stepped forward with a club in his hand, and abused the deponent in the most opprobrious terms. That about an hour after the rescue a party of armed men, to the number of twenty or thereabouts, rode into the town of Lebanon and joined the said Stewart, who soon afterwards came towards the said deponent, then walking before his own door, and with much scurrility and abuse, with a pistol in one hand and a club in the other, threatened him for having procured him to be arrested. The deponent, finding it necessary to defend himself, retired into his house and got his pistols. That the said Stewart attempted to follow him into the house, but one of the family fastened the door and prevented him. That the said Stewart afterwards called on the deponent to come and take him, and said that there was long ago £200 offered for him (alluding, as this deponent understood, to the said Stewart's being one of the persons concerned in murdering the Indians in Lancaster gaol, for taking whom a reward was offered by this Government).

* At Litchfield, Connecticut, September 9, 1774, Mr. Beckwith sold and conveyed this right to ———.

† See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," IX : 682.

"That the said deponent was informed by Nicholas Hausaker, inn-keeper in Lebanon aforesaid, that the said Stewart came to said Hausaker and threatened that if he ever should obey the orders of the deponent in taking, or assisting to take, the said Stewart or any of his company, he the said Stewart *would cut him to pieces and make a breakfast of his heart!*"

September 27, 1770, Governor Penn laid this deposition before the Pennsylvania Assembly, accompanied by a message giving an account of the arrest of the Yankees at Wyoming, and suggesting that a reward should be offered for the capture of Lazarus Stewart. The Assembly concurred in the Governor's opinion, and October 3, 1770, the Governor issued a proclamation* setting forth the facts relative to Captain Stewart's arrest and escape, and commanding all officers of the Province, and all citizens, "to make diligent search and inquiry after said Stewart," and promising a reward of £50 for his apprehension.

Two weeks later six citizens of Lebanon who, through fear of or sympathy for Captain Stewart, had refused to assist in arresting the latter when called upon to do so by Justice de Haas, as previously mentioned, were arrested.

Towards the end of October Captain Stewart, with a team of horses, crossed the Susquehanna at Wright's Ferry on his way to York County on business. "He was," says Pearce (in "Annals of Luzerne County," page 113), "immediately arrested by the Sheriff of York and his posse, and thrown into the county prison. Fearful of a rescue, he was hurried away, pinioned and handcuffed, early the next morning, to be carried to Philadelphia to answer for his offense in acting against his native State in favor of the Connecticut settlers. He was in charge of the Sheriff, accompanied by three assistants. No sooner had the 'Paxtang Boys' heard of his arrest than they proceeded in great haste to York, but they arrived too late. The Sheriff was one day in advance of them with his charge.

"They—the prisoner and escort—tarried for the night at Finley's, many miles on the road towards the city. The night was cold, and the three guards, with Stewart, lay down before a large fire in the bar-room, the prisoner being fastened to one of the men to prevent his escape. The Sheriff slept in an adjoining room, dreaming, doubtless, of his success, and his reception at Philadelphia with a captive whom Governor Penn had declared to be *the most dangerous man in the Province!* But Stewart was wide awake. At the dead of night he cautiously unloosed the rope which bound him to the snoring guard, and with noiseless tread made his way unobserved into the open air. Handcuffed, and without coat, hat or shoes, he traveled through the woods and unfrequented thickets to Paxtang, where he arrived on the following day."

Among the original, unpublished manuscripts in the collections of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania is one reading as follows:

"*Philadelphia, 8 November, 1770.* Received of the Hon. John Penn, Esq., and Joseph Fox, Michael Hillegas, William Allen and Joseph Galloway, Esquires, an order on Mr. Owen Jones, Provincial Treasurer, for £50, being the public reward due to us for the apprehending a certain Lazarus Stewart and securing him in His Majesty's Goal in the County of York according to the Governor's Proclamation of the 4th of October last.

[Signed] "DAVID JONES,
"JOHN MEGRAW."

Captain Stewart remained in hiding among his friends in Paxtang until arrangements had been completed for the return of the "Paxtang Boys" to Wyoming. Their departure from Lancaster County took place

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," Fourth Series, III: 430.

about December 10, 1770, and their arrival at Wilkes-Barré on December 17th is chronicled in a deposition* made by Asa Ludington before Chief Justice William Allen, at Philadelphia, January 30, 1771, as follows :

"That while he [Ludington] resided at Goshen in New York, John Durkee and Zebulon Butler came into that part of the country and offered to him and others 300 acres of land each at Wyoming if they would go with them and settle there. * * He went, and took his wife, and remained there until about September 20, 1770, when the fort was taken, when, being dismissed by Captain Ogden and Charles Stewart, he went from thence to Hanover Township, Lancaster County. That about two months after this [*viz.*, in November, 1770] one Robert Frazier came there from Wyoming, and said that he had seen Thomas Craig,† who had promised to join them with a number of others and assist them in turning off the Jersey people. That one Kidd who had lately come from Northampton confirmed the account said Frazier had given them, particularly that said Thomas Craig and John Dick had collected a number of men who would be ready on a call to assist them in taking the fort at Wyoming and in turning off the Jersey people. That the son of the said Kidd and John Simpson informed this examinant, with many more that were there with him at Hanover, that Captain Brady‡ of the West Branch would also collect a number of people and come to Wyoming to assist in taking the fort and turning off the Jerseymen.

"That upon this, deponent set off [from Hanover] in company with William Stewart, Lazarus Stewart, Lazarus Stewart, Jr., John Franklin, William Young, Silas Gore, three of the name of Robinson, William Grimes, ——— Smith, James Rhea, John McDonald, John Simpson, Robert Frazier and a number of others [twenty-eight altogether], and proceeded to the fort at Wyoming. Silas Gore went into the fort to his brother,§ who came out with him and stood at the North Gate, by which they all entered—it being about eleven o'clock at night—and drove out the people, knocking some down and otherwise abusing them. That during the disturbance several of the people that were in the fort called out and asked where Tom Craig was, imagining, as this examinant supposes, that they who had entered the fort were Thomas Craig's party. That they were answered Tom Craig had not come with them, but was expected in a day or two. That the next day, or the day after, the said Hanover people had got possession of the fort they sent Joseph Wheeler, who they judged to be a friend to their cause and a man whom they could trust, with a message to Tom Craig to come up with his party. That said Wheeler returned in three days and brought an answer from said Craig that his hand was so sore he could not then come, but would be with them in a few days with his party to assist them.

"That about three or four days after they had got into the fort ten or twelve men came into it who said they were sent by Captain Brady to their assistance, and that Brady would be there in two or three days with the rest of his party. That the said ten or twelve men were as follows : ——— Weeks, William Speedy, James Firmile, ——— Dougherty, ——— Cooke, and about seven more, chiefly Germans. That they were also joined in a few days after entering the fort by Simeon Draper and Dyer Alcot [Jedidiah Olcott], and by Matt Holiback [Matthias Hollenback], Peter Kidd and Robert Kidd from Hanover. That while in the fort they placed armed sentries every night." * *

Thomas Bennet, who had returned to Fort Durkee in October, as previously mentioned, and was there when Captain Stewart and his party recaptured it, described the event and some of the succeeding occurrences in a deposition made before Chief Justice Allen, at Philadelphia, February 1, 1771, as follows|| :

"He remained there [in Fort Durkee] till the Hanover people came, when he used his endeavors to prevent Colonel Clayton and Henry ———, an Englishman, from being hurt by them, by concealing them in his house. This examinant further saith, that some time before the Hanover people came he heard it reported among the people in the fort that Thomas Craig was to be there with a party to assist them in turning off the Jerseymen, except Captain Ogden ; and particularly he heard Aaron Van Campen say that they —meaning the Jerseymen—would not be long there, *viz.*, at Wyoming. This examinant further saith that one Smith, about the same time, came to Wyoming with a letter from that quarter of the country where their cattle were, confirming their expectations of new regulations at Wyoming ; and that after the fort was taken, two men, one of whom was named Smith, were sent to their friends to let them know that the fort was taken and to desire them to come to their assistance ; and that one of said two men went to Captain Brady, who, this examinant understood, was to bring forty men with him to Wyoming.

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, IV : 388.

† Captain CRAIG, mentioned on page 670.

‡ Mentioned in the note on page 654.

§ DANIEL GORE, undoubtedly (see note on page 672) ; one of the Yankees who, according to the statement of Parshall Terry, had been permitted by the Pennamites to remain on the ground after the capture of Fort Durkee.

|| See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, IV : 391.

That some time after a number of men came there from said Brady, one of whom went by the name of 'Old' Speedy,* who, with Lazarus Stewart, bore the chief sway afterwards at the fort."

Aaron Van Campen, a farmer, aged fifty-five years, whose home was in that part of Northampton County which is now Smithfield Township, Monroe County, was one of the Pennamites of Ogden's force who, in September, were left in charge of Fort Durkee, and who continued there until it was recaptured by the Stewart party. In a deposition sworn to January 11, 1771, and presented to the Supreme Executive Council at Philadelphia February 2, 1771, Mr. Van Campen made the following statement†:

"About three o'clock in the morning [of Tuesday, December 18, 1770], the people of the fort being a-bed, the fort was entered by a body of men from Hanover, Lancaster County, armed with guns and clubs, and commanded by Lazarus Stewart; that they, upon entering the fort, huzza'd for the Hanoverians and King George, and immediately proceeded to break open the doors of the houses of the fort; that they broke open the deponent's door, took him prisoner, beat and abused him unmercifully, and put him as a prisoner under guard; that they then proceeded through the fort, in the same manner treating all and ordering them to depart immediately, and would scarcely give them time to collect a small part of their effects. That there were in the fort eighteen men [Pennamites], six of whom made their escape, and twelve were made prisoners, and a considerable number of women and children, who were all driven out of the fort by the said Lazarus Stewart and company in a cruel and inhuman manner. That there were of this company that took the fort, twenty-three Hanoverians and six New Englanders.‡ That the deponent knows the names only of Lazarus Stewart, John Simpson, John Robinson, Thomas Robinson and Robert Frazier of the Hanoverians. * * That they took away the guns from our people."

At the beginning of the year 1771 Fort Durkee was still in the possession of Captain Stewart and his men, whose number had been increased to about fifty by the arrival of several Hanoverians, and by some of the New Englanders who had been released from the Easton jail a short time before. At Windham, Connecticut, on the 9th of January, 1771, The Susquehanna Company convened, as previously agreed upon, and was in session for two days. Maj. Elizur Talcott acted as Moderator, Samuel Gray was Clerk, and the following business was transacted.

"Whereas, at the time of the meeting held in November last our settlers at Wyoming were drove out of their possessions there by the Pennsylvanians, and for the encouragement of those settlers to exert themselves to regain their said possessions it was then voted that if said settlers should regain their possessions again by the 15th May next such settlers should be entitled to all those rights and privileges in the same manner as by the former votes they had a right to have and hold; and whereas since said meeting some of our people have dispossessed the Pennamites and taken possession of our fort and are holding the same (but stand in need of immediate aid to assist them in keeping possession), for which reason said vote is judged, *as to the time prefixed*, to be inconsistent with the good and safety of said Company—

"It is therefore now voted to reconsider said vote, and the same is reconsidered accordingly; and it is now voted that the 240 settlers, except those that are bound over to some Court in Pennsylvania Province, shall forthwith repair to Susquehannah and join with, and assist those now in possession, in holding the same; and that in their so doing such of them as shall go as aforesaid shall be entitled to all their rights and privileges there, in the same manner as though they had never been driven out. And in case that any of the said 240 settlers shall neglect to go as aforesaid, for the purpose aforesaid, that then such person or persons so neglecting shall forfeit his or their settling rights, unless those who so neglect shall offer such reasons for such neglect as said Company shall judge sufficient to excuse said neglect.

"Voted, That Colonel Dyer, Nathaniel Wales, Jr., Samuel Gray and Major Elderkin be a committee, with all convenient speed to draw up a representation of our claims to the Susquehannah lands and proceedings thereon touching the settlement thereof, with the reasons of our taking and holding possession thereof, as also of the inhumane treatment our people have met with from some of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, and the danger—

* See the deposition of Asa Ludington on the preceding page; also, see pages 666 and 691.

† See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," IX: 710.

‡ They had been joined later in the morning of December 18th by Maj. Simeon Draper, who had just returned to Wyoming from his imprisonment in Philadelphia, not knowing that the Yankees had been driven from the valley after his capture.

ous consequences of living in such a state of hostility ; and manifest the desire of the Company to settle said controversy in some legal and constitutional way, and lay the same before the Governor of that Province and request him to direct that some proper action may be commenced to bring the title of said land to a legal and proper issue ; and that said committee send such representation to Governor Penn by some proper person whom they shall appoint, and direct him to wait on the Governor for his answer. And in case the Governor shall refuse to comply with such proposals so made, that said representation be ordered to be inserted in the public prints in that Province, with such comments thereon as they shall judge best.

"Voted, That the same committee draw up a scheme in writing agreeable to the minds of the settlers on said land, to be signed by all who now are or shall go on and settle the Susquehannah lands, so as to legally bind and oblige all who sign the same faithfully to perform each one his trust and undertaking ; and that none but such as voluntarily sign said agreement shall be admitted to hold any right or privilege there as a settler.

"Voted, That Capt. Zebulon Butler, Capt. Lazarus Stewart, Maj. John Durkee and John Smith, Esq., be, and they are hereby, appointed a committee to repair* to our settlement at Wyoming with our settlers, and they, or the major part of them, to order and direct in all affairs relating to the well ordering and governing said settlers and settlements ; and that the proprietors of each of the five townships laid out at Wyoming shall have full liberty to choose one person for each town, to be a committeeman to join the above gentlemen—the whole to be but one entire committee for the purpose aforesaid.

"Voted, That this Company taking into consideration the special services done this Company by Capt. Lazarus Stewart, William Stewart, and others their associates, in taking and regaining possession for us on our Purchase on Susquehannah River, that they and their associates shall have and be entitled to all the Company's rights to the township they have chosen, called Hanover, unless they may be willing to admit some few others whom they esteem the most deserving, to come in for a share with them—provided they keep and hold possession according to the former votes of said Company.

"Voted, That Nathaniel Wales, 3d, be and remain a proprietor in the first township, granted to the First Forty settlers. And whereas the township of Lackawanna is found not to be so good and valuable as was expected, it is now voted that said township shall be, and the same is hereby, granted to the thirty-five proprietors that are already put into said town, according to the votes respecting the other towns ; provided they shall hold possession according to the votes of said Company."

The last-mentioned vote was passed in response to a petition† dated "Windham, January 11, 1771," signed by Ebenezer Backus, Silas Park, Prince Alden and Jeremiah Ross—"for themselves and thirty-one others, the greatest part of whom were settlers on the Susquehannah lands in 1769"—and praying for "a grant of the towns of Lackawanna and Capouse."

As previously noted (on page 639), the original agreement between The Susquehanna Company and Captain Stewart and his associates required that the latter, in order to acquire the ownership of Nanticoke Township (or Hanover, as they had renamed it in 1770), should furnish fifty men, who would settle at Wyoming and would aid the Company in upholding and defending its title to and possession of the Susquehanna lands. But the Hanoverians had never mustered more than forty men at Wyoming, and at the beginning of January, 1771, they had no more than twenty-five or thirty men on the ground. The Susquehanna Company was so well pleased, however, with the services performed by Captain Stewart and his associates‡ that (as is shown by its vote at the January meeting held at Windham) it conveyed to them, without regard to their number, all the Company's rights in Hanover.

* At that time, of course, Captain Stewart was in possession of Fort Durkee, while Major Durkee and Captain Butler were still in prison in Philadelphia.

† The original petition is among the unpublished papers of Dr. William Samuel Johnson, previously mentioned.

‡ What is probably the earliest original list of the Hanover men is now in the possession of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. It is in the handwriting of Capt. Zebulon Butler. It is not dated, but undoubtedly was prepared in 1770 or 1771. It is endorsed "List of Hanover," and contains the following names: Lazarus Stewart, William Stewart, James Stewart, Lazarus Stewart, Jr., John Simpson, Robert Young, Lazarus Young, William Young, Robert Young, Jr., John Campbell, Josiah Espy, George Espy, John Espy, Thomas Roberson [Robinson?], John Roberson [Robinson?], Peter Kidd, Robert Kidd, Thomas French, John Lord, Christian Long—"not come," John French—"not come," John Cochran, Hugh Cochran, Matt. Holowbough [Hollenback], Hugh Thomson, James Robertson [Robinson?].

Just one week after the adjournment of The Susquehanna Company at Windham, the unexpected happened at Wyoming. The bold exploits of Lazarus Stewart had created a strong sensation in the minds of the Pennsylvania authorities, and in the latter part of December, 1770, a writ issuing from the Court of General Quarter Sessions of Northampton County was placed in the hands of Sheriff Peter Kachlein, commanding him to take Lazarus Stewart, Lazarus Stewart, Jr., James Stewart, John Simpson, Thomas Robinson, James Robinson, Silas Gore, Asa Ludington, Peter Kidd, Isaac Warner, Parshall Terry, William Young, Thomas Bennet and divers other persons therein named, to answer to a certain Bill of Indictment for a riot. On January 11th there was also placed in the Sheriff's hands a warrant issued by the Hon. Thomas Willing (one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania) for apprehending Lazarus Stewart, John Simpson, John Robinson, Thomas Robinson, Asa Ludington, Silas Gore, Daniel Gore, Thomas Bennet and Joshua Bennet.

As usual the Sheriff summoned the *posse comitatus* to aid him in executing the writs in his hands. Capt. Amos Ogden was once more called to the front and placed at the head of the military contingent, and acted as the undisputed leader of the expedition. He was also at that time a Justice of the Peace, as previously noted. Charles Stewart, Esq., who was also still in commission as a Pennsylvania Justice of the Peace, accompanied the expedition as general adviser and aid. This Kachlein-Ogden force, consisting fully of one hundred well-armed and equipped men, arrived in Wyoming Valley on Friday, January 18, 1771, and immediately began the erection of a strong wooden fort (subsequently called Fort Wyoming) on the river bank, about eight or ten rods west by south of the junction of the present River and Northampton Streets.* The story of the occurrences of the three or four days fol-



View North-east from near the Site of Fort Wyoming in 1902.

lowing the arrival of the Pennamites at Wilkes-Barré can best be told by printing various extracts from a number of original depositions which were made in January and February, 1771, by different persons who had personal knowledge of the occurrences then described. Before Chief Justice Allen Sheriff Kachlein made oath†:

*One of the reasons of the Pennamites for locating their fort at that point was, that it would be within sight of and about 125 rods distant from Fort Durkee, and from it the latter stronghold, as well as the approaches to the same from the river, the "Upper Road to the Delaware" and the "Pennamites' Path" could be overlooked. Another reason was, that at the edge of the river bank near that point there was a fine bubbling spring, from which a bountiful supply of excellent water could be drawn for the inmates of the fort. This spring was in existence for many years, but as the river bank at that point was gradually washed away the spring diminished in size, and the distance between it and the river's margin was lessened. The following item, referring to this spring, was printed in *The Record of the Times*, Wilkes-Barré, September 8, 1858: "At the foot of Northampton Street a large spring gushes out from the bank a few feet above low water, which has now more water than runs in many of our mill-streams."

† See "Colonial Records of Pennsylvania," IX : 711.



LOOKING DOWN THE SUSQUEHANNA.

From near the corner of River and Market Streets, Wilkes-Barré, in 1897. Fort Durkee stood to the left of the group of houses at the bend of the river.



THE RIVER COMMON, SOUTH, IN 1897.

In the middle foreground at the left stood Fort Wyoming.

"That, being informed many of the persons named in the said writ and warrant were at a fort at Wyoming, and threatened all officers of Government, and set the laws at defiance, he raised a Posse of the said County to aid him in the execution of the said writ and warrant, and proceeded with them to Wyoming, where he arrived on the 18th day of January, instant. That the next morning, taking with him two of the Posse, and leaving the rest at some distance, he advanced towards the said fort, and, having got within gunshot, was called to from the fort and ordered to stop, with threats of being fired at if he refused; whereupon, alighting from his horse, he walked quietly up to the gate of the fort and, addressing himself to two men who were withinside, desired admittance, which they refused. That he told them he was the Sheriff of that County and had a writ and a warrant to apprehend some persons who, he was informed, were within the fort, and demanded entrance; that they presented their guns at him and threatened to shoot him if he advanced farther, but told him he might walk round to the other side of the fort and speak with Captain Stewart (meaning Lazarus Stewart), who was at the sentry-box. That the deponent accordingly went there, and applying himself to the said Stewart, who was one of the persons named in the said writ, and also in the warrant, told him he was the Sheriff of the County; * * that the said Stewart, in answer, said to him, 'I know what my doom is if you take me; I have sent down a man to the Governor, and shall wait his answer, which I don't expect these three weeks. If the Governor will forgive me all my past crimes, and give me some land, I'll surrender myself; otherwise I'll fight it out as long as I have a drop of blood left in my body'—or words to that effect. That he (Stewart) then ordered this deponent to depart, on peril of his life, at the same time presenting a gun towards him; that the deponent told him he would give him time to consider better of the matter, and retired.

"That the deponent had several other conversations with the said Stewart on that and the succeeding day, in which he represented to him that he came there to do his duty as Sheriff, and not to kill or hurt any one; and, showing him the said warrant and reading part of it to him, used all the arguments he could to dissuade the said Stewart from opposing him in the execution of his office. That the said Stewart and most of his party obstinately persisted in their resolution to oppose him, and frequently threatened to fire on the deponent and his assistants; that the deponent still entertained hopes of gaining admission peaceably into the said fort, as some few of the said Stewart's party seemed well disposed, and he hoped might prevail on the rest; he therefore continued treating with them till Monday morning [January 21st] about eight or nine o'clock, when Nathan Ogden, one of the deponent's posse whom he had summoned to assist him, going up to the fort to talk with said Stewart, upon the said Stewart's own appointment (as the said Ogden told this deponent), was fired at from the said fort and mortally wounded, of which wound he died in a few minutes; and immediately thereupon a number of guns (between thirty and forty) were discharged at some of the deponent's assistants, who, to the number of about twenty, were scattered about near the fort, all unarmed, and most of them, at that very time, talking peaceably to the people in the fort, by which time three of them, to wit: George Dull, Thomas Jennings and John Murphy were wounded.

"That they continued firing from the fort all that day at every person that appeared within reach of their guns; and in the evening the said Stewart, with about forty of his party, secretly abandoned the fort and withdrew into the woods, leaving in the fort twelve men who refused to go with them, and who surrendered themselves to the deponent."

On Monday, January 21, 1771, Charles Stewart, Esq., wrote from Wyoming to Governor Penn as follows* (sending the letter to Philadelphia by a special courier):

"The Sheriff and Posse came here on Saturday and surrounded the fort, since which, until this morning, the time has passed in parleys, without any blows or firing, but to all appearances a probability of surrender on the part of the rioters. Yesterday Lazarus Stewart requested Nathan Ogden to come this day and speak to him in a friendly way. On Ogden going this morning he shot him dead on the spot, and his associates in the fort fired from all corners of it. Three other men are wounded, but not mortally. The Sheriff means to keep his ground if possible, and has sent for assistance to Easton. What succors will come God knows; I fear not many soon, and certainly the desperate situation of the rioters will induce them now to kill as many as they can. Their numbers are, as near as we can find, about fifty; the Posse about eighty, *but much discouraged*. * * I hope Mr. Gordon, the Coroner and magistrates of the County will come up and aid the Sheriff. His brother-in-law and his son go with this shocking intelligence."

At six o'clock in the evening of Monday Charles Stewart wrote again to Governor Penn, as follows†:

"The face of affairs here is changed for the better since my express of this morning. The murderers embraced an opportunity about half an hour ago to evacuate this fort, of which we are now in possession. Whether they mean to return and endeavor to surprise us or not we are not quite certain, but I am of opinion *they are gone forever*. The Sheriff

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, IV: 383.

† See *ibid.*, 384.

and myself intend to leave Daniel Shoemaker and a party of thirty men to keep possession and take care of the effects here until your orders come. * * The Sheriff and myself mean to tarry here to-morrow, and I shall write or go myself to wait on you in a few days. Captain Ogden is in the utmost distress for his brother Nathan, and his death is the more to be lamented as he was treacherously decoyed and murdered without any the least chance. Indeed, it seems from every information that the Ogdens were to be sacrificed."

The following paragraph is from a deposition made by William Sims (a member of the Kachlein-Ogden expedition), before Charles Stewart, Esq., at Wilkes-Barré, January 21, 1771.*

"That on this day he, this deponent, was standing about two or three perches from the stockades which are erected on the westerly side of the fort at Wyoming, on Susquehanna, and that Nathan Ogden was also standing about a yard distant from this deponent, speaking to one Wicks [Weeks?] and telling him that they had formerly been school-fellows; to which Wicks made answer he believed they had been. That Lazarus Stewart came inside of the stockades and presented his gun towards the said Nathan Ogden, through one of the loop-holes, or port-holes, and saying 'Stand away, gentlemen!' drew the trigger of his gun—a rifle-gun—and shot the said Nathan Ogden, who fell and in a few minutes expired. That this deponent distinctly observed the flash of the gun and the blaze coming out of the muzzle, and is well assured it was the shot or ball from Lazarus Stewart's gun that killed Nathan Ogden. That this deponent ran immediately, as soon as Ogden fell, and then thought and now thinks he heard the bullet when it entered his body. That he also heard Nathan Ogden, at the instant he received the wound, cry out, 'Oh! God Almighty,' and clapped his hand on his breast before he fell to the ground. That before Lazarus Stewart shot, this deponent saw Isaac Warner, William Stewart, John Donnell *alias* McDaniel, and John Cochran standing inside the stockades with guns in their hands. That about a minute or less after Lazarus Stewart shot, a great many guns were fired from the fort on the same side."

William Nimens, a Pennamite from Northampton County, deposed before Charles Stewart January 25, 1771, as follows:†

"On Monday, the 21st instant, this deponent was standing close to the stockades which are set up on the westerly side of the houses, or fort, at Wyoming, in the county aforesaid. That he saw about ten or twelve men in the fort, with rifles or guns each, gather together near the northwest gate, and knew among them Lazarus Stewart, William Stewart, James Stewart, Lazarus Stewart the younger, Daniel Angell and John Simpson, and heard Lazarus Stewart say he supposed the Sheriff would be the first man, then Nathan Ogden, Daniel Shoemaker, Captain Ogden, Captain Salmon, William Sims, John Murphy, David Ogden, James Logan, Thomas Osborn and this deponent; and that Stewart added, 'Now, my boys, make sure of your mark!' That James Stewart said Thomas Osborn should be his jewel, and Daniel Angell said he would 'shoot the damned tinker'—meaning this deponent. That Lazarus Stewart and his associates then parted and took their stations in different places along the stockades.

"That during this time this deponent observing several of the Posse coming towards the fort was in great perplexity how to act, and beckoned to those nearest him to come up quickly, that they might be under the stockades and save their lives; to others farther off he waved his hand to retire, and some did so. That Nathan Ogden and Abraham Smith were close up, and that he heard Nathan Ogden inquire for one Wicks, who answered him he was there; to whom Ogden said: 'You and I have been schoolfellows formerly. I am sorry we are now of different parties. I have a regard for you.' That Wicks replied: 'I am sorry it is so, Mr. Ogden; we have been schoolfellows and friends.'

"That Lazarus Stewart, coming southerly from the north-west gate aforesaid, passed by the sentry-box with his rifle in his hand, then turned round and repassed it, stopped again and turned about and presented his rifle through a loop-hole, or port-hole, under the sentry-box, calling: 'Take care, gentlemen!' and fired off his gun; on which this deponent heard Nathan Ogden say 'Oh! God Almighty,' and saw him fall to the ground. That Lazarus Stewart called out, 'Fire away!' on which a number of guns were fired from the people inside the stockade. That William Stewart fired, as this deponent believes, three times against Daniel Shoemaker—he the said William having two guns; that Daniel Shoemaker fell as he was running from the fort, and this deponent thought he was shot; that during the fire this deponent squat close under the stockades, when he was at last observed by William Stewart, who called out: 'Who is there?' To which this deponent answered: 'It's me.' That Mr. Stewart said: 'Damn you, who are you?' That this deponent then showed himself, on which Stewart told him to run, and that he would try to save his life; that he ran accordingly, and fell, rose again and got behind a stump; that he had just covered himself behind the stump when a ball struck it—and further this deponent saith not."

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, IV: 386.

† See *ibid.*, 387.

Asa Ludington, in his deposition referred to on page 675, stated further :

"That the Sheriff of Northampton County came to Wyoming with his Posse on Saturday the 19th *inst.* [January, 1771], and after having informed them who he was, demanded entrance into the fort, which they refused to grant, alleging that they had sent a petition to the Governor setting forth that they were willing to take grants of the land under the Pennsylvania Government, and had also sent another petition from Hanover [in Lancaster County] by a Justice of the Peace, and therefore would not permit the Sheriff to enter the fort till they had an answer to said petition. That on Sunday night [January 20th] this examinant entered into conversation with Nathan Ogden and John Collins who were standing by the side of the fort while he [Ludington] was within, and spoke to him in a very friendly manner ; when Lazarus Stewart, the elder, came up to this examinant with his gun in his hand and ordered said Ogden and Collins to depart then, and that if they wanted further talk to come in the morning.

"That the next morning Daniel Shoemaker came up to the fort unarmed and spoke to this examinant ; that while they were talking this examinant heard a gun fired, and that immediately after he heard several persons asking who fired first, and that the said Lazarus Stewart answered : 'Nathan Ogden fired first,' and then desired them to fire away ; on which a number of guns were fired—about twenty or upwards. That he, this examinant, having seen several of those without unarmed, did not believe that they fired first. That then this examinant retired into his own house, which was within the fort. That as he sat in his house John McDonald, one Cook and another person came to him and asked why he remained there and did not come out and fire ; that he answered he would not come out nor fire for any man ; on which they demanded his gun, which he absolutely refused and carried it where five men (whom Lazarus Stewart and his party had taken prisoners) were confined, and in the fort they concealed it at his desire under some hay on which they lay.

"That presently after this examinant heard that Nathan Ogden was killed and some others wounded. Upon which this examinant, being uneasy, desired that he might be permitted to go out with a flag [of truce] to the Sheriff, which said Lazarus Stewart, the elder, and others refused, and said that if he attempted it they would fire on him ; but that if he would stay till night they would go out of the fort in a body and fire on the Sheriff and his people and then go off. Which he refusing to comply with, they locked him up among the five prisoners that were confined ; and further, this examinant saith that through the cracks of the house where they were confined they saw the said Lazarus Stewart and the rest leave the fort about the dusk of the evening, except about ten who remained behind in or near the fort."

Thomas Bennet, in his affidavit referred to on page 675, deposed concerning the occurrences of January 19th-21st, as follows :

"That on Saturday the 19th *inst.* [January, 1771] the Sheriff of Northampton County came up to the fort and demanded entrance, but that Lazarus Stewart refused to admit him till he had an answer to the petition he had sent to the Governor of Pennsylvania. That on the Monday morning following Nathan Ogden, as this examinant heard, came up to the fort, having been desired by the people of the fort to come, together with Charles Stewart and some others, to converse with them. That soon afterwards this examinant heard a gun go off, but did not know who fired, but heard his wife say that Nathan Ogden was shot—she having heard him, immediately on the guns being fired, groan. This examinant further saith, that the only reason of his ever appearing in arms at the said fort was to keep sentry sometimes in his turn, when they were under apprehensions of being attacked by the Indians—a number of them being then there, who appeared very angry and painted, and threatening to roast a hog in the fort and have a dance, and that the said Indians carried off a hog. And further, that he this examinant knoweth not where said Lazarus Stewart and his company went, but believes he and his followers went to Hanover Township [in Lancaster County], or to New England ; only he heard Stewart say that though their number was small now, yet they had friends enough in Virginia, Maryland, New England and other places who would enable them to visit them again."

Parshall Terry, in his affidavit mentioned on page 403, Vol. I, refers to the events of January, 1771, in these words :

"The Ogdens appeared again on the ground with a large party of about 150, as was said, accompanied by one Kachlein, a sheriff, as he was called. They surrounded our block-houses and demanded a surrender, which was refused by our party. They commenced a heavy fire upon us. They were ordered to withdraw, but still crowded upon us. The fire was returned from our block-houses. Nathan Ogden was killed. The party then withdrew. That the evening following Captain Stewart, and a small party with him, retired and left the deponent and about ten or twelve others, with their families ; that the next morning following the deponent and the others, about ten or twelve as aforesaid, were all taken prisoners by Charles Stewart and others, robbed of all our prop-

erty, and our families drove off. The deponent and the others taken with him were sent under a guard to Easton. The deponent and three others were confined in Easton goal, and the others were sent to Philadelphia goal, as was said. The deponent, about six weeks after, broke goal and made his escape and went to Goshen, New York. * * * That he does not know who killed Nathan Ogden, but his belief is that John McDonald killed him."

Shortly after Nathan Ogden had breathed his last, and his corpse had been removed to Fort Wyoming, Justice Charles Stewart summoned a jury of inquest, composed of the following Pennamites—who were members of Sheriff Kachlein's *posse comitatus*: Jacob Brinker, Casper Dull, Daniel Shoemaker, Michael Raub, Peter Ealer, James Lawson, John Seely, Bernard Gritz, Joseph Wheeler, Robert Duchee, Daniel Bloom and Beniah Mundy. After due inquiry the jury found* that "a certain Lazarus Stewart did present his gun through a loop-hole in the fort, and, saying he would shoot the said Nathan Ogden, did fire his rifle; and the bullet entering on the right side of the body of the said Nathan Ogden, was the cause of his death instantly; and that the said Lazarus Stewart is guilty of the horrid and wilful murder of the said Nathan Ogden." This finding of the jury, together with the letters and depositions prepared by Justice Stewart—as previously mentioned—were immediately forwarded to Governor Penn by an express. Accompanying the documents was a list (forty-eight names) of the "Rioters in the fort at Wioming, January 21, 1771, when Nathan Ogden was murdered." The following is a copy of the list†:

"Lazarus Stewart, the murderer, Lazarus Stewart, the younger, William Stewart, James Stewart, apprehended and escaped, John Simpson, Peter Kidd, Thomas Robinson, James Robinson, John Robinson, Robert Kidd, Simeon Draper, Asa Ludington, William Young, Silas Gore, James Ray, Parshall Terry, Robert Hopkins, John Stephens, Jesse Kinny, Daniel Angell, Ebenezer Staens, Isaac Warner, Jedidiah Olcutt, John Franklin, Nathan Denison, Silas Hopkins, Richard Cook, Henry Coland, Matthias Hollenback, William Speedy, Philip Avic, John Donnell, Thomas Bennet, John Cochran, Abel Peirce, William Grimes, Joshua Bennet, Jacob Anquish, George Walterberger, Peter DANCE, Jesse Weeks, Timothy Smith, Asa Lyons, Isaac Bennett, James Biggar, John Pearce, Gideon Pillar and Daniel Gore."

Leaving a garrison of about thirty Pennamites at Wilkes-Barré in charge of Fort Durkee and Fort Wyoming, Sheriff Kachlein, Captain Ogden and Justice Stewart, with their associates, marched from the valley about the 23d of January and made their way to Easton as expeditiously as possible. Of the ten or twelve prisoners who were taken when Fort Durkee was captured (as detailed by Parshall Terry), Maj. Simeon Draper, Asa Ludington, Daniel Gore, Thomas Bennet and William Speedy were sent to Philadelphia and committed to the City Jail, where Major Durkee and Captain Butler were still languishing, while Parshall Terry and the remaining Wyoming prisoners were locked up in the Easton jail. The majority of the men who had retired from Fort Durkee with Lazarus Stewart in the evening of January 21st repaired to their several homes in Lancaster County and elsewhere, but Captain Stewart and six other Hanoverians made their way to Connecticut. Thus was consummated the fifth expulsion of the Yankees from Wyoming by the Pennamites.

February 4, 1771, at Philadelphia, Charles Stewart, Esq., and Capt. Amos Ogden were paid by Edmund Physick, Esq., Receiver General of the Province, £100 on account of "Wyoming expenses";‡ and on the same day Governor Penn sent a message to the Provincial Assembly, in

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, IV : 385.

† See *ibid.*

‡ See Vol. III, page 89, of the "Penn-Physick Manuscripts," previously mentioned.

which he gave an account of the arrest of Lazarus Stewart by the Sheriff of York County and the escape of the prisoner from the Sheriff's deputies; who, stated the Governor, were "not altogether free from suspicion" in permitting the escape. "The same Lazarus Stewart," continued the Governor, "far from being awed by the proceedings of Government against him, has since his escape put himself at the head of a number of people of his neighborhood, of the same lawless disposition with himself, and with an armed force has taken possession of the lands at Wyoming." The Governor then referred to Sheriff Kachlein's expedition to Wyoming and to the happenings here, and declared that Lazarus Stewart, "in cool blood, and in the most treacherous manner, murdered Nathan Ogden, * * and wounded several others."

On February 8th a message was sent to the Governor by the Assembly, signed by the Hon. Joseph Galloway, the Speaker, and containing the following paragraph*:

"The outrages arising from the confederacy of so many desperate ruffians, who have at length perpetrated in a most treacherous manner, and with an audacious contempt of Government, the murder of a person acting in obedience to the laws, too plainly evince the dangerous tendency of such licentious proceedings, and the necessity of pursuing these daring offenders. We therefore request the Governor to issue a proclamation offering a reward of £300 for the apprehension and delivery of Lazarus Stewart to the Sheriff of Philadelphia County, and £50 for the apprehension and delivery of each of his accomplices, *viz.*: James Stewart, William Stewart, William Speedy, John Simpson, William Young, John McDaniel, *alias* Donnel, and Richard Cook."

In pursuance of this authorization the Governor issued on February 9th a proclamation in which the rewards named by the Assembly were offered. The proclamation was published in the newspapers, and 300 broadsides were printed and distributed throughout the Province.

In February and March, 1771, the following advertisement was published in *The Connecticut Courant* at Hartford, and in other newspapers.

"WHEREAS our settlers at Wyoming on Susquehanna River are unjustly and by force and arms drove off from their settlements, and it is judged necessary that some effectual measures be come into soon, to put an end to the dispute: *These are therefore* to warn all the proprietors in the Susquehanna Purchase to meet at the Court House at Windham 13th March next to take said matters into consideration, and to come into such measures as shall be judged best for said Company.

[Signed]

"ELIPHALET DYER,	} Committee."
"SAMUEL GRAY,	
"JEDIDIAH ELDERKIN,	
"EBENEZER BALDWIN,	
"GERSHOM BREED,	

Early in March, 1771, printed petitions were prepared and circulated throughout the various towns in Connecticut for the signatures of the inhabitants of the Colony *not* proprietors in The Susquehanna Company. These petitions, which were addressed to the General Assembly of Connecticut, prayed that the "distressed case of the settlers at Wyoming" might be taken into consideration, and that they and the territory they claimed "might be erected into a County" by the General Assembly.

Agreeably to notice The Susquehanna Company met at Windham on March 13th—Maj. Elizur Talcott acting as Moderator, and Samuel Gray as Clerk. The following preamble and resolution were adopted:

"*Whereas*, our settlers are again unjustly and inhumanly drove off from their settlements at Wyoming, and robbed of their effects by a *gang of lawless and wicked men*, and it is judged best and necessary for the interests of this Company to regain and hold possession of our settlements at Wyoming; and in order thereto it is now

"*Voted*, That the 240 settlers, together with those settlers to whom the township of Hanover is granted, shall, as soon as may be, repair to Wyoming and take possession of

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," IX: 715.

our settlements there, and hold them for said Company; and in case any of said settlers shall neglect or refuse to go and take and hold possession of said lands according to the former votes of this Company, that then any other person or persons that shall go and regain and hold possession of said land, according to the former votes of this Company, shall each be entitled to one settler's right. And for a further encouragement, each settler shall at his setting off be paid out of the Treasury of this Company five dollars; and that Ezekiel Peirce, Esq., Capt. Zebulon Butler,* Edward Mott, Robert Durkee, John Smith, Esq., John Jenkins, Elizur Talcott, Jeremiah Angell, Eliphalet Lester, Christopher Avery, Benjamin Follett, William Gallup, Seth Smith, William White of Stafford, Gad Stanley, Capt. Eliphalet Whittlesey of Kent, Benjamin Stephens of Canaan, Increase Moseley, Esq., Daniel Lyman, Esq., Jonathan Pettibone and Obadiah Gore be a committee to take the names of such persons as shall engage to go forward." * * *

Under the date of March 20, 1771, Governor Trumbull wrote to the Standing, or Executive, Committee of The Susquehanna Company as follows†:

"Governor Penn's letter to me, dated the 7th inst., inclosing a Proclamation and a copy of a Riot Act issued and passed in consequence of repeated disturbances raised by sundry persons within the Government of Pennsylvania, I have committed to the care of the Hon. Matthew Griswold.‡ It is said that the disorders which have occasioned these proceedings are the undoubted effect of a pretended claim set up by a Company in this Colony to the lands on the Susquehanna in Pennsylvania. You being a committee of that Company, I have desired his Honor to communicate the same to you, that you may have opportunity—if you think fit—to obviate the grievous complaints, *viz.*: 'That you chuse to prosecute your claim by the most unwarrantable violence rather than by law, and much disturb the peace of that Province, and so involve many of their people that it becomes necessary for the Assembly to introduce the Riot Act to prevent such outrages for the future.'

"This communication is made in confidence of your hearkening to and showing me your readiness to see justice [done] in legal ways only, to discountenance all lawless proceedings, and to preserve the peace of both that Government and this."

Under the date of March 27, 1771, Col. Eliphalet Dyer, Maj. Jedidiah Elderkin, Samuel Gray, Esq., and Nathaniel Wales, Jr., Esq., members of the Standing Committee of The Susquehanna Company, replied to the foregoing communication in a long and carefully-prepared statement§, in which they gave a résumé of the doings of their Company from its beginning. In conclusion they wrote:

"In what a surprising and unheard of manner, in an English Government, has been the treatment of Major DURKEE—who never has been present or active where any affray has happened—to be forcibly taken captive and carried down to Easton; the most excessive bail required, and when he appeared to save his bail, could have no trial, but increasing bail required, and to appear in another county than where the facts were pretended to have been done; and upon his appearance a further and additional bail required, and no trial could be had. At last, by the excessiveness of the bail required, he was obliged to sink under the weight and be committed to the gaol in Philadelphia, there to be kept on bread and water with many others his companions—depending solely for their support upon the good Providence of God and the help of some compassionate friends; and so hath continued from last September [1770] until this time, without any trial or deliverance."

April 4, 1771, The Susquehanna Company met at Windham pursuant to adjournment, when the action of the Company taken at its meeting held on March 13th was discussed, and a report was received from the committee appointed "to take the names of such persons as would agree to go upon said lands at Wyoming." Whereupon the following was adopted:

"Whereas, The major part of said committee have made their report in the premises, and it appears from said report that it is the general opinion of the proprietors so far as they have been consulted—which extends to a very considerable part of said Company—

* Shortly before this Captain Butler had been released from the Philadelphia City Jail—presumably under bail—and had returned to Connecticut. Alexander Patterson, the Pennamite, in his "Petition" mentioned in the note on page 626, *ante*, stated that "after a long confinement Judge Allen gave him [Captain Butler] money and clothes, on his promising never more to disturb the Province, and discharged him." This statement, like a score of the other statements contained in Patterson's "Petition," is undoubtedly untrue.

† See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, IV: 394.

‡ Then Lieutenant Governor of Connecticut.

§ See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, IV: 401.

that it is desirable to defend our possessions on Susquehanna River with life and spirit ; and they appear universally willing to extend what [aid] shall be necessary for that purpose, and seem determined to prosecute our claim to those lands in every Constitutional way that can be devised, until the same shall be in some legal way determined. Yet, it is judged by many of the proprietors that—as we have now a petition lying before the General Assembly, praying them to take into consideration the general claim of this Colony to those western lands (which it is expected will be acted upon at the next session); and as it seems almost impossible but that the Assembly, on consideration of the Colony's title, will judge the same good and claim the same accordingly (which determination may be of great advantage in defending our particular right); and that we may pay a due deference to the laws of the land—it is most prudent actually *to delay going on to said lands*, according to said votes, until opportunity [has been had] to know the minds of the Assembly. * * Therefore, it is unanimously agreed and voted to suspend entering on said lands according to said votes passed the 13th of March last, until the adjourned meeting to be held at Hartford on the 15th of May next.

"Whereas, Maj. John Durkee and several others of the proprietors of the Susquehanna Purchase are confined in the common goal in the Province of Pennsylvania, and are there destitute of friends and money—which renders their situation extremely distressing and affecting to all who have any just ideas of their sufferings—and application having been made at this meeting for some relief, this meeting, taking this matter into serious consideration, *Votes*, That the sum of £50 be immediately raised and sent to Major Durkee and the others for their relief ; and as there is no money now in the Treasury it is voted that the following provision shall be made for raising the aforesaid sum, *viz.*: That proper persons be appointed to apply forthwith to the proprietors in the several towns, and advise them of the distressed situation of the said Major Durkee and his companions, and request the proprietors to pay such sums as they may think themselves in duty bound to advance ; and that the Treasurer repay to such proprietors the several sums they shall so advance, as soon as the same can be collected out of the debts due to said Company. And if sufficient sums shall not be collected in the above method, then if any of the friends of the persons confined shall procure in whole or in part the above sum, and send the same to be distributed among them, * * then in that case the same shall be refunded out of the Treasury aforesaid—provided the sum so raised do not exceed to Major Durkee £34, and either of the others—*viz.*: Simeon Draper, Daniel Gore, Asa Ludington and Thomas Bennet—the sum of £4 each, which makes the said sum of £50.*

"Voted, That Ebenezer Backus, Capt. Silas Park, William Hurlbut, Ebenezer Baldwin, William Gallup, Increase Moseley, Elizur Talcott, Joseph Eaton, Robert Durkee, Zebulon Butler, John Perkins, Ezra Buell, John Jenkins, Nathaniel Loomis, Jeremiah Angell, Jonathan Pettibone, Gad Stanley, John Smith and Obadiah Gore be a committee to make application to the proprietors in order to collect the above sum of £50.

"Whereas, There are seven (7) persons belonging to Pennsylvania Government now residing among us in this Colony who were obliged to depart our settlements at the Susquehanna by reason of the forcible proceedings of Amos Ogden and others his accomplices against them, while defending our possessions there ; which persons, by means of leaving their estates, families and business there seem justly to deserve some assistance of the Company here for their support—which persons have been some time supplied in part by Ebenezer Backus of Windham, and will stand in need of further assistance for necessary support, both as to provisions and some articles of clothing—it is therefore Voted, That the cost already arisen for their support since they came into this Colony (including what they expended in this Colony on their journey to Windham, as well as since), and what shall be needful for their comfortable support until the 15th day of May,† next, shall be paid to those who shall so support them, out of the Treasury of said Company.‡

"Voted, That the Standing Committee forthwith send, or procure to be sent, the £50 in money voted to be sent to Major Durkee and his companions, in the most safe, expeditious and prudent manner they can—to be distributed by said Major Durkee according to said vote."

The Company then adjourned, to meet at Hartford on the 15th of the following May, at which time and place the General Assembly of

* As previously noted Captain Butler had been released from the Philadelphia jail in January or February, 1771, and later William Speedy was released under bail. In the latter part of June, 1771, Major Draper was released from confinement, and joined his family in Dutchess County, New York. About the same time Messrs. Gore, Ludington and Bennet were also released, and returned to their respective homes.

† At which time the General Assembly of Connecticut would be in session, and, it was hoped and believed by the members of The Susquehanna Company, would take some favorable action in their interest.

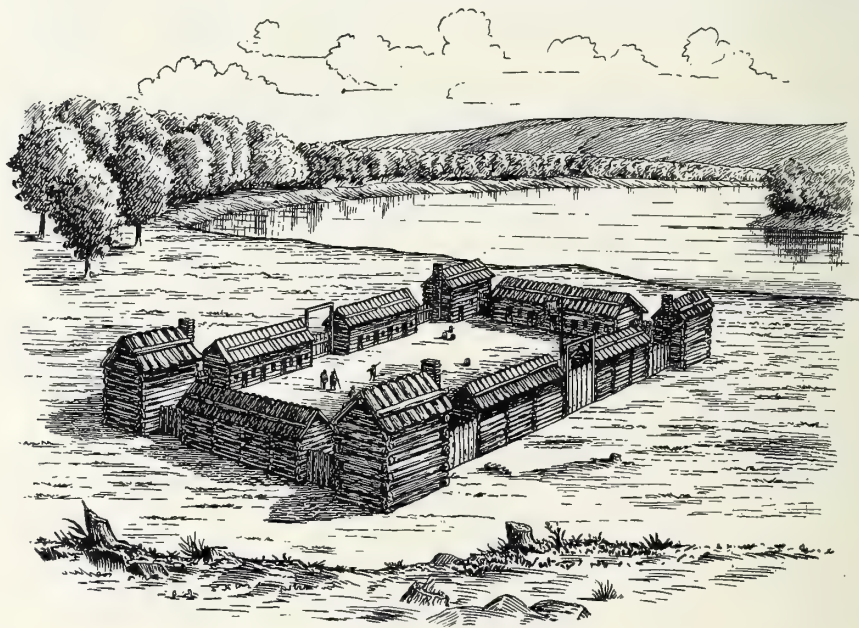
‡ The seven refugees from Pennsylvania thus provided for were Capt. Lazarus Stewart and his six associates who had fled from Fort Durkee on January 21st. Two years later the following certificate was issued (see The Susquehanna Company's Record Book "B," page 213): "Whereas Capt. Lazarus Stewart, William Stewart, and sundry others their associates, repaired into this Colony in 1771, being driven from our settlement at Susquehanna River, and while here became indebted to Nathaniel Olcott of Hartford, for their support, in the sum of £6, 7s. 6d. lawful money. In consideration thereof, by and with the other committeemen, these presents doth intitle the above-named Nathaniel Olcott to one half-right or share in the lands in the Susquehanna Purchase, in full discharge of said debt.

"Dated in Hartford June 2, 1773.

[Signed] "SAML. GRAY, one of ye Comtee."

Connecticut would be in session. Having convened then and there according to adjournment, the Company appointed its Clerk, Samuel Gray, Esq., to "attend the General Assembly and assist in preparing the Susquehanna Case for a hearing." An adjournment then took place until May 23d, at Hartford, when a further adjournment to June 12th, at Windham, was voted. Towards the end of May the General Assembly of Connecticut, after some debate, took the following action: "*Resolved*, That the lands west of the Delaware, and in the latitude of that part of this Colony *eastward* of the Province of New York, are well contained within the boundaries and descriptions of the Charter granted by King Charles II in 1662." This, of course, related to the lands claimed by The Delaware Company (see page 293, Vol. I) and by The Susquehanna Company, and lying between the forty-first and forty-second parallels of latitude. (See "Map of a Part of Pennsylvania," farther on in this chapter.)

Turning our attention, now, in the direction of Wyoming Valley, we find that from about the 23d of January, 1771, the Pennamites were exclusively in possession of the valley. About the first of March the men who had been garrisoning the two forts at Wilkes-Barré were joined by a number of Pennsylvanians and Jerseymen with their families, as



FORT WYOMING, WILKES-BARRÉ, 1771-'74.

From an old drawing.

well as by Capt. Amos Ogden and Charles Stewart, Esq. Fort Wyoming was thereupon enlarged and strengthened, and all the Pennamite settlers and others on the ground dwelt therein—Fort Durkee being abandoned and dismantled and, it is quite probable, demolished in part. During the next four months and more peace and quiet reigned in Wyoming, and the Pennamites here, who numbered about eighty effective men, were nearly all engaged in agricultural operations at various points within hail of Fort Wyoming. During a considerable part of that time, however, Charles Stewart—who was still a Deputy Surveyor of the

Province—was energetically occupied with a corps of surveyors and assistants in resurveying the subdivisions of the Proprietary Manors of Stoke and Sunbury (which had been originally surveyed in 1769),* and in laying out to various persons—under warrants issued from the Provincial Land Office—tracts of land in various sections of the Wyoming region outside the Proprietary Manors.

April 6, 1771, sundry freeholders of Northampton County presented to the Provincial Council a petition† setting forth that the prosperity of the settlement at Wyoming greatly depended on the making of a road “from the *old* frontier improvements to the Susquehanna, as the difficulty of traveling on horseback from either of the above places to the other,” by way of the path then in use (the “Pennamites’ Path” described on page 646), was “sensibly felt” by all who attempted it. The petitioners further set forth that the work “must be attended with a great expense” before the road could “be made passable for carriages; without which the removing of families, and husbandry,” could not be well effected. The Council ordered Aaron De Pui, Peter Kachlein, Daniel Shoemaker, John Van Campen, Beniah Munday, Philip Johnston, John Seely and Michael Raub “to view and lay out a road from the north side of the Blue Mountain to Wyoming, *as nearly on a direct line as possible*, and make report to the Provincial Secretary’s office within six months.” It is doubtful whether these commissioners ever performed any part of the duty confided to them.

Under the date of April 9, 1771, Gov. John Penn wrote to James Tilghman,‡ Joseph Shippen, Jr.,§ and John Lukens|| as follows¶ :

“I have taken a resolution to sell the Proprietary lands at Wyoming, if anything of a price can be had for them; and I desire you will proceed to Easton, there to sell them according to notice given of the sale. You are to endeavor to get at least £30 per 100 acres upon an average, and as much more as you can prevail upon the people willingly to give for them. If that price cannot be got I would not have them sold as yet; but in such case you are to try to induce the people to keep possession, *at their own expense*, on terms of lease, upon encouragement of extending the leases longer than what has already been allowed, with liberty of purchasing at the expiration of the leases, either at a limited or the then common price. If they incline to purchase at the above price, you may agree that they enter immediately and keep the possession at their own expense; to pay one-third of the purchase money in nine months, and mortgage for the residue. * *

“Such persons as have leases, and have endeavored to keep their possessions according to their agreement, should have their places, as now laid out, confirmed to them if they will give a proper price. Others who have been active in gaining or keeping possession—especially those who have sustained losses—are to have preference of purchasing to those who have not that kind of merit. But those who have acted for pay only are not entitled to any preference. * * Every purchaser must agree to *keep one able-bodied man, at least, constantly upon the ground.*” * *

Under the date of April 20, 1771, Messrs. Tilghman, Shippen and Lukens wrote to Governor Penn as follows** :

* * * “On the 11th instant we met [at Easton] a number of people who had had leases of those lands, or who had been instrumental in retaining the possession of them against the Connecticut intruders. * * We heard the pretensions of those who were present, and considered those of the absentees (who remained at Wyoming to guard the possession). After a negotiation of several days we fixed upon the persons named in the annexed list as purchasers of those lands which had been some time before laid out and divided into lots, numbered (as in the list) by the Surveyor General and Charles Stewart the Deputy Surveyor of the District. The greater number of the purchasers were present, and entered into an agreement, hereunto also annexed. Those who were absent, we were

* See pages 460 and 487, Vol. I.

† See “Pennsylvania Colonial Records,” IX : 731.

‡ Then Secretary of the Provincial Land Office. See note on page 489, Vol. I.

§ Then Secretary of the Provincial Council. See note on page 361, and page 362, Vol. I.

|| Then Surveyor General of Pennsylvania. See page 654.

¶ See the original letter in the collections of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

** See the original letter in the collections of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

given to understand, would agree to the same terms. We instructed Mr. [Charles] Stewart—who in a short time was to repair to Wioming—to take the agreement of those who were not present. * *

"The prices were the best which could be had. *The prime of the land is what is called the Shawanese Town*," which is entirely without wood. * * There were more purchasers than there were lots laid out, and therefore several were excluded whose pretensions were not so well founded as those of the persons to whom the allotments were made. To these we instructed Mr. Stewart, the Deputy Surveyor, to lay out lots—if they could be found to their liking within the manors at Wioming." * * *

Preserved with the foregoing letter are the agreements and the list therein referred to, and from them we learn that the following lots in the Manor of Sunbury were disposed of.

NOS. OF LOTS.	AREAS IN ACRES.	NAMES OF PURCHASERS.	MEMORANDA.
1	79	Cornelius Van Campen	On "Shawnee" Flats.†
2	79	William Ledlie	" " "
3	79	Garret Brodhead	" " "
4	79	Nicholas De Pui	" " "
5	81	Daniel Shoemaker	" " "
6	79	Daniel Shoemaker	" " "
7	79	John Van Campen	" " "
8	79	John Arrison	" " "
9	79	Beniah Munday	" " "
10	79	John Smith	" " "
11	79	Robert Duchee	" " "
12	116	Joseph Wheeler	On Upper Plymouth Flats.
13	123	Aaron De Pui	" " " "
14	147	Samuel Cannon	Price, £50 per 100 acres.
15	158	Amos Ogden, Administrator of Nathan Ogden	Price, £50 per 100 acres.
16	165	David Ogden	Price, £50 per 100 acres.
17	165	Charles Stewart	Price, £45 per 100 acres.
18	160	Philip Johnston‡	Price, £40 per 100 acres.
19	161	Samuel Rogers	On Kingston Flats.
20	190	Thomas Van Horne	Price, £40 per 100 acres.
21	177	Cornelius Van Horne	Price, £40 per 100 acres.
22	162	James Lawson	Price, £35 per 100 acres.
23	150	John Dolson	On Kingston Flats.
24	150	William Armstrong§	" " "
25	150	Bernard Gritz	" " "
26	160	David Fowler	" " "
27	177	George Field	" " "

"Lot No. 28," in the Manor of Stoke, was a mill-seat of 181 acres at the mouth of Mill Creek. Apparently this was not disposed of by Messrs. Tilghman, Shippen and Lukens in April, 1771. The lots in Stoke then disposed of were the following :

NOS. OF LOTS.	AREAS IN ACRES.	NAMES OF PURCHASERS.	MEMORANDA.
29	81	Robert Martin	Price, £30.
30	94	Alexander Patterson	Price, £35.
31	121	Dr. Andrew Ledlie	Price, £40.
32	147	Joseph Morris, Assignee of John Jennings	
33	134	John Dick, Assignee of Isaiah Jennings	Price, £45.
34	134	George Ryerson	
35	130	Martin Ryerson	

* The Lower Plymouth, or "Shawnee", Flats, described on page 50, Vol. I. See, also, page 454.

† As there was no wood-land on the lots numbered from "1" to "11" it was agreed that the purchasers should have "so much wood-land laid out to them in the Proprietary lands [the Manor of Stoke] on the opposite side of the River Susquehanna, or elsewhere," as would "make up their quantities each 150 acres." The price to be paid for these lots "1" to "11" was £50 per 100 acres.

‡ Charles Stewart's brother-in-law, mentioned on page 485, second paragraph.

§ WILLIAM ARMSTRONG was a stone-mason of Philadelphia. October 17, 1774, he sold his lot for £22, 5sh. to James Tilghman, who was Secretary of the Land Office. In 1801 this lot was claimed by the representatives of the Tilghman estate.

|| June 16, 1774, Capt. Alexander Patterson, describing himself as a "farmer," of Northampton County, sold for £20 his "Lot No. 30 in the Manor of Stoke" to James Tilghman, Secretary of the Provincial Land Office; and in 1801 the representatives of the Tilghman estate laid claim to this lot.

NOS. OF LOTS.	AREAS IN ACRES.	NAMES OF PURCHASERS.	MEMORANDA.
36	127	David Johnston*	
37	122	Samuel Johnston, Jr.†	
38	119	James Johnston‡	
39	111	Amos Ogden, for Gilbert Ogden§	Price, £35.
40	117	John King, Assignee of Daniel Leet	
41	119	Richard Manning	
42	122	Luke Brodhead	
43	127	Thomas Craig	
44	131	Silas Crane	
45	134	John Collins	
46	118	Jesse Clark	
47	212	John Salmon¶	
48	95	Aaron De Pui	Price, £50 per 100 acres.
49	144	Michael Raub	
50	127	Lawrence Ramee	
51	82	John Murphy	
52	?	Robert Martin	
53	150	Peter Kachlein	Price, £50 per 100 acres.

A considerable number of the aforementioned Manor of Stoke lots lay, of course, within the bounds of the township of Wilkes-Barré as surveyed by the New Englanders, and the lines of the respective surveys (Yankee and Pennamite) crossed, interfered with and cut up one another to a remarkable degree, as is clearly shown by reproduced drafts of portions of the surveys, facing page 432 of Volume XVIII of the "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series.

The terms under which the aforementioned sales were made and the lands allotted by Governor Penn's commissioners, were as follows: One-third of the purchase-money was to be paid in nine months from the date of sale, when the purchaser would receive a patent for the land; whereupon he would be required to mortgage the same to the Proprietaries to secure the payment, within two years, of the balance of the purchase-money, together with interest thereon, and a quit-rent of one penny sterling per acre from and after March 1, 1772. The several purchasers also bound themselves to proceed immediately to a settlement and improvement of their respective lots, and to keep, each of them, an able-bodied man on his lot. Here, as pertinent to this matter, we may appropriately introduce a paragraph from a communication** written by Col. Timothy Pickering in 1790, and addressed to a committee of the Pennsylvania Legislature.

"If the committee will take the trouble of opening the paper I left with them, exhibiting an extract from some of Gov. John Penn's grants to the yeomanry in April, 1771, they will see a list of twenty-nine persons (part of them, I suspect, and perhaps a considerable part, were *Jersey adventurers*) to whom grants of thirty-one lots were made on the terms therein mentioned; and that one essential condition of those grants was that the grantees should 'each keep at his own expense one able-bodied man, at least, *constantly* upon his lot, for the improvement and *defense* of the same.' I need not observe, that if this condition had been complied with by all the grantees—if this important yeomanry had really defended that country—the committee would not now be troubled with this very troublesome business. The truth is that the grantees did not perform that necessary condition; nor have those named in the abovementioned list performed another of some consequence—I mean that of *paying for the lands* so granted. * * * Of the twenty-nine grantees named in that list, it appears at the Receiver General's office that *one only*—Charles Stewart—has paid a farthing. He did pay; but it is equally true that he has not kept possession and defended."

* A resident of New Jersey, and a brother-in-law of Charles Stewart, Esq.

† A resident of New Jersey, and a brother-in-law of Charles Stewart, Esq.

‡ A resident of New Jersey, and a brother-in-law of Charles Stewart, Esq.

§ Amos Ogden's brother.

|| Mentioned on page 488, Vol. I.

¶ Capt. JOHN SALMON, mentioned on page 645; and, as there noted, his lot lay in what is now Hanover Township.

** See the Hon. Henry M. Hoyt's "Brief of a Title in the Seventeen Townships in the County of Luzerne," page 28.

During April and May, 1771, the whole of Abraham's Plains adjoining the Manor of Sunbury on the north-east were laid out into lots under the direction of Charles Stewart. Twenty of those lots were from fifty-one to eighty-four rods in width at the river's margin, and ranged from 330 to 422 rods in depth. They contained from 100 acres to 200 acres each.* Of those twenty lots four were allotted to the Rev. William Smith, D. D. (Provost of the College of Philadelphia), and Surveyor General John Lukens, as joint-tenants; four to John Van Campen, previously mentioned; four to A. Stewart; four to William Ledlie of Easton, previously mentioned, and four to Charles Stewart. Upon one of the lots then allotted to Dr. Smith and Surveyor General Lukens the Wyoming Monument now stands, and upon lots numbered 16, 17, 18 and 19 (allotted to Messrs. Van Campen, Smith, Lukens, Ledlie and Stewart) the battle of Wyoming was subsequently fought. Just as in Wilkes-Barré, the lines of these Pennamite surveys crossed, interfered with and cut the lines of the Yankee surveys in the "Forty" (later Kingston) Township.

On Jacob's Plains—adjoining the Manor of Stoke on the north-east, and within the bounds of the township of Wilkes-Barré as laid out by the Yankees†—Charles Stewart surveyed on May 31 and June 5, 1771, the following described tracts of land‡: (1) For Cornelius Slack, 267 acres called "Kingston," "above and adjoining the Manor of Stoke, on a brook called formerly Beaver Brook, now known by the name of Mill Creek." (2) For John Anderson (previously mentioned), 306 acres, called "White Oak Ridge," adjoining Cornelius Slack's tract on the north-east. (3) For David Johnston, 335 acres, called "Bear Swamp." (4) For Thomas Hays of Northampton County, 329 acres, "opposite, above and below Manahanung Island,§ adjoining a tract of land called Jacob's Plains." (5) For William West, Jr., 339 acres, called "Purchase", "at a bend of the river above the Manor of Stoke." Through this tract flowed the little creek mentioned on page 213, Vol. I. The hamlet of Port Bowkley now covers a small section of this tract—which is shown, in part, in the picture facing page 174; Port Bowkley being situated at the end of the bridge at the right side of the picture. (6) For Jacob Lemley of Sussex County, New Jersey, 306 acres, called "Pine Ridge," adjoining Anderson's "White Oak Ridge" on the north-east.

June 3, 1771, Charles Stewart surveyed on a warrant in favor of Abraham Slack a tract of 303 acres, called "Hopewill." It was located "three-quarters of a mile from the south-east side of the Susquehanna River, between a tract of land called Nanticoke Town|| and the mountain, and about one mile below the Manor of Stoke."

From the journals of the Moravian missionaries at Wyalusing we learn that from the 24th to the 26th of May, 1771, there was a continual downpour of rain, resulting in a great rise of the river—the greatest in twenty years. The lowlands were all overflowed, fences and stock were swept away, and on the flats the growing corn—which was just coming up—was left covered with mud when the flood subsided. If so much damage was done at Wyalusing, it is quite certain that the Pennamite settlers in Wyoming Valley must have suffered considerable damage and inconvenience from the same flood.

* See a draft of the same facing page 514, Vol. XVIII, "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series.

† See page 516.

‡ See a draft of the same facing page 544, Vol. XVIII, "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series.

§ Monocanock Island, described on page 50, Vol. I.

|| See page 487, last paragraph.

According to adjournment The Susquehanna Company met at Windham June 12, 1771, Major Talcott, as usual, acting as Moderator. The following business was transacted :

"Whereas this Company at their meeting held March 13, 1771, voted that it was necessary and best for the interests of this Company to regain and hold possession of our settlements at Wyoming ; and in order thereto it was voted that the 540 settlers formerly voted in, as also those settlers to whom the township of Hanover was granted, should go forward and take possession of our lands at Wyoming by the first day of June ; and at the meeting of this Company in April it was voted to suspend entering on said land, * * it is now judged necessary and best, and voted, that the said 540 settlers immediately go forward and take possession of our lands at Wyoming, * * and that they be on said lands by the 10th day of July next.

"Whereas, It is probable some of the settlers will fail of going on and taking possession of their settling rights, according to the votes of this Company, and some others have forfeited their settling rights by unfaithfulness, and it will be necessary to fill up the said number of 540 settlers—*It is now Voted*, That the company of settlers, when they have got possession of said lands, either by themselves or by a committee by them chosen shall have full power to admit new settlers upon such forfeited rights, and fill the said number up, if good, able and faithful men shall offer themselves. * * *

"Voted, That James Hannah, Philip Goss, David Carver, Andrew Graham, John Bacon, Jr., Thomas Fanning, Benjamin Dorchester, Ebenezer Learned and Jonathan Buck, 'Nine Partners,' be added to the committee for collecting the last two dollars tax that was granted, and pay the same to the Treasurer.

"Whereas, William Speedy,* James Biggers and Richard Cook did in January last join with and assist our people in endeavoring to hold the possession of our lands at Wyoming, but were, after a manly resistance, drove off, and are now about to return with our people to take possession of our lands at Wyoming—it is now *Voted*, That the said William Speedy, James Biggers and Richard Cook be each of them entitled to one settling right in said lands, of such rights as are or shall be forfeited. * *

"Whereas, the proprietors of The Susquehanna Company's Purchase belonging to New London, in October last did advance seventy-five dollars to Captain Latimore and a number of men that went with him to Delaware River in order to relieve our settlers that were in distress, and to endeavor to retake our Fort [Durkee], and now apply to the Company in some measure to repay the same, it is now *Voted*, That in consideration thereof Eliphalet Lester of New London, who has two rights to dispose of, shall sell said two rights and pay said seventy-five dollars to those who advanced the same."

In pursuance of the resolutions of The Susquehanna Company, upwards of seventy men (nearly every one of whom was a shareholder in the Company, and had been at Wyoming at some time previously)† were enlisted to go forward to the much-coveted valley under the command of Capt. Zebulon Butler. Each man armed and equipped himself, and agreed to provide his own rations while on the march. While preparations were going on in Connecticut for the Wyoming expedition Lazarus Stewart secretly journeyed to Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, where he paid a hurried visit to his wife and children, and then, gathering together a few of the "Paxtang Boys" who had fled with him from Fort Durkee five months before, hastened to join Captain Butler on the march to Wyoming. Towards the end of June Captain Butler and about fifty of his men set out from Connecticut. They journeyed by way of Goshen, New York, and about the 3d of July reached Owens', in northern Sussex County, New Jersey (see page 636), where they were

* See pages 676 and 717.

† Many of the proprietors in The Susquehanna Company were, of course, either unable or disinclined to go on this expedition, but some of them were willing to send substitutes, and, so far as possible, did so. The following is a copy, in part, of an original agreement made between one of the proprietors and his substitute.

"Article of Agreement between WILLIAM HOLLY and DAVID SANFORD [presumably of Farmington, Connecticut], * * * that David Sanford shall go immediately to Wyoming and there join the Connecticut forces, or Committee, and take possession of and keep for three years the two half-settling-rights belonging to John Holly under Zerubabel Jearom, and the other [whole right] belonging to Dr. Holly ; and at the end of three years deliver up to William Holly one right, and keep the other for himself—and to turn a copper for choice. * * Upon the penalty of £50 York money, &c. Witness our hands and seals this 9th July, 1771.

"In presence of

"JEREMIAH COLMAN.

[Signed]

"DAVID SANFORD, [L. S.]"

"WILLIAM HOLLY, [L. S.]"

[Mem. William and John Holly, abovenamed, were in 1769 inhabitants of East New Jersey (see page 512); and Jeremiah Colman was in 1778 a resident of Goshen, New York.]

joined by Lazarus Stewart and the other Hanoverians. Under the date of July 3d a certain John Thompson wrote to Justice of the Peace John Van Campen (previously mentioned), in Lower Smithfield Township, Northampton County, near the Delaware Water Gap, informing him that the Yankees were on their march. "If you intend to espouse the Pennsylvania cause," he wrote, "I would advise you to raise a number of men as soon as possible and strive to interrupt them at the River. You have no time to lose." At that time Charles Stewart was at his home in Kingwood, Hunterdon County, New Jersey, and Captain Ogden—who had been in Lower Smithfield Township a few days previously, on his way from his home in Morris County, New Jersey—was supposed to have gone to Philadelphia. In the circumstances, therefore, Justice Van Campen forwarded John Thompson's letter by express to James Tilghman at Philadelphia, and wrote to him also, as follows:

"By the inclosed you will observe what the Yankes are about, and the advice of Mr. Thompson to me is very good, but it is not in my power to raise more from this place to oppose them, agreeable to his advice. * * I am afraid that matters will not go well at Wyoming, as I have reason to think those people [the Yankees] have friends on the ground. It may be depended on that there are great matters in hand with the Yankes, as there are almost every day dispatches from Isaiah Van Campen down to Mr. [Benjamin] Shoemaker, as I suppose for him to transmit back to the [Connecticut] party how matters stand amongst us. I am afraid those people will be masters of the ground, if they make their push soon, as they have a great many friends to help carry on their schemes."

On July 5th John Thompson, previously mentioned, wrote from "Nominack" to Charles Stewart, as follows:

"I had intelligence of their [the Yankees] coming before they were at Goshen, and after writing to Mr. Van Campen I went to the upper part [of the Minisinks] and was there before any of them came; and whilst there Squire Smith* and sixteen more came, and told me that 500 more were over at Owens', commanded by Captain Butler and Mr. Stewart. But I don't believe there is so many. The whole is commanded by Major [Ezekiel] Peirce. They could be easily prevented in crossing the river here."

On July 5th Squire Van Campen also wrote to Charles Stewart, as follows:

"The bearer can give you a full account of the situation of affairs. After a great deal of trouble I have transmitted the full account to the people at Wyoming. As Ogden is not there I am afraid the next news [will be] that the people have abandoned the block-house. My advice for them is to drive all the cattle down the river, and if they could do no better, drive them down to Fort Allen."

At Kingwood, on July 8th, Charles Stewart wrote to James Tilghman, transmitting the letters of Thompson and Van Campen, and stating:

"This instant the bearer delivered me the enclosed. He came directly from over the [Blue] Mountain, and saw Captain Ogden near Aaron De Pui's,† who told him he would set off directly for Wioming and take possession of the block-house‡ with such a party as he could get to support him. I fear the number will be small. The bearer has also seen and knows several of the advance party [of the Yankees]—Squire Smith in particular, he being one of them who signed the Terms of Agreement.§ The great scarcity of bread corn along the river will certainly occasion some delay to so great a number as they are reported to be, viz.: 500 men—but suppose them to be only half that number. If they are not repelled before they get to Wioming they will certainly carry their point and dispossess our people. I need not write you what the bearer can relate. He is a young man of truth, and has been engaged in Wioming affairs from the first time I went there until this day, and hath always behaved with spirit. I have prevailed on him, tho' fatigued, to wait on you with this disagreeable intelligence, which affects me more than any former news relating to Wioming has done. I hope that the Government of Pennsylvania will exert itself, and that these heroes will be met at Delaware River by the Sheriff of Northampton County and conducted to Wioming via Philadelphia. I hear they expect a supply of provisions up Susquehanna River."

In the Spring of 1771, when the Pennamite settlers seemed to be in a fair way to become securely established in Wyoming Valley, they

* JOHN SMITH, mentioned on page 410, etc.

† In Lower Smithfield Township. Ogden had not gone to Philadelphia, as Van Campen had presumed.

‡ Fort Wyoming.

§ See page 628.

erected near the mouth of Mill Creek a small saw-mill, and not far from it—on the ground where the New England pioneers of 1762-'63 had built their block-house, and where subsequently (see page 460, Vol. I) Captain Ogden had established his trading-house—they erected a small block-house, to be occupied by a detail of settlers who would guard the mill. As soon as the mill was in running order planks, boards, etc., were sawed, and a number of small dwelling-houses were erected at various points in the valley. By the middle of June, or first of July, 1771, these houses were in the occupancy, chiefly, of the married men of the settlement and their families, while the unmarried men occupied Fort Wyoming and the Mill Creek block-house. In the absence from the settlement of Charles Stewart and Capt. Aaron Ogden, at the beginning of July, Col. Asher Clayton, previously mentioned, seems to have been the chief man on the ground. At Philadelphia, August 22, 1771, Colonel Clayton made a deposition before James Biddle, a Justice of the Peace, which reads, in part, as follows* :

"ASHER CLAYTON, of Philadelphia, Gentleman, deposes that on July 6, 1771, he was at Wyoming, improving his farm there, when he received notice of the approach of the armed men commanded by Stewart and Butler ; * * and thereupon he and the other inhabitants, with their families, making in all eighty-two men, women and children, retired into a block-house,† taking with them the principal part of their effects. Deponent sent out two men to reconnoiter, and one of them returned about one o'clock the next morning, saying that his companion, James Bertroug, had been taken prisoner by the Yankees at the Lackawannack.‡ About eleven o'clock the same day [Monday, July 8, 1771] Bertroug returned and said he had been taken prisoner the preceding night by a party of fifty or sixty men under Stewart and Butler, who told him they were come by authority of the Government of Connecticut to take possession of that country, and were determined to do it, or would perish in the attempt ; and that while he [Bertroug] was with them they took possession of a house at the mouth of Mill Creek, and a mill on the same creek. Bertroug further informed, that by stating that he had no concern in the land he was released, and was sent with a message from Butler to Clayton asking for a conference at any place he would appoint.

"In consequence he [Clayton] met Butler the next day, [July 9th], at about one-half mile distance from the block-house—Butler being accompanied by Ezekiel Peirce and Clayton by Daniel Meade. Butler told what they [the Yankees] were there for, *viz.* : that they came under authority and protection of the Government of Connecticut to take possession of the lands there, and were determined to obtain and keep possession of them at the risk of their lives ; and, pointing to about thirty of his party who were advanced within a small distance, said he wished the right could be determined by *their engagement with an equal number*.§ To all which the deponent (Clayton) answered that he should not dispute with him about the right to the lands, as it was a matter neither of them could determine ; but that the inhabitants having settled there under the Proprietaries of this Province, he and they would endeavor to maintain their possession until they could have orders from the Government. That deponent suggested that Butler should draw off his party to the opposite side of the River, and that neither party should molest the other until Clayton should receive advices from the Government. This was rejected, and they parted without reaching terms. That from that time he (Clayton),

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," IX : 767.

† Fort Wyoming, on the river bank near the present Northampton Street.

‡ The Lackawanna River, along which, for some distance—as previously explained—ran the "Upper Road to the Delaware," over which Captain Butler and his command marched to Wyoming.

§ Gordon, in his "History of Pennsylvania," refers to this incident, and asserts that Captain Butler proposed to Colonel Clayton that "the rights of the respective claimants should be determined by combat, between thirty men to be chosen from each side. But the proposition was rejected." Trial by battle, or "wager of battel"—a combat decisive of the merits of a cause turning on disputed matters of fact—was immemorably in use among the northern nations of Europe up to the sixteenth century ; and, even as late as the latter part of the seventeenth century, it was resorted to on one occasion in Zebulon Butler's own town of Lyme, in Connecticut. Of course that was before his time, but he, just as all other Lymeites, was familiar with the story of the incident. For years there had existed between the people of Lyme and the adjoining town of New London a controversy over a strip of land. It was finally agreed, since the tract was not worth the expense of further litigation, to settle the question—not by committees, courts or legislative enactments, but by a trial of skill and strength between champions selected for the purpose ; which was regarded as *leaving it to the Lord to decide*. Dr. Dwight, in his "Travels," refers to the matter in these words : "New London selected two men, of the names of Picket and Latimer ; Lyme committed its cause to two others, named [Matthew] Griswold and [William] Ely. On a day mutually appointed, the champions appeared in the field and fought with their fists till victory was declared in favor of each of the Lyme combatants. Lyme then quietly took possession of the controverted tract, and has held it undisputed to the present day." This, it is presumed, is the only instance in which a public controversy was ever decided in New England *pugnis et calcibus*.

with the rest of the inhabitants in the block-house, kept on their guard to prevent a surprise, and laid in what provisions they could, apprehending that Butler and his party would endeavor to put their threats in execution."

From an original unpublished document entitled "List of Settlers, 1771—from 15 July to August 19th," partly in the handwriting of Maj. Ezekiel Peirce, and partly in that of Captain Butler, and now preserved in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, we learn the names of the Yankee adventurers and their associates who arrived here on July 8th. They numbered sixty-five, and were as follows :

Atherton, Asahel	Gore, Daniel	Reynolds, Christopher
Atherton, James	Gore, Asa	Stewart, Capt. Lazarus
Butler, Capt. Zebulon	Gore, Silas	Stewart, William
Biggers, James	Harris, Peter	Stewart, Lazarus—Jr.
Buck, Lieut. William	Jolley, Capt. John	Smith, Capt. John§
Buck, Aholiab	Jones, Crocker	Smith, Abel
Bellene, Reuben*	Johnson, Edward	Smith, Timothy
Brokaw, John	Lyon, Asa	Staples, John
Chase, John	McClure, Thomas	Stanton, Abraham
Comstock, John	McCoy, Ephraim	Speedy, William
Cook, Richard†	Manvil, Nicholas	Terry, Parshall
Dean, Ezra	Marvin, Capt. David	Terry, Parshall—Jr.
Durkee, John‡	Marvin, Matthew	Utter, Moses
Dorrance, John	Marvin, Uriah	Van Orman, Brink
Fish, Jabez	Minard, George	Vincent, Isaac
Franklin, Roasel	Parke, William	Whittlesey, Capt. Eliphalet
Follett, Capt. Benjamin	Parkes, Josiah	Williams, Peter
Fish, Elisha	Peirce, Maj. Ezekiel	Wilder, Aaron
French, Thomas	Pelton, Paul	Woodward, Richard
Gardner, Peregrine	Pettebone, Noah—Sr.	Yale, Ozias
Goss, Philip	Post, Stephen	Yale, Enos
Gore, Obadiah		Young, William

Having failed to accomplish anything by his interview with Colonel Clayton, Captain Butler returned with his men to the block-house at Mill Creek, where they settled down to await, not only the arrival of a number of men who, having enlisted for the expedition, had remained behind to attend to their harvests, but also the coming of additional volunteers who were to be hurried forward by the Standing Committee of the Company.

The Hon. Richard Penn, one of the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, having died, his son John, Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania, embarked for England at Philadelphia, May 4, 1771, and two days later the Hon. James Hamilton (see page 386, Vol. I), as the oldest member of the Provincial Council, assumed, in conformity with the law, the office of "President," and began to exercise the duties of the Lieutenant Governor. July 10, 1771, having received information from James Tilghman of the crossing of the Delaware by Zebulon Butler and his armed band of "about 500 Connecticut people," and their march Wyoming-ward, President Hamilton issued a proclamation in which he referred to the previous attempts of the Connecticut people to settle at Wyoming, and then declared :

"*Whereas*, We have received intelligence that a number of people of the said Colony of Connecticut are now again assembled in arms, and proceeding on their way to this Province in a hostile and warlike manner, in order violently and forcibly to take possession of the said lands on the Susquehanna ; *And Whereas*, By an Act of the General Assembly of this Province made in the present year, it is enacted that if any persons, to the number of twelve or more, being unlawfully, riotously and tumultuously assembled together, * * and being required or commanded * * by proclamation in the King's

* Marked, "Deserted August 14th."

† Marked, "Dead 30th."

‡ Eldest son of Maj. John Durkee. See page 486, Vol. I.

§ JOHN SMITH, Esq., mentioned on page 692, and the father of Abel and Timothy Smith, whose names follow his in the list here printed.

name to disperse, * * and not dispersing, but continuing together, shall be adjudged guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy, and the offenders shall be adjudged felons, and shall suffer death as in case of felony, without benefit of clergy."

In conclusion, all persons were forbidden "to intrude upon, settle or possess any of the aforesaid land, without express permission of the Government." This proclamation was printed, and copies of it were sent to the Sheriffs of the counties of Northampton, Berks and Lancaster, "to be disseminated." Of course—as we have previously narrated—before this proclamation reached the public Captain Butler and his "intruders" had reached Wyoming.

Captain Ogden arrived in Wyoming almost as soon as the Yankees, and at Fort Wyoming he found the inmates in a state of confusion and indecision. To convey immediate intelligence of the situation to headquarters at Philadelphia seemed to be absolutely necessary, and Ogden himself determined to be the messenger. Leaving the fort on July 12th, in the night-time, he reached Philadelphia three days later, and the next morning (July 16th) appeared before the Provincial Council. He stated* that there were about forty men of the Pennsylvanians at Wyoming "(many others being absent taking care of their harvests on the Delaware), and about 150 women and children, who, on the approach of the Connecticut intruders, were obliged to take refuge in a block-house, where they had but a small quantity of provisions, which could not last them longer than about ten days; that unless some relief and assistance were immediately sent to them they would be obliged to abandon their settlements and leave the Connecticut trespassers in possession of their lands and all their fields of wheat and Indian corn; that they had, therefore, requested him to come down with all the dispatch in his power and make application to the Government to grant them assistance."

"The Board, taking this matter into their serious consideration, were of opinion that, in order to bring to Justice that *dangerous villain, Lazarus Stewart*, and his daring accomplices, to preserve the Public Peace and prevent such tumults and riots as have heretofore been committed by them, in conjunction with the Connecticut people, it would be expedient and necessary to order the Sheriff and one or more Justices of the Peace of the County of Northampton to proceed without delay to Wyoming, taking with them about 100 men as a *posse comitatus*, in order to enforce the Riot Act lately passed in this Province. * * It was therefore agreed that 100 men should be hired to accompany the Sheriff to Wyoming, and that a quantity of provisions should be immediately provided in town [Philadelphia] and sent up to Northampton for their subsistence, and for the relief of the settlers at Wyoming; and that James Tilghman and Joseph Shippen† should proceed without delay to Easton to meet the magistrates of Northampton County, and consult with them upon the proper steps to be taken for the speedy raising of the men needed."

Within a day or two Messrs. Tilghman and Shippen proceeded to Easton, and thence to Bethlehem, where, on July 23d, they wrote to President Hamilton as follows‡ :

"Upon our arrival at Easton we found there every magistrate in the county, who entered very warmly into the matter of raising a number of men to go over to Wyoming; but, as the harvest is still on hand, and the service *not very agreeable*, we fear not much is to be done very speedily. The rendezvous is to be on Wednesday evening [July 24th] beyond the mountain, in order to see if an effectual corps can be made up. For if that cannot be immediately done, our opinion is to suspend the attempt somewhat longer till the harvest is secured, and in the meantime to send the people over a small supply of flour. We have seen two persons from the block-house who do not make the situation of the people anything like so distressful as Ogden represented; for instead of 150 women and children (which always seemed to us very extraordinary), we cannot find that the number amounts to more than thirty.

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," IX : 748.

† The one Secretary of the Provincial Land Office and a member of the Council, and the other Secretary of the Council, and both then present.

‡ See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, IV : 419.

"A letter has been received from [Colonel] Clayton, dated on Sunday morning [July 21st], wherein he says they are all in good spirits; and the express told us they could very well hold out for a fortnight from that time. If our people had staid on the ground after they heard of the approach of the New Englanders, we think it past a doubt they might have done what they pleased with them—being near double their number; but there certainly has been bad management some how or other, of which we shall endeavor to get at the bottom. The number of the Yankees, as they are called, is reported to be increased to 160, but as this comes from themselves it is not to be depended on. The last express does not think their number is so great. They [the Yankees] have collected all the cattle and horses together, and we doubt not but their scheme is to send them off to Jersey, and then to follow them if they find they cannot keep the ground."

At the Pennamite rendezvous "beyond the mountain" on July 24th, "notwithstanding the endeavors used by the magistrates, and by others who were *employed in New Jersey to raise men*, there assembled not more than about forty men instead of 100 expected to be raised; * * whereupon it was adjudged most advisable to suspend the attempt till the harvest was over, when there would be a greater probability of procuring a sufficient force."* It was decided, however, that in the meantime a party of about twenty men, under the command of Capt. John Dick, with Capt. Joseph Morris second in command, should be sent off with a supply of flour for the inmates of Fort Wyoming. Messrs. Tilghman and Shippen then set out for Bethlehem, leaving instructions with the magistrates, the Sheriff and Charles Stewart—who were present at the rendezvous—that another attempt should be made to raise about sixty men, to meet at Heller's, at the foot of the mountain,† on Monday, August 12th; which number, with the party to be sent with the flour, and the men then in Fort Wyoming, were judged "sufficient to assist the Sheriff in executing the Riot Act."

Retracing our steps to Wyoming, now, we find that between July 9th and Sunday, July 21st, Captain Butler's force had been increased to ninety-eight effective men by the arrival—in squads of two, four and more, on different days—of the following-named (thirty-three in number)‡ :

Anguish, Jacob
Baker, John
Beach, Amos
Belding, Ezra
Bennet, Isaac
Carey, Eleazar
Carey, Barnabas
Drake, Nathaniel
Davis, Reuben
Dougherty, John
Fenton, William

Feezler, Henry
Feezler, John J.
Fuller, Stephen
Farnum, Levi
Hopson, Jordan
Hibbard, Ebenezer
Kintnor, George
North, John
Osburn, Jacob
Osburn, John
Ricketts, Thomas

Redman, Michael
Rood, Michael
Vincent, Cornelius
Wallworth, Thomas
Warner, William
Weeks, Bartholomew
Weeks, Jesse
Weeks, John
Weeks, Thomas
Willcox, Joseph
Williams, William

On Sunday, July 21st, Captain Butler decided that the time had arrived for offensive action on the part of the Yankees, and that night, about twelve o'clock, he mustered all his men and marched them in silence to the vicinity of Fort Wyoming, where, before daylight appeared, they threw up two small redoubts, or intrenchments. One of these was located on the river bank near the junction of the present West River and South Streets (about where the residence of William L. Conyngham stands), and the other on the plain opposite the fort, near the intersection of the present Northampton and Main Streets. Fort Wyoming was within musket-shot of both these intrenchments, which also com-

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," IX : 750.

† A few miles south-east of the Wind Gap, in what is now Plainfield Township, Northampton County. See in Chapter XXIII "Map of North-eastern Pennsylvania."

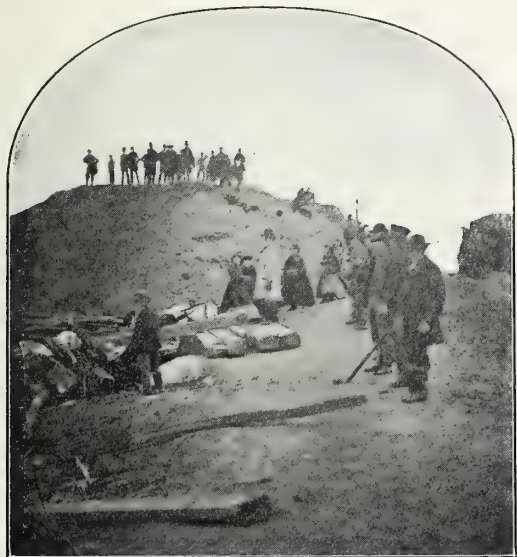
‡ See the original list mentioned on page 694.

manded the approaches to the "Pennamites' Path" and the old "Warrior Path," previously described. During Monday these intrenchments were occupied by details from the Yankee force, and thus the investment of Fort Wyoming was begun in earnest. Monday night the Yankees erected two other redoubts, one being located on the north-western shore of the river immediately opposite the Pennamite fort, and the other on the brow of a hill quite near the south-eastern margin of the river and 800 yards north-east of the fort.

At that period a rocky ridge—a spur of the hills which lie south of Mill Creek, within the bounds of what are now the First and the Sixteenth Wards of the city of Wilkes-Barré—extended unbrokenly in a south-westerly direction from that locality, and terminated somewhat abruptly on the river bank a few rods north-east of the junction of the present Union and River Streets.

The line of this ridge* is still distinguishable as far as Jackson Street, although Courtright Avenue, North Street and other streets and

lanes have been cut through it. Below Jackson Street the ridge has been entirely removed within recent years. First, in 1833, its southern extremity was shaved off when the channel of the North Branch Canal was excavated, and next, in the Summer of 1851, a roadway† was cut through it—being the extension of River Street northward to connect with The Wilkes-Barré and Providence Plank Road, then about to be constructed. The opening of this street, or road, left a dome-shaped mass of rock, some twenty-five or thirty feet in height, standing between the road and the canal



"THE REDOUBT" IN MARCH, 1865.

Viewed from near the corner of Union and River Streets.‡

basin, isolated from the main part of the ridge—along whose north-western base, from the canal to North Street, the road ran. Early in the Spring of 1886 this dome-shaped hill was removed, with the exception of a very small section, a few feet in height (shown in the lower illustration on the next page), left standing at the edge of the canal bank. In the Summer of 1886 West Jackson Street was cut through the main part of the ridge to connect with River Street, and two years later the remaining portion of the ridge south-west of Jackson Street was removed.

* A general view of this ridge north-east of North Street, as it was in 1901, is shown in the picture facing the next page.

† This roadway was excavated under the supervision of Dr. Charles F. Ingham, Capt. Eleazar B. Collings and Mr. Peter McC. Gilchrist, in pursuance of a resolution passed by the Town Council of the borough of Wilkes-Barré. According to the specifications the roadway was constructed "twenty-four feet wide, and on a line and level with the towing-path bridge"—which is shown in the upper illustration on the next page. The cost of cutting the road through the ridge was \$540.

‡ Reproduced from a photograph taken at the time of the great freshet of 1865, described in Chapter XI, VI. The people represented in the picture were watching the rising waters of the Susquehanna.



A VIEW OF "THE REDOUBT" IN 1878.

Looking south-east from the south-western bank of the Canal Basin.

It was upon the southernmost brow of this ridge that the Yankees constructed in July, 1771, their largest redoubt, which they named "Fort Defiance." Its remains were "still visible" in 1830,* and the hill had then, for many years, been called "Redoubt Hill." Later it was known simply as "The Redoubt," and under this name it is frequently referred to in the following pages. After the extension of North River Street through Redoubt Hill the dome-shaped, isolated portion of the hill, previously described, was called "The Redoubt" (or, as the name was most generally pronounced, and sometimes spelled—even in our local newspapers—"The Red'-out"), and this name it bore till its demolition.

By the erection and occupancy of the four redoubts mentioned Fort Wyoming was completely invested, and all communication with the surrounding country, either by land or water, was entirely cut off. Fort Defiance commanded not only the river (as did the redoubt on the Kingston shore), but also the usual approach to the Upper Road to the Delaware. However, the inmates of Fort Wyoming possessed the means of defending themselves so long as their provisions and ammunition should last.



THE REMAINS OF "THE REDOUBT" IN MAY, 1902.

*See an article by Prof. Benjamin Silliman of Yale College in the July, 1830, number (Vol. XVIII, No. 2) of *The American Journal of Science and Arts*.



VIEW FROM THE HILL, A SHORT DISTANCE SOUTH-EAST OF THE JUNCTION OF BOWMAN AND SCOTT STREETS.

The Hillman Vein Colliery of the Wilkes-Barré and Scranton Coal and Iron Company is shown in the middle-distance, near the center of the picture.

Beyond it stretches the ridge described on page 697.

Messrs. Tilghman and Shippen, having returned from the "rendezvous beyond the mountain" (see page 696) to Bethlehem, wrote from the latter place under date of July 26th to Justice Lewis Gordon, as follows* :

"We have received an account this morning from Wyoming that the block-house is invested by four different camps of the Yankees, so that we have ordered *Dick's party to be strengthened*, and he is determined to get into the block-house with as much flour as he can. In the meantime we must be collecting what force we can to send against them ; and in this service we must request the assistance of the magistracy and the Sheriff, in order to give some relief to the distresses of the people in the block-house, which are greatly increased by the women and children who were out of the place being all driven in. As it is plain a considerable part of this assistance *must be procured by the endeavors of Captain Ogden and Mr. [Charles] Stewart*, we hope the Sheriff and magistrates will co-operate with them and dismiss any *resentment which may heretofore have arisen towards the people of the Jerseys*—which really ought to give way to considerations of public peace and the relief of the distressed, though it may not be an easy matter totally to suppress it.

"It has been frequently repeated by John Jennings† that the Sheriff and Under Sheriff ought to exert themselves in this service. What he may mean by these repetitions we know not, but as you are the Sheriff's friend it may not be amiss to give him an intimation of this matter, as it may not only promote the service, but put him on his guard. If men can be got to go to Wyoming, the Sheriff or his Under Sheriff must go to make the proclamation required by the Riot Act. We wish it could be settled by Mr. Stewart and the Sheriff how many men could be got from this county. If it could, Mr. Stewart and Ogden would get the remainder *from Jersey*. * * If we could make up but sixty good men to add to twenty who will go with Dick, and what are in the fort, we think the business might be done. * * It must really give the greatest concern to every well-wisher to the honor and peace of this Government to see *a pack of criminals and intruders* putting the power of the Government at defiance. We would have the men who will undertake or engage to go, to be at Heller's on Monday fortnight [August 12, 1771]—if such notice be not countermanded before ; and they must not go there sooner. We pitch upon Heller's for the place of rendezvous because the provisions are there.

"When the Sheriff and Justices arrive at Wyoming, it will be proper for some of them to apply to the rioters and demand of them to hear the proclamation mentioned in the Riot Act read amongst them. If they refuse this and use any threats the proclamation must be made with a loud voice, as near to the rioters as the person who makes it can come with safety. Let the Sheriff, or Justice, who makes the proclamation, take with him a few persons for witnesses, who are best acquainted with the persons of the rioters. And there must be twelve, at least, of the rioters together when proclamation is made ; and if they do not disperse within an hour after proclamation is made, the Sheriff with the posse may arrest them and make use of force in case they are resisted. But it will be prudential to wait more than an hour before the arrest is attempted. It will be likewise prudent to reason and expostulate with the rioters, in order to induce them to desist from their unlawful undertaking.

"The Sheriff will also have the King's writ for several persons who are amongst the rioters, which he may execute in case the rioters should have the precaution not to appear to the number of twelve or more together. * * If the persons named in the writ should retire to any house or place of defence and refuse to admit the Sheriff, he must first demand entrance, and inform those within that he hath the King's writ. And if they afterwards refuse to open the doors or gates, the Sheriff will be justified in breaking them open and entering to make the arrest. * * As from the best information the New England party are in arms, it will be proper that the Sheriff and others should go armed for their own defence and preservation ; but they should not make use of their arms unless reduced to the necessity of doing it by an illegal and violent resistance, in which case force may be opposed to force. However, it is warmly recommended to exercise on this unhappy occasion the utmost moderation, discretion and prudence to avoid the effusion of blood ; and that neither the Sheriff nor any of the party strike, fire on or wound any of the rioters unless they are first stricken, fired upon or wounded by the rioters. At the same time that it is required of the Sheriff and Justices and their party to act a spirited and resolute part in endeavoring to bring the offenders to justice, it is not expected or desired that they should expose themselves to any unnecessary danger, or run great hazards, if they should be opposed by numbers so greatly superior as may leave no probability of succeeding in the attempt. If any arrests should be made, the persons are to be treated with all the humanity and tenderness the case may admit of. As to Lazarus Stewart and others against whom proclamations are issued, and who are supposed to be amongst the rioters, they may be arrested by anybody, and if opposed by force they may use force to take them."

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, IV : 420.

† Formerly Sheriff of Northampton County. See page 458, Vol. I.

On July 30th or 31st Messrs. Tilghman and Shippen returned to Philadelphia, and August 3d they made to the Council a report* of their doings in Northampton County. On Sunday, July 28th, Captains Dick and Morris and their party set out for Wyoming from their place of rendezvous north of the Blue Mountains. Taking the "Pennamites' Path" they arrived in Wyoming Valley shortly before daybreak on July 30th. Concerning their arrival here, and their reception by the Yankees, we have the following account,† written by Captain Dick at Fort Wyoming August 1, 1771, and forwarded by a messenger to Justice Gordon at Easton.

"Last Tuesday, about break of day, I arrived at this place with thirty-one men and the provisions, and was attacked by the Yankeys (who had information of our coming by a letter falling into their hands which an Indian was sent with by Captain Ogden). We were surrounded by their fire; we lost two [horse] loads of flour, and got in with the remainder, with twenty-two of our men. Nine of our men are missing. They have kept an almost constant fire on the block-house from four intrenchments ever since. We have forty-nine men able to bear arms, besides two wounded, and forty-eight women and children, and are determined to hold out to the last extremity. We had information by an Indian that the other party has three killed and a number wounded."

In a deposition made before Justice James Biddle at Philadelphia, August 22, 1771, Captain Morris gave his version of the experiences of himself and his associates in making their way into Fort Wyoming. It is as follows‡:

"Having advanced to within about 200 yards of a block-house, a man posted as a sentinel presented his firelock and challenged the people with the deponent, calling out: 'Who goes there?' That they answered that they were friends; that the sentinel bid them stop, and threatened to fire if they advanced. Upon which John Dick, one of the party with the deponent, told him they were going peaceably to the block-house and did not intend to hurt any one, and desired him not to fire. But the sentinel persisted in declaring his resolution to fire, and then Dick, raising up his gun, bid him fire at his peril. That the sentinel then stepped a little aside, and a number of men—about eighteen or twenty—who lay concealed a small distance to the right hand, started up suddenly, fired upon the deponent and the party with him, who presently after received another fire from the left, and from the sentinel. That finding themselves attacked in this hostile manner they found it necessary to defend themselves, and being provided with arms, returned the fire on their assailants, and hastening to the block-house under a constant fire from several parties of the Connecticut men, twenty-two of them got in, the rest being driven back, with the loss of four horses, with their loading—having had one of their men, Gilbert Ogden, dangerously wounded, and two others slightly hurt."

The nine men of the Dick and Morris party who failed to gain an entrance into Fort Wyoming made their way back to Easton, where three of them—Thomas Neal, Valentine Arnott and Thomas Scott—made a deposition before Capt. Amos Ogden as follows:

"July 30, 1771, they were in company with Capt. Joseph Morris and John Dick, who commanded a party of men sent to Wyoming with provisions for the relief of the block-house; and when within 300 to 400 yards of the block-house they got between two breastworks, and were fired upon from the breastworks and the woods. The fire soon became general. Morris and Dick's party returned the fire and took to the trees. But these deponents did not continue but a very short time before they thought it time to make their escape, as they saw the number of their enemies increase. The fire grew hot; these deponents saw some of their own men fall; they returned to a thick wood a mile or two from the block-house, where they lay the greatest part of the day, and then made the best of their way back."

Colonel Clayton, in his affidavit previously mentioned (see page 693), deposed as follows concerning the siege of Fort Wyoming and the arrival of Captain Dick's party.

"That on the 21st of July, at about twelve o'clock at night, the block-house was surrounded by the Connecticut party, who from that time kept the block-house invested, and secured themselves by intrenchments; that the same night they called to the deponent and told him he had had time enough to go off, and swore that if he did not sur-

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," IX: 750.

† See *ibid.*, 753.

‡ See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," IX: 769.

render up the block-house by eight o'clock the next day they would blow him and the people with him to hell. That the next day some of them appeared near the block-house and endeavored by various threats and persuasions to induce the inhabitants to desert it; that they seized on horses, cattle and such other effects of the inhabitants as they could get into their hands; that on the 29th a number of them drew nigh the block-house with their fire-arms in their hands, and the deponent, suspecting that they intended to surprise it, gave them notice that he was determined to maintain his possession, and forbade their approaching nigher.

"That on the 30th July, a little after daybreak, the deponent was alarmed by the firing of guns, and, expecting an attack, the inhabitants prepared to defend themselves and fired from the block-house towards the quarter from which they expected it, and found it to be an engagement between the Connecticut party and the men coming with relief—twenty-two of whom got into the block-house, the rest being repelled. Then the Connecticut men began to fire at the block-house with ball, which was continued with little intermission, night and day, until Saturday, August 10th—the people in the block-house returning the fire."

On August 5th Justice Gordon forwarded to the authorities at Philadelphia the letter which he had received from Captain Dick, and the joint-affidavit of Neal, Arnott and Scott, together with a brief communication from himself, in which he stated that that was "the day appointed by the Sheriff and the Justices for the rendezvous at Heller's, but owing to the bad news from Wyoming the men refused to go." Upon the receipt of Gordon's letter and the accompanying documents on August 6th, the Provincial Council agreed that orders should be issued for raising "100 men with the utmost expedition" to accompany the Sheriff to Wyoming. President Hamilton offered to advance £300 to pay expenses, if it should be necessary. On Thursday, August 8th, Justice Gordon wrote from Easton to James Tilghman at Philadelphia as follows:

"By Saturday or Sunday next it is not unlikely that 100 effective men may be ready to march for the relief of the block-house. I have recommended it to Captain Ogden, if it be at all practicable to throw in succor to the sufferers, whether it would not be most eligible to do it through means of Job Chillaway,* the Indian, and his friends at Wyalloosing, who, being neutrals in the dispute, may perform this service by water carriage with great safety, and even without suspicion; whereas our men must run the greatest risque. I observe what you say with respect to the decoy letter, but I am afraid old birds will not be taken by chaff. They have been served so before, and discovered it too late; therefore they are no doubt on their guard. However, nothing can be lost by the experiment. The business shall be expedited with the utmost activity, which, as you well observe, is *the life of the cause*; but you do not seem sufficiently to consider under what embarrassments we labour for want of money, which is *the soul of it*. There is a difference between bad pay and no pay at all. Shoes and other necessities are wanting, and therefore it is expected that you will *send money without delay*."

On Sunday, August 11th, Justice Gordon wrote from Easton to James Tilghman at Philadelphia, informing him that the raising of the posse had not succeeded, for at the muster on the previous day at "Reemey's" only about twenty-five men had appeared instead of the one hundred expected—the others having been "drawn away by their friends," who looked upon "the attempt as too dangerous." "It now appears to me," wrote Gordon, "that you cannot depend upon raising a sufficient force in these parts to disperse them, as the bulk of the County is *averse to it, and even exclaim against it*." However, while Mr. Gordon was writing the above letter, Charles Stewart, Amos Ogden, John Van Campen, Dr. Andrew Ledlie and others, having extensive land-claims in Wyoming Valley under Proprietary grants, were bestirring themselves to induce men to go on the Wyoming expedition, and by Monday morning, August 12th, they had mustered at "Reemey's" sixty-two men, who, at noon on that day, marched Wyoming-ward over the "Pennamites' Path" in command of Dr. Andrew Ledlie. Captain

* See page 650.

Ogden and Charles Stewart did not accompany the party, which arrived about three o'clock in the afternoon of August 15th at "Ten-mile Run,"* where they bivouacked and prepared to send forward to Fort Wyoming a supply of provisions—having first despatched David Ogden and an Indian as messengers to notify the inmates of the fort of the coming of supplies and reinforcements.

John Van Campen, who was a member of Ledlie's party, subsequently made a report in writing to Charles Stewart concerning some matters connected with this expedition. He stated that at four o'clock in the morning of August 9th he had received a letter from Lewis Gordon requesting him to raise a party of men to join others at "Ramey's" Sunday evening, August 11th. Continuing, Van Campen wrote :

"Friday went up along the Delaware River towards Minisink, and by Saturday evening collected nineteen men and marched them as far as his [Van Campen's] own house. Sunday proceeded to Ramey's, expecting to be joined there by parties from over the mountain, on the south side. Monday the said party proceeded with King and Ledlie's party, and each man [had] three days' provisions, but no provision being provided for the relief of the garrison, nor pack-horses to carry it, he [Van Campen] was obliged to spend Tuesday and Tuesday night collecting pack-horses, and to get wheat threshed and ground into flour. By Wednesday morning got about four horse-loads of flour ready, and set out very early that day, and that night joined the whole party at the Big Creek.† Thursday [August 15th] the whole party moved on to the forks of Lahawanak and Wyoming paths [at Ten-mile Run]. Got there about three o'clock P. M. Flung up a kind of breastworks. It was agreed to endeavor to throw a supply of flour into the block-house by water from above Wioming, and at the same time to attack the camp [the Yankee's redoubt] on the west side of the river—the practicability of which appeared to us by intelligence received from Thomas Forster and Samuel Simpson, Paxton men, who had come up the river with provisions for the block-house, of part of which they were robbed. Another canoe load they escaped with and hid on an island below the [Nanticoke] Falls. A party to throw in the supplies was prepared, and volunteers to attack the camp under the direction of Samuel Simpson and Robert Duchee, who offered to conduct this attack."

Leaving the Pennamite relief corps at Ten-mile Run, let us return to Wyoming and learn what transpired here between Saturday, August 10th, and Thursday the 15th. In the first place we learn, from the original "List of Settlers" mentioned on page 694, that, between the 21st of July (when Fort Wyoming was regularly invested) and August 15th, the Yankee force was increased by the arrival of the following-named men (twenty-two in number) :

Bates, Caleb
Buck, Asahel
Cole, Leonard
Cook, Reuben
Crooker, Joseph
Davis, Peter
Goss, Nathaniel

Gaylord, Lieut. Samuel
Haines, Benjamin
Hopkins, Frank
Hopkins, Ichabod
Hopkins, Robert
Hopkins, Timothy
Hotchkiss, Samuel
John, Frederick—Jr.

Peirce, Abel
Satterlee, William
Seeley, Bezaleel
Stephens, John
Windecker, Henry
Woodcock, Derrick
Young, John

From the deposition of Colonel Clayton (from which we have heretofore quoted) we learn :

"[Sunday], August 11th, Butler and Stewart sent a man with a flag to summon the Pennsylvania people to surrender. This was refused, and soon after the Yankees began to fire at the block-house with small arms and from a *wooden cannon*,‡ which burst at

* Undoubtedly the stream now known as Bear Creek. It was crossed by the "Pennamites' Path" at a point ten miles distant from Wilkes-Barré. See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, IV : 427.

† The stream later, and now, known as Tobyhanna Creek, in Monroe County.

‡ Miner says ("History of Wyoming," page 128) that the old Fort Augusta 4-pounder was in the possession of the Yankees during the siege, having "been carefully hid by them" when they left the valley in January, 1771, and that it was placed on the redoubt called Fort Defiance, where, "with skilful gunners, it would have completely commanded" Fort Wyoming. "But distance and want of skill rendered it in a very slight degree effective." That the cannon referred to was in the possession of the Yankees at that time is quite improbable, for, undoubtedly, it fell into the hands of the Pennamites when they took possession of the fort in January, 1771. At any rate, Parshall Terry, who was on the ground at the time of the siege, states in his affidavit mentioned on page 408, Vol. I, that on their arrival at Wyoming in July, 1771, the Yankees "found the Pennsylvanians in possession of a garrison, commanded by a Col. Asher

the second discharge ; that the firing continued on both sides until August 15th, when, the people in the block-house having suffered greatly for want of provisions, which were *entirely consumed*, and seeing no prospect of relief, he [Clayton] sent out a flag of truce, and after several messages, having obtained the best terms he could, a capitulation was signed. That during the siege Isaac Dalston was wounded and William Ridgyard* killed in the block-house by shot from the Connecticut party ; and the deponent hath heard and believes that several of that party were killed and wounded by shot from the block-house."

From the records of The Susquehanna Company and other authentic sources we learn that of the Yankee forces Richard Cook was killed on July 30th, and that John Chase was killed at some other time during the siege. Whether or not others were killed, and how many or who were wounded, we have been unable to learn. The Articles of Capitulation of Fort Wyoming, which, according to the deposition of Captain Morris, were "transcribed" by him, read as follows† :

"ARTICLES of CAPITULATION agreed upon the 15th day of August, 1771, betwixt Col. ASHUR CLAYTON, JOSEPH MORRIS and JOHN DICK, Commandants of the Block-house, in Behalf of the Honourable the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, and the Subscribers on behalf of the Colony of Connecticut, on Surrender of the Fort to the latter.

"1st. That 23 men shall go out armed, the Remainder unarmed, and to go from hence to their Respective Habitations, unmolested by the Opposite Party.

"2d. That the Men who have Families is to have liberty to stay on the land two Weeks, & to take off their Effects, which they are to do unmolested.

"3d. The sick & wounded is to have liberty to stay & keep such persons as they think proper for Nurses, and to send for a Doctor.

"The above articles we, the Subscribers, do bind ourselves by the honor & Faith of Gentlemen, to abide by and perform.

"*Testis*—

"ALEXANDER PATTERSON,†

"EZEKIEL PEIRCE,

[Signed]

"ZEBULON BUTLER,

"LAZARUS STEWART,

"JOHN SMITH."

As soon as the capitulation had been completed several of the men who had been inmates of the fort set out over the "Pennamites' Path" for Easton, and a day or two later Colonel Clayton and Captain Morris repaired to Philadelphia, where, on August 22nd, they made the depositions previously mentioned.

About four o'clock in the afternoon of August 15th the Indian messenger, who had been sent forward to Fort Wyoming with David Ogden, returned to the relief corps at Ten-mile Run with news of the fall of the fort ; which was shortly confirmed upon the arrival of four men who had been inmates of the fort. On consultation it was agreed that John Van Campen should proceed with all haste to Easton, bearing news of the capitulation, and that the other men of the party should continue to patrol the several paths at and near Ten-mile Run until further orders. Dr. Ledlie sent by Van Campen to Sheriff Kachlein and Justice Gordon a message reading in part as follows :

Clayton, as was said, with about fifty men, armed ; their garrison mounted a cannon carrying a 4-pound shot ; that Butler and Stewart, with their party—the deponent being one—soon laid siege to the garrison ; that *not having any artillery* they made several wooden cannon."

Relative to the wooden cannon Mr. Miner has the following to say : "Among the new body of emigrants were two of the Gore family from Norwich, * * Obadiah Gore, Esq., the father, and Daniel Gore, his son, blacksmiths by trade. * * They conceived the design of adding to the ordnance a new cannon. A large pepperage [pepperidge, or sour-gum, tree] log was fashioned, bored, and then hooped from breach to muzzle with stout bands of iron. Painted black, with a red mouth, and mounted on a wagon, its appearance at least was formidable. The first discharge excited at once admiration and hope among its friends. Reloaded—a heavier charge was driven home that a corresponding execution might be produced—the cannon split, and so terrible was the explosion that one of the iron bands, thrown 1,000 feet across the Susquehanna, was afterwards found in the willows on the river shore."

* He was shot and instantly killed on August 13th, while in the sentry-box on the side of the fort nearest the river. See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, IV : 428.

† See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," IX : 771.

‡ In his petition mentioned in the note on page 626, Alexander Patterson makes the following remarkable statement relative to the siege of Fort Wyoming in July and August, 1771. "They [the Yankees] proceeded to Wyoming, and after *having committed murder* and many atrocious crimes, they drove the Pennsylvania settlers into a garrison, wherein was your petitioner, with many women and children, *besieged nearly seven weeks*, and was at length obliged to capitulate through famine, and deliver up the garrison to Butler and the outlaw Lazarus Stewart."

"We shall keep the Shohola and Minisink paths guarded, to prevent more people coming to them [the Yankees], or [shall] retreat to the other side of the swamp till more men and further orders come up. They are 150 strong, and will get as many more in ten days. Our people are sixty in number and much disheartened, so that there is no persuading them further on; and, indeed, we could, with such a number, do nothing decisive. They [the Yankees] will permit me to go [to Wyoming] unarmed to dress the wounded."

John Van Campen reached Easton about ten o'clock in the night of August 16th, and immediately hunted up Charles Stewart and Lewis Gordon, each of whom forthwith wrote a letter to James Tilghman. These letters and Van Campen's account of affairs were entrusted to a messenger, who started without delay for Philadelphia. Stewart's letter was as follows* :

"Annexed is Justice Van Campen's account of the proceedings of himself and company since they set out for Wioming, and the miserable state of affairs now at that place. He is much fatigued himself, and his horse tired, therefore he cannot proceed to Philadelphia as he intended, as he cannot get a horse to hire here. He says that [Thomas] Forster and [Samuel] Simpson offer to bring, on six days' notice, fifty good men from Paxton to reduce the rebels at Wioming, and bring up provisions and cannon by water. They will remain with Ogden's party until they know if any attempt will be made, and say they doubt not of getting 100 men if necessary. The rioters do not exceed 130 at the most. No doubt they will be speedily reinforced by their former associates. The possibility of regaining the possession seems, as Mr. Van Campen says, to keep up the spirits of the friends of Government. Notwithstanding the shocking consequences that have happened it signifies but little to charge any person or persons with throwing difficulties in the way and discouraging the men. Ogden and many others think *they have been horribly trifled with, if not sacrificed!*† At any rate, it certainly is true that the delay in relieving the block-house brings ruin upon many poor, honest men who have, for upwards of thirty months, done everything in our power to support the possession and aid the civil authority. Mr. Van Campen has called on Mr. Gordon, who sends this bearer express with this news—the most disagreeable ever communicated by, Sir, your most humble servant."

At Philadelphia, August 19, 1771, the Provincial Council received from James Tilghman formal intelligence of the surrender of Fort Wyoming, and the next day a letter addressed to "the Hon. Thomas Penn and John Penn, Esquires," Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, was prepared, signed by the several members of the Council and, a few days later, forwarded to England. The original letter is now "No. 129" of the "Penn Manuscripts" mentioned on page 30, and it reads in part as follows :

* * "We beg leave to lay before you a state of the settlement at Wyoming, which for several years past hath been a most expensive Article to you, and given great Trouble to everybody concerned in Government. The gaining a possession there by the Connecticut Susquehanna Company, and the extending of their settlements to other parts of the New Purchase, equally within their claim, have been thought so greatly to affect your Interest, as well as the Peace and good Order of the Province, that attempts have from Time to Time been made to dislodge them, which have *generally* been successful, though very expensive; and Hopes have still been conceived that each removal would discourage *these lawless Intruders* from further attempts to establish their unlawful Possession, especially as the Government here have been informed that the Legislature of Connecticut could not be prevailed on to support their proceedings.

"The last removal of them was in January, after which it was determined to sell the Lands to such People as had been concerned in making the settlement, in order the more strongly to induce them to defend the Possession against these Intrusions; and in consequence of this resolution the Lands were offered to sale, and a number of People entered into contracts for the purchase of them—an account of which proceeding the late Governor carried over with him. As we were informed the Government of Connecticut had lately so far interfered in the affair as to enter into an enquiry concerning the Right of the Colony to the disputed Lands, but would not intermeddle at present with the Possession. We were in good Hopes no violent Measures would have been again pursued by the Susquehanna Company; yet, to our surprise, we received information on the 16th of last month that an armed Body of the Intruders had marched to Susquehanna about a week before, and had taken Possession about a mile and an half from our Block-House at

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, IV : 428.

† The efforts of the Jerseymen and the people of Northampton County—carried on for at least two years prior to the surrender of Fort Wyoming—to secure the choicest lands in the Wyoming region, led to jealousies, bickerings and resentments. (See pages 506, 675 and 699.) So far as we can now learn Amos Ogden never returned to Wyoming Valley after his hurried departure hence on August 12, 1771.

Given at — the House is a committee
at the Block House, come down to see a specimen of
of this Affair and be taken up. Let me be understood to be
on the side of the House.

We are fully conversant at this moment, which
the government must suffer, and that the expense it has
been to You has not answered our Expectation. It will
amount to considerably more than the three hundred
Pounds for which we drew on the Receiver General, but
the Overplus will not come out of your Purse.

We have the Honor to be with due Regards,

Your most Obedient
humble Servants

P.S. August 22. The Persons who
commanded in the Block House having
come to Town since writing the above
their Expenditures have been taken, and
are now enclosed.

Wm. Amiel Cobbett

W. Turner

Richard Peters

John Caldwell

Benjamin Chew

James Highmore

And^s Allen

Edu^d Shippen

The Honorable Thomas Penn and John Penn Esquires.

Wyoming, and, being superior in Number to our People then on the Ground (a good many of our Settlers having left the place to take care of their Harvests on Delaware) they had confined them to the Block-House, and seized upon their Cattle, Horses and other Effects.

"Upon considering the great inconvenience of having this settlement broke up and abandoned, the discouragement it might give to the settlement of the other parts of the New Purchase on the Susquehanna, and how dangerous it might prove to the public Peace and Tranquillity of the Province to suffer it to remain without opposition in the Hands of these Intruders—who had taken under their Protection *those dangerous villains Lazarus Stewart and his Accomplices* in the murder of Nathan Ogden (for apprehending whom the Assembly had offered large Rewards)—we came to the Resolution of once more attempting to remove them by a legal proceeding upon our Riot Act, and to relieve our own people in the Block-House from their distressed situation; and as this could not be effected without some considerable Expence—which the Settlers at this Time were not in a capacity to defray, we, upon considering Mr. Wilmot's letter to Mr. Chew (approved by the Proprietaries) relative to the removal of the Connecticut Intruders, were of opinion we might venture to draw upon the Receiver General for the sum of £300 for this service, and even to indemnify him for the Payment of it; and we were the rather induced to this Measure as we were well informed that the principal Members of the Connecticut Company *opposed this Expedition* (though a Majority were for it), which leads us to expect that could they now be effectually opposed they would not again embark in the affair against the opinion of their principal People.

"To promote and forward this service Mr. Tilghman and Mr. Joseph Shippen went to Northampton; but it being in the midst of Harvest a sufficient number of People to attempt a removal could not be immediately raised, and, therefore, a Party of twenty was sent over with a Quantity of Flour (the only article they were in great want of) to relieve the People in the Block-House and enable them to hold out 'till the Harvest was over and a sufficient Posse could be raised to remove the Intruders. This Party was attacked and fired upon by the Connecticut People, who had by this time invested the Block-House, and with great difficulty got in with a part of their Provisions—two of the men being wounded. Our People in their own defence returned the Fire, and it is said killed and wounded some of the other party. This Event made it exceeding difficult to collect anything of a Posse to attend the sheriff or to send any further relief to the Block-House, which was known to be in great distress. At length on the 13th *inst.* the number of sixty-two men was made up, and marched towards Wyoming; but on the 15th, about ten Miles on this side Wyoming, they received intelligence that the Block-House, unable any longer to hold out for want of Provisions, had surrendered the night before. Upon receiving this intelligence, and considering that the number of our People was insufficient for the purpose of dispersing the Rioters—who are superior in number, and in possession of the Block-House—we ordered them to be discharged, to avoid a further expence.

"Thus unfortunately has this troublesome affair ended, and it seems as if these Intruders must retain their Possession unless the Assembly will take the Matter up and give that assistance of money which is absolutely necessary for their removal. *We have no Militia*, and it is not possible to raise a Posse for such a service in a legal way; and, if the Assembly will not Interest themselves, you have, in our opinion, no way left but to push a decision of the Right before the King and Council. And as it is a Point of Jurisdiction as well as of Right, it ought to have all possible Dispatch to prevent the many fatal Consequences attending a Settlement made in a manner entirely hostile, and not subject to any Government. But we have good reason, upon conferring with the Speaker and some principal Members of the Assembly, to expect the Government will have their Assistance in this matter.

"As soon as the People who commanded at the Block-House come down to Town a particular Account of this Affair shall be taken upon Oath and transmitted to you by the first opportunity.

"We are truly concerned at this indignity which the Government must suffer, and that the Expence it has been to you has not answered our Expectation. It will amount to considerably more than the three hundred Pounds for which we drew on the Receiver General, but the Overplus will not come out of your Purse.

"We have the Honor to be with due Regard, Your most Obedient humble Servants,

[Signed]	"JAMES HAMILTON, Presid ^t	"BENJAMIN CHEW,†
	"JO. TURNER,	"JAMES TILGHMAN,‡
	"RICHARD PETERS,*	"ANDREW ALLEN,§
	"THOS. CADWALADER,	"EDWARD SHIPPEN, Jr.

"P. S. August 22d. The Persons¶ who commanded in the Block-House having come to Town since writing the above, their Depositions have been taken, and are now inclosed."

* The Rev. Richard Peters, mentioned on page 262, Vol. I.

† Mentioned on page 501.

‡ Then Secretary of the Provincial Land Office.

§ The Attorney General of Pennsylvania.

|| Mentioned in the fifth paragraph of the note on page 360, Vol. I.

¶ Col. Asher Clayton and Capt. Joseph Morris are here referred to.

At Philadelphia, August 21, 1771, Col. Joseph Shippen, Jr., Secretary of the Provincial Council, wrote to his father, Edward Shippen, Esq., at Lancaster, as follows* :

* * "The Government have had a great deal of trouble since Governor Penn's departure, in taking measures for retaining the possession of the Wyoming Lands against the Intrusions and hostile proceedings of Lazarus Stewart's Party and the other Rioters from Connecticut ; but all our Attempts have proved unsuccessful, for those *villainous Disturbers of the public Peace* have at length obliged our People, whom they had surrounded in the Block House at Wyoming, to surrender it to them for want of Provisions, which we in vain endeavour'd to supply them with. The Proprietaries have been put to a very considerable Expence in this affair, not only before, but since they sold all their Lands at that place to a number of people, *who engaged to defend them at their own Expence*. This Affair is now become a very serious Concern to the public, and justly claims the Attention of The Legislature and calls for a full Exertion of their Power. It is, with good Reason, expected that the Assembly, at their next Meeting, will take the Matter in hand and concert some effectual Means for removing such a *Nest of Villains, Murderers, and Banditti* from our Borders ; and for apprehending and bringing to exemplary punishment those atrocious offenders, *who bid Defiance* to the Laws and the Authority of Civil Government.

"Jenny and my Children are now very well. She desires her Love to yourself and Mammy, in which I heartily join her. My little Daughter indeed has been very low and thin ever since she had the small-pox ; but she has been this fortnight at Abington drinking and bathing in the mineral waters, which have been of great Benefit to her."

At Paxtang, in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, on September 7, 1771, Samuel Simpson (mentioned on page 704) wrote to James Tilghman at Philadelphia as follows :

"This day arrived from Wioming after the second trip Thomas Forster and I have had with flour and liquor to Captain Ogden ; and the last trip has not only proved hurtful to our interest, but I have suffered much in my person by a parcel of unmanly villains. When the fort was given up Captain Ogden† wanted one of the doctors to go back to the fort to take care of his brother,‡ and the doctors refused. But after some time Dr. Horton agreed to go, provided I would go with him ; and on request of Captain Ogden and some others I went back with the Doctor to the fort. And because I had been with Ogden's party, four or five of them [the Yankees, or probably some of Lazarus Stewart's Hanoverians], with sticks and clubs, used me without mercy ; but with the assistance of one friend there I got off, notwithstanding they followed me three miles. We [Forster and Simpson] have still a quantity of flour and liquor hid thirty miles this side of Wioming, which we purpose going up soon about ; but would be first glad to hear if there is any preparations making to raise men to go against the villains."

At Philadelphia, September 17, 1771, the Provincial Council met and discussed Wyoming affairs, and upon the following day President Hamilton sent to the Provincial Assembly a communication worded in part as follows§ :

"As by the Laws of this Province the administration of the Government, upon the departure of our late Governor, devolved upon us, We cannot, consistent with our duty, omit to lay before you a matter which appears to us of a very serious Nature, and nearly to concern the peace and good order of the Province.

* * "The making of the present Riot Act, and the unhappy occasion of it, and the publication of large rewards for apprehending and bringing to justice those daring offenders Lazarus Stewart and his accomplices, must be fresh in your memories. * * We are sorry to inform you that the very persons for whose apprehension the rewards were published have lately, with a number of adherents, in open contempt of the powers of Government, again appeared in arms at Wyoming, and after seizing upon all their effects forced our settlers there (to whom the Proprietaries had sold the lands) to retire into a block-house, which they besieged in a regular hostile manner, keeping up an almost continual fire from intrenchments, for the space of sixteen or seventeen days. At length our people, reduced to the last extremity for want of provisions, were obliged to surrender upon terms of capitulation, since which it is reported that *the intruders have burnt the block-house* and are fortifying themselves at a more convenient place in the neighborhood ; and that they have intentions of seizing on Fort Augusta and the Provincial cannon and other warlike stores there.

* See the original letter, *heretofore unpublished*, in the collections of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

† AMOS OGDEN, who was then at or near Easton, in Northampton County.

‡ GILBERT OGDEN, dangerously wounded on July 30th. See deposition of Captain Morris on page 700.

§ See "Pennsylvania Archives," Fourth Series, III : 229.

"We must inform you that upon the first intimation of these violences the Government took every step in their power, at a very great expence, to raise a sufficient Posse to enforce the execution of the Riot Act against the intruders, and to apprehend the offenders, and that several of the magistrates of Northampton County were on their way to Wyoming with a Posse, when they received intelligence of the surrender of the block-house. We ordered the Posse to be discharged. Your own understandings, Gentlemen, will point out to you the fatal consequences of suffering these lawless people to remain long in the possessions they have thus obtained, as it were, by open war. They will probably soon become more formidable by associating to themselves numbers of profligate people from this and the other Provinces. Of course they may extend their possessions by force, as far as they please; take upon themselves, in a little time, to give laws to Government itself, and in the end bring on us all the evils which have lately been experienced by a neighboring Colony to the southward." * *

From the 24th to the 28th of September, 1771, the Provincial Council held a conference at Philadelphia with some thirty Indian chiefs of the Cayuga, Tuscarora, Shawanese, Delaware, Mohegan, Nanticoke and Conoy tribes who had come thither chiefly from the West Branch of the Susquehanna. During the conference information was given by the Indians of the death of Thomas King (mentioned on pages 379 and 400), "a principal sachem of the Oneidas, and a man much esteemed and beloved by Sir William Johnson." Later in the conference a Cayuga chief said*:

"When we were at home we were looking towards Wyoming, and observed that the people of New England were come to live there. Now we want to know what reason these New Englandmen have for doing this, since we never gave that land to them. * * The New Englandmen tell some of the Indians that they, the Indians, gave them the land at Wyoming; but we the Indians say that we never did give them this land. We who are here, of several different nations, * * all declare that the Indians never did give this land to the New England people, but we gave it to the Proprietor *Onas*, and to no other person; and we not only gave Wyoming to him, but a great space of land round about it."

In response to this speech President Hamilton said:

"We will tell you, Brethren, how this matter is. During the great treaty at Albany with all the chiefs of the Six Nations, the New England people, as we have been informed and believe, made some of the head men of the Six Nations drunk, and gave them money to sign a deed for the lands at and about Wyoming, and now pretend that they bought the land of the Indians before your brother *Onas* made his purchase, and that it is a part of their country of Connecticut. But it is well known that a Great Council at Onondaga condemned those Indians for signing any deed in that private manner; and all the head men of the Six Nations, assembled in Council at the Great Treaty of Fort Stanwix, declared that they never had sold that land to the New England people, and that their people had been imposed upon and abused by one Lydius of Albany, and persuaded while they were drunk to sign those deeds. Soon after the treaty at Fort Stanwix your brother *Onas* caused the lands at Wyoming to be settled, and these New England men have come in arms and driven them away. But, Brethren, we would advise you *not to meddle with them*; for, though they are *very wicked men*, they are the great King's people, and therefore you must not on any account hurt them. We have informed our great King of their conduct, and he will punish them himself."

From an interesting paper read by the late Sheldon Reynolds, Esq., before the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society September 12, 1884, and published in the Society's "Proceedings and Collections" (II: 206), we get the following information concerning the Rev. Bernard Page, A. M., the "first Episcopal minister of Wyoming," and his brief sojourn here in the Summer of 1771. Mr. Page came to this country from England as a missionary in 1770 or 1771. As Mr. Reynolds states, Mr. Page "seems to have undertaken the mission [to Wyoming] in somewhat the spirit of the early martyrs, and despite the warnings and misgivings of his friends. His position was very different from, and far more trying than, that of the other early ministers; they came in response to a call from the people, and found about them friends whom they had

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," IX: 774, and "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, IV: 409.

known for years; he came as a stranger, uninvited, with no one to receive him, and no provision made for his support, but animated nevertheless with the spirit expressed in the words of the Master—"Go ye and preach the gospel." Mr. Page arrived at Wilkes-Barré about the 7th of August, 1771, after the investment of Fort Wyoming by the Yankees had taken place. With the consent of the Yankees, presumably, he took up his abode at the mill at Mill Creek, and shortly after his arrival addressed to each of the contending parties a letter in these words:

"Fellow Sinners:—I have long had a hearty desire to see Wyoming; not for the sake of the land there, but for the souls' health that are in possession of the same. It is now high time to apply for a remedy to cure your poor wounded souls; and I have an errand from my Lord and Master to you for that purpose. My weapons of war I have with me, and with which I will, by God's leave, fight you, are these: The Girdle of Truth about my loins, the Breast-plate of Righteousness on my breast, the Shoes of Peace on my feet, the Shield of Faith in its place, the Helmet of Deliverance on my head, the Sword of the Spirit in my hand, the Threshing Instrument in my mouth, with a persevering spirit. And to these my Master will lend me His arm, wherewith I shall be able to fight the devil that reigns powerfully in many of your souls, and to quench all his fiery darts; and if I wound profoundly I wont leave you to perish in your blood, for I have the Universal Medicine with me, called the Balm of Gilead, which my Master has ordered me to apply to every one, without respect to persons that is wounded by the above-named instruments, and to whomsoever this is applied it will surely heal. Remember, Noah was sent to warn and to heal before the Deluge; Lot, to Sodom and Gomorrah before its destruction; and Jonah to Ninevah, to save the same. And these last immediately obeyed the voice of the Lord in throwing down the rebellious arms and flying to Sovereign Arms for protection, and they were spared. Now, I am come in the strength of the great and grand General of the Armies of Israel to fight with the Powers of Darkness for your poor bruised souls, and I trust I shall, by the help of this General, be able to present many of you to King Jesus for a free and absolute pardon; but if you are determined not to hear my voice, my Master's orders are to shake off the dust of Wyoming that hangs on my feet, that every atom thereof may be a swift witness against you in the great day of Judgment, when all flesh must appear before Him and give an account for the deeds done in the body.

"Men and Brethren: I believe you will not reject my voice, but gladly hear it; and I heartily wish it may be a savior of life unto eternal life to those that shall hear it. I hear that the Devil is making sport with many of your poor, benighted souls, and I fear that the impending hand of the Sword of the Lord will shortly strike on Wyoming if ten righteous are not found therein. Therefore, suffer me, my dear souls, to expostulate with you touching your Souls only, for I long for the salvation of the same; yea, my soul thirsteth for your souls more than many of your spirits do for blood. Some persons have advised me not to go to Wyoming, saying, 'Perhaps by one or the other party you may be killed.' I replied, 'If they be so brutish as to kill me for my errand to them, and for the love and affection I have for their souls, I am willing to die in my Master's service.' And therefore, in the name of Jesus Christ, my loving and merciful Master, I am come to preach the glad tidings of Eternal Salvation to swearers, cursers, blasphemers and drunkards, yea, and to murderers, if any such be here; and to present to and for them—of them who believe—my Master's gracious pardon for their souls, which, that all that stand in need of the same may have, are the prayers, men and brethren, of your ready and willing servant for Christ's sake. I beg to have nothing to do with your secular affairs, and to be by myself until matters are settled."

A few day later Mr. Page addressed "to the Leading Persons in the Block House" (Fort Wyoming) the following letter:

"THE MILL, SATURDAY, AUGUST YE 10TH, 1771.

"Fellow Sinners: Mr. Arrison and some others that are within your house have sat under my ministry, and Mr. Arrison knows me and my handwriting perfectly well; and therefore this is agreed on by this party [the Yankees] for me to preach here to-morrow morning, and without-side of your house in the afternoon, with two witnesses of this party; but you must—and I hope you will, if I preach to you—assure this party that the persons that come with me shall in this case be in no more danger of losing their lives by you or any of your party than myself, nor in any respect whatever hurt. I am obliged to you for your salute yesterday; but not for the ball in the piece—but, providentially, it took a tree instead of me. Surely, both parties if determined for war, ought to have a prospect-glass. I remain your ready and willing servant for Christ's sake."

Mr. Reynolds states—in the paper previously referred to—that Mr. Page preached to the besieging party, but was not permitted to preach to the besieged, on Sunday, August 11th; upon which day there was a

suspension of hostilities, "doubtless due in part to Mr. Page's intervention." According to the affidavit of Colonel Clayton (see page 702) the cessation of hostilities on Sunday continued only long enough for the besieging party to send forward, under a flag of truce, a demand for the surrender of Fort Wyoming; which, being refused, "the Yankees began to fire at the block-house with small arms and from a wooden cannon." The following letter was written by Mr. Page at "The Mill" on Tuesday, August 13th, and was delivered to Captain Butler:

"You know that I do not know so much as you touching the other party, for I know no more than the old universal reports in the Jerseys; and if I were on the verge of Eternity and sensible of it, I would, if required, take my Sacrament of the same. I have desired you and the rest of your party already to consider the sin of keeping me from them, as I came out of real love to both parties' souls; and I desire those voices that let and hinder me to read the 54th of Isaiah and the last verse. But if you are still determined to hinder me, I am nevertheless heartily willing to preach to your party whenever it is convenient; as it will not do for me to appoint when and where, lest you should think I have schemed to draw you forth for a Mark."

To Capt. Lazarus Stewart the officers of Fort Wyoming addressed the following note:

"Sir: Our people being all desirous of hearing the gospel preached would have been glad to have had the opportunity. As that is denied, shall be ready to give our women and children the opportunity, and beg you'll keep your men close, as you desire the same of ours. You'll communicate this to Mr. Page. We are as usual,

[Signed]

"ASHER CLAYTON,

"JOS. MORRIS,

"JNO. DICK."

It would seem that Mr. Page was not an Episcopalian in 1771, but a Presbyterian. The Rev. William Smith, D. D., previously mentioned in these pages, writing from Philadelphia to the Bishop of London, October 13, 1773, stated with reference to Mr. Page:

"The people in general who subscribed, and whose subscriptions he laid before your Lordship [in 1772], *believed him to be a Presbyterian*, and are chiefly of that persuasion. He never meant to settle among them, but only to get into Orders. He knew none of us would recommend him. Nay, he knew that we would write to your Lordship against him, if we had known of his intentions."

It is doubtful whether Mr. Page remained at Wilkes-Barré after the surrender of Fort Wyoming. His name does not appear in any of the existing lists of settlers of that period which the present writer has seen, nor in any of the minutes of the town-meetings of those days.

Late in 1771 Mr. Page set out for London, where he was ordained and licensed by the Lord Bishop August 24, 1772, and was assigned to the "Wyoming parish." He returned to America in 1772 or '73 under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, but, so far as known, never visited Wyoming Valley again. In 1775 he was, for awhile, located on the West Branch of the Susquehanna, near Muncy, within the bounds of Westmoreland (the Wyoming region). In 1792 he was preaching in Virginia—for a part of the time at Christ Church, Alexandria, where General Washington was a pew-holder and attended services. About 1795 he was preaching at Shepherdstown, in what is now West Virginia. He died in southern Virginia about 1799.

As soon as possible after the capitulation of Fort Wyoming, and its evacuation by all the Pennamites except those who, by reason of wounds or illness, were unable to depart, the Yankees abandoned their intrenchments and divided their forces between Fort Wyoming and the Mill Creek block-house—the larger number being assigned to the fort. When the capitulation occurred the Yankees and their associates numbered 115

men, as is shown by the list mentioned on page 694. Among the collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society are the original receipts, given to Capt. Zebulon Butler at Wilkes-Barré in 1773 and 1774 by thirty-six of the men named in the list referred to on page 694, for five dollars each, being the "bounty" paid for services in "going on and assisting in retaking possession from the Pennamites at Wilkesbarre of the Susquehanna lands, 9th July, 1771, according to vote of The Susquehanna Company at Windham in March, 1771." (See page 684.) In the same collections are also a number of pages of the original minutes of several town-meetings held at Wilkes-Barré within a few weeks after the expulsion of the Pennamites. Those minutes are in the handwriting of Maj. Ezekiel Peirce, * "Proprietors' Clerk" of the Wyoming settlement, and the earliest of them read as follows:

* EZEKIEL PEIRCE, second child and son of Judge Timothy and Hannah (*Bradhurst*) Peirce, was born at Plainfield, Connecticut, January 8, 1712. The progenitor of this family was Thomas Peirce, who was born in England in 1583, immigrated to America in 1633 and settled in Charlestown, Massachusetts, where he was made a freeman May 6, 1635. The surname of this family was pronounced by New Englanders, in early days, as if spelled *Purse*. The majority, if not all, of the living descendants of Thomas Peirce now spell the family name *Pierce*, and pronounce it *Peerce*.

Thomas Peirce died October 7, 1666. His son Thomas (born in 1608) had accompanied him to Charlestown, where he was married May 6, 1635, to Mary Cole (died March 5, 1688), and settled in what is now Woburn. Thomas Peirce, Jr., was styled "Serjeant," was Selectman in 1660, and in 1668 was a member of a committee appointed by the General Court. He died November 6, 1683. Thomas Peirce, 3d, son of "Serjeant" Thomas and Mary (*Cole*) Peirce, was born at Woburn, Massachusetts, June 21, 1645. He was married (1st) to Eliza —; (2d) March 24, 1680, to Rachel Bacon (born June 4, 1652). He died December 8, 1717.

Timothy Peirce, born at Woburn January 25, 1673, was the second son of Thomas, 3d, and his first wife, Eliza. About 1691 Thomas Peirce and his son Timothy removed from Woburn to the Quinebaug plantation in Connecticut, and became original inhabitants of the town of Plainfield, erected out of that territory in the Spring of 1699. In May, 1707, Timothy Peirce was promoted from Sergeant to Ensign of the Plainfield train-band, and in October, 1711, he was promoted Lieutenant. In May, 1723, he was promoted Captain of the Plainfield company; in May, 1734, he was appointed by the General Assembly of Connecticut, and commissioned, Sergeant Major of the militia of Windham County, and in October, 1739, he was appointed and commissioned Colonel of the newly organized 11th Regiment, Connecticut Militia, constituted of the companies in Plainfield, Canterbury, Killingly, Pomfret and Voluntown. Timothy Peirce attended, as one of the two Deputies from Plainfield, sessions of the General Court, or Assembly, of Connecticut in each of the years from 1717 to 1728, inclusive. In May, 1728, he was chosen Speaker of the House at its organization, but having been elected about the same time an "Assistant," or member of the Governor's Council, he took his seat in the Upper House. Thereafter, up to and including 1747, he was annually (in May) chosen an Assistant, and performed the duties of that office until his death. From 1719 to 1721 Timothy Peirce was annually appointed by the General Assembly a Justice of the Peace in and for the county of New London, and from 1722 to 1727, inclusive, a Justice of the Peace in and for the county of Windham. In May, 1726, he was appointed by the General Assembly Judge of the County Court, or Court of Common Pleas, of Windham County. The first session of this Court was held at Windham Green (see page 249, Vol. I.) June 26, 1726, with Judge Peirce presiding. By successive appointments he held that office until May, 1746, when he was succeeded by Col. Jonathan Trumbull, mentioned on page 240. Timothy Peirce was Judge of the Court of Probate for the District of Windham from May, 1725, till May, 1747, when the Probate District of Plainfield was erected, including the towns of Plainfield, Canterbury, Killingly, Pomfret and Voluntown, and Judge Peirce was assigned to that district. "He was now one of the most prominent and respected citizens of Windham County, a Colonel of the militia, a member of the Governor's Council, Judge of the County and Probate Courts—all which offices he executed with such diligence and care as to be unblamable. He was a father to the town, and a promoter of the common welfare of all when he had opportunity, and was also of an extraordinary good, pious and Christian conversation."

Timothy Peirce was married (1st) May 27, 1696, to Lydia Spaulding, who died March 23, 1705; (2d) October 12, 1709, to Hannah Bradhurst (born December 14, 1682; died April 2, 1747). Judge Peirce died at Plainfield May 25, 1748, aged seventy-five years and four months. He was the father of three sons and one daughter by his first wife, and of four sons and two daughters by his second wife. His elder daughter by his second wife was Phebe, who became the wife of John Smith, mentioned on page 410, Vol. I. To her Judge Peirce made the following bequest in his will dated April 12, 1748. "I give my daughter Phebe Smith my negro girl Dinah, and the sum of £100 of my in-doore movable estate at inventory price, at the rate of old tenor bills; which, with what I have given her, makes the full of her portion of my estate."

As previously noted, EZEKIEL PEIRCE was the second child of Judge Timothy Peirce by his second wife. He was Town Clerk of Plainfield, Connecticut, from 1749 to 1754, and a Justice of the Peace in and for Windham County for quite a period from and after May, 1752. For a number of years he was one of the Representatives from Plainfield in the General Assembly of Connecticut—attending first at the session held in October, 1751. In 1759, and perhaps earlier, he was Clerk of the Probate Court of Plainfield District. In May, 1755, he was established and confirmed by the General Assembly Captain of the 1st Company, 11th Regiment, Connecticut Militia; and in March, 1756, he was appointed by the Assembly Captain of the 4th Company in the 2d Regiment "in the forces ordered to be raised by the Colony"—but he declined the commission, and John Durkee was appointed and commissioned in his stead. (See page 481, fifth paragraph.) In October, 1758, Captain Peirce was promoted Major of the 11th Regiment. In October, 1773, the General Assembly appointed "Capt. John Douglas to be Major of the 11th Regiment of militia in said Colony, in the room of Maj. Ezekiel Peirce, removed out of said regiment."

Ezekiel Peirce was one of the original members of The Susquehanna Company, and his name is among the first of the names of the grantees in the Indian deed of 1754. (See pages 249 and 271, Vol. I.) He was one of the original settlers at Wyoming in 1762 and '63 under the auspices of The Susquehanna Company (see page 404), and presumably was here at the time of the Mill Creek massacre in October, 1763. (See page 430.) It is doubtful whether Ezekiel Peirce came to Wyoming again before July, 1771 (see page 692); in the interim, however, three of his sons were here at different times. Upon the expulsion of the Pennamites from Wyoming Valley in August, 1771, and the taking of the first steps by the Yankees to establish a civil organization at Wyoming, Major Peirce was elected "Proprietors' Clerk" of the settlement, and the duties of that position he performed until the organization of the town of Westmoreland, March 1, 1774, when he was elected Town Clerk and Recorder of Deeds in and for the new town.

"At a meeting of ye Inhabitants of ye 6th township at and Near Wyoming Legally warned August ye 22nd 1771—Capt. Butler was chosen Moderator. This meeting is adjourned to ye 23rd Day at 6 a Clock in ye morning.

"This meeting is opened & Held by an adjourn^t august ye 26th 1771—

"Voted, Capt. [Robert] Hopkins, Parshall Terry and Bartholamew Weeks are appointed to take care of ye cows in ye Day time and to see that ye cows are Brought up in season.

"Voted, That Captain Marvin is appointed to Deal out ye milk to Each mess.

"Voted, Abel Peirce & Abel Smith is appointed Bacors to Bake Bread for ye Company.

"This meeting is adjourned to ye 29th Day of this Instant to 6 a Clock in ye morning.

"August 29th, 1771, this meeting is adjourned until ye 2nd Day of September, 6 a Clock in ye forenoon at this place.

"September ye 2nd 1771 this meeting is opened & Held by an adjournment &c.

"Voted, that any man that will go and secure ye Grain that is now standing and secure ye same Between Now and Next Saturday Night shall be intitled to ye same as his own property—Not neglecting his other duty.

"Voted, That Capt. William Warner is appointed to live in ye Block House built by ye mills, in order to Gard ye mills, and has ye Liberty to pick out Nine men to assist him in keeping ye same.

This office he held until 1777 or '78. He was a member of the 24th Regiment, Connecticut Militia, and was a survivor of the battle of Wyoming. (See his name in the copy of the original muster-roll printed in Chapter XVI.) His name is frequently mentioned in the following pages.

The wife of Ezekiel Peirce was Lois Stevens (born in 1718; died June 25, 1762), to whom he was married February 11, 1736. They became the parents of five sons and five daughters. With the exceptions noted below, these children removed in 1772 from Plainfield, Connecticut, to Wyoming Valley, and settled in Kingston Township, where Ezekiel (the father) had drawn "House Lot No. 29," and other lots; Timothy, "House Lot No. 17," and other lots, and Abel, "House Lots Nos. 23 and 24," and other lots. The home of Ezekiel Peirce—subsequently that of his son Abel—was within a few rods of the site of the ancient Indian earthwork described and pictured on pages 173 and 174, Vol. I. Maj. Ezekiel Peirce died at his home in Kingston Township in 1779 or '80, and December 2, 1782, "the Probate Court of the District of Westmoreland" granted letters of administration upon his estate to his son Abel.

The children of Maj. Ezekiel and Lois (Stevens) Peirce were the following—*all born in Plainfield, Windham County, Connecticut*: (i) *Abel*, born December 15, 1736. (See below.) (ii) *Alice*, born November 17, 1738; died, unmarried, subsequently to October, 1774. (iii) *Daniel*, born January 30, 1740; taken prisoner at the battle of Wyoming, *q. v.* (iv) *Lydia*, born February 17, 1743. (v) *John*, born March 10, 1745. (See below.) (vi) *Timothy*, born June 23, 1747. (See below.) (vii) *Hannah*, born January 23, 1749; died unmarried. (viii) *Phineas*, born January 17, 1751. (See below.) (ix) *Lois*, born May 6, 1753. (x) *Phoebe*, born September 15, 1755.

(i) *Abel Peirce* was married about 1757 to Ruth Sheppard (born in 1733), daughter of Lieut. Isaac and Dorothy (Prentice) Sheppard of Plainfield, Connecticut. In 1762-'63 Abel Peirce was one of the original Connecticut settlers in Wyoming (see page 404), and was probably here at the time of the massacre in October, 1763. He next came to Wyoming in May, 1769, with the company led by Major Durkee (see pages 487, 498 and 510), and was here at the surrender of Fort Durkee in the following November. He was also on the ground again in 1770. He came from Connecticut to Wyoming with Ichabod Hopkins, Timothy Hopkins and Nathaniel Goss, and joined Captain Butler's forces July 25, 1771—continuing here until after the capitulation of Fort Wyoming. He was one of those who received five dollars "bounty" for "going on and assisting in retaking possession" of the Wyoming lands. (See page 710.) As previously noted he located in Kingston, and was Constable of that township in 1772. Late in 1773 he returned to Plainfield, Connecticut, where his wife and children were still living, and, according to the records of The Susquehanna Company, he was there in February and May, 1774. In April, 1775, while in Plainfield, the Battle of Lexington occurred (see page 483), and Abel Peirce became one of the "Alarm Party" which marched from Plainfield for Lexington. After that service he remained in Connecticut with his family until the Summer of 1781, when he returned to Wyoming—bringing his family on later. In 1781 and '82 he was a Justice of the Peace in Kingston. His name is frequently mentioned in the following pages.

Abel Peirce died in Kingston May 23, 1814, and his wife died there in 1820. They were the parents of the following-named children: (1) *Sylvina Peirce*, born April 5, 1758; died August 24, 1852. She was the second wife of Capt. Daniel Hoyt of Kingston, a sketch of whom will be found in a subsequent chapter. (2) *Chester Peirce*, born in 1762; killed by the Penamites in a skirmish July 20, 1784, during the Second Penamite-Yankee War. (See Chapter XXI.) (3) *Mary Peirce*, born in October, 1763; died October 28, 1834. She was married May 30, 1786, to Lord Butler, a sketch of whose life will be found in Chapter XVIII.

(v) *John Peirce*, fifth child and third son of Maj. Ezekiel and Lois (Stevens) Peirce, was in Wyoming in 1770, and was one of those indicted at Easton and captured at Wilkes-Barré in September of that year. (See pages 668 and 671.) After a brief imprisonment at Easton he went to Connecticut, and did not return again to Wyoming until 1772. He settled in Kingston. He was killed at the battle of Wyoming, July 3, 1778, and March 15, 1783, his brother Phineas was appointed administrator of his estate.

(vi) *Timothy Peirce* was one of the "First Forty" settlers, and was among those who escaped from the Easton jail in September, 1769. (See pages 473 and 514.) Making his way to Connecticut at that time he did not return to Wyoming again until September, 1771. As previously noted, he settled in Kingston Township, and in 1772 or '73 was married to Hannah (born May 28, 1752), fifth child of Obadiah and Hannah (Parke) Gore. (See a subsequent chapter for a sketch of the Gore family.) When, in the Summer of 1776, the two Wyoming Independent Companies were organized for the Continental service (see Chapter XIII), Timothy Peirce enlisted in Capt. Samuel Ransom's company, and was appointed Sergeant. December 3, 1777, he was promoted Ensign to succeed Matthias Hollenback, and January 17, 1778, he was promoted Lieutenant. He took part in the battle of Wyoming, having hurried home from the seat of war in New Jersey to aid in defending the inhabitants of Wyoming against the expected invaders. He fell on the field of battle, and was survived by his wife and two children—Clarissa and Polly. Mrs. Hannah (Gore) Peirce was married subsequently to 1787 and prior to 1794 to Thomas Duane (born in 1761; died at Owego, New York, October 15, 1821), who, in 1793, and probably earlier, was a resident of Kingston. In the Autumn of 1793 Thomas Duane moved to Wilkes-Barré and for awhile kept a store and a tavern at the north-east corner of Public Square and North Main Street. In June, 1800, he was appointed and commissioned a Justice of the Peace in and for the township of Wilkes-Barré, and this office he held for several years. In 1807 Thomas Duane was a merchant in Wilkes-Barré, and on October 24th of that year his daughter Harriet was married to Caleb Leach, Jr., of Owego, New York.

(viii) *Phineas Peirce*, youngest son of Ezekiel and Lois (Stevens) Peirce, removed with the other members of his father's family from Plainfield, Connecticut, to Kingston in Wyoming Valley in 1772. In 1778 he was a member of Capt. Simon Spalding's Independent Wyoming Company, attached to the Connecticut Line. (See Chapter XV.) His name is mentioned frequently in the following pages.

"*Voted*, That Capt. Stephen Fuller is appointed to go, with such a Number of men as he shall chuse, this Day to Lackawana & remove all ye Pennemites that Reside their, and Bring them Down ye River.

"*Voted*, That 20 men to prosede and go forward and clear ye upper Rode Leading to Delaware River of ye Pennemites &c.

"*Voted*, this meeting is adjourned untill monday ye 9th Day of this Instant Sept^r at six a clock in ye forenoon at this place.

"September ye 9th 1771 this meeting is opened & Held by an adjournment &c.:

"*Voted*, That Esq^r Smith, Capt. Butler & Capt. Stewart are appointed a Comtee to examine those persons that call themselves Neutrals, consarning their staying on ye Land and make their Report to ye Next adj^d meeting, and also for those Persons to appear at said meeting, &c.

"*Voted*, this meeting is adjourned untill ye 10th Day of this Instant Sept^r at 6 of ye Clock in ye morning at this Place.

"September ye 10th 1771 this meeting is adjourned untill ye 11th Day of this Instant September 1771 at 6 a Clock in ye morning at this place.

"This meeting is opened & Held by an adjournment Sept^r 11, 1771.—*Voted*, That Sam^l Karr shall Have Liberty to stay on our Land untill Next spring unless his conduct shall be proved contrary to ye articles he has signed to.

"att a meeting of ye settlers Now att Wyoming Legally Warned and held in WILKSURRY September 19th 1771—Capt Zebulon Butler was chosen moderator for ye work of ye Day.

"*Voted*, Capt. Butler, Capt. Stewart, Esq^r Smith, Maj^r Peirce, Capt. Fuller, Capt. Follett, William Stewart, Peregreen Gardner, Capt. Marvin are a comtee appointed to Receive the returns what town they chuse to belong to; and for ye Comtee to say who shall Belong to ye several towns &c.

"*Voted*, That their shall be a good Block-house Built on ye west side of ye River and to be under ye Direction of ye Comtee

"*Voted*, That ye Block-house now Built in ye fort house* shall be kept for a store House.

"*Voted*, That ten men shall be sent out every Day in order to scout and keep our Roads clear from our Enemies, and make their Report to ye Comtee what they shall Discover, on their Return.

"*Voted*, this meeting is adjourned untill Tuesday ye 24th Day of this Instant Sept^r six a Clock in ye morning at this place."

The block-house ordered by the settlers to be built on the west side of the river, as noted in the foregoing minutes, was erected shortly thereafter on the plain near the bank of the river, almost directly opposite North Street, Wilkes-Barré—as is shown by an original manuscript map drawn in 1817 by Isaac A. Chapman, and now in the collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. As no mention is made of Fort Durkee in the town records of the latter part of 1771, and of subsequent years, or in other contemporary writings, it may be concluded that the fort had been either destroyed by the Pennamites in January, 1771, or dismantled to such an extent as to be rendered uninhabitable. The Rev. Jacob Johnson, in his affidavit mentioned on page 452, Vol. I, states that when he "went to Wioming in 1771† there was one fort in the possession of the Connecticut settlers." Mr. Johnson was here in May, June and, probably, July, 1772 (as is related farther on in this chapter), and the fort referred to by him was Fort Wyoming. On several grounds the most reasonable conclusion is that Fort Durkee was completely destroyed by the Pennamites after they had driven the Yankees out of the valley, as described on page 686. Miner says ("History of Wyoming," page 265) that in 1779 a portion of Sullivan's army occupied "old Fort Durkee." But that is unquestionably an erroneous statement—as we show in Chapters XVI and XVIII.

According to adjournment a meeting of The Susquehanna Company's settlers was held at Wilkes-Barré Tuesday, September 24, 1771, when nineteen persons were admitted as settlers in Wilkes-Barré. An original document—prepared late in 1771 or early in 1772, and now in

* Fort Wyoming

† It was not in 1771, but 1772.

the collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society—reads as follows:

"YE LIST OF SETTLERS IN YE TOWN OF WILKSBARRE IN YE YEAR 1771."

"[1] A list of ye persons that was here in ye Seige [that] belongs to Wilks Barre.

[N. B. The numbers affixed to the names refer to the lots in the town-plot. See page 655.]

Jabez Fish,	No. 13.	George Minor,*	No. 40.
William Warner,	" 43.	Aaron Wilder,	" 8.
Daniel Gore,	" 20.	Reuben Farnum,	" 39.
Peregreen Gardner,	" 36.	Isaac Bennit,	" 19.
Silas Gore,	" 27.	Peabody Moseley,	" 11.
John Frazier, on Jones' Right,	" 10.	Jonathan Downing,	" 41.
Jonathan Weeks,	" 15.	Stephen Fuller,	" 16.
Robert Hopkins,	" 18.	Levi Farnum,	" 28.
Thomas Fish, No. 21.			

"[2] A List of ye persons admitted into ye town above s^d ye 24th of Sept., who were in ye seige :

Thomas Weeks,	John Smith,	Asahel Atherton,
Timothy Peirce, on	Eleazar Carey,	Richard Cook,†
James Sloat,	Jordan Hopson,	James Bigger,
Christopher Reynolds,	George Kintnor,	Roasel Franklin,
Brink Van Orman,	John Staples,	Michael Rood,
Peregrine Gardner, [Jr.],	Obadiah Gore, Jr.,	William Crofford,
Cornelius Vinson [Vincent],		Moses Utter.

"[3] The persons undernamed were admitted in ye above town since ye 24 of Sept:
 Thomas Stephens, Crocker Jones, Asa Stevens.
 Cyprian Hibbard, Caleb Spencer, "Total, 41."

Upon comparing the names in the first section of the foregoing list with the list on page 662 we find that John Frazier, Peabody Moseley and Jonathan Downing were, without doubt, admitted as proprietor-settlers in Wilkes-Barré between June 29, 1770, and January, 1771. Only fourteen of the men named in the list on page 662 having taken part (together with Messrs. Frazier, Moseley and Downing) in the siege and capture of Fort Wyoming, it would appear that the rights of the remaining proprietors in the township were considered as having been forfeited, and their places were filled by the men whose names appear in the second and third sections of the list on this page.

The following is a copy of the original minutes of a meeting held at Fort Wyoming on the last day of September.

"*Wilksbury, Sept^r 30th, 1771.* This meeting is opened & Held by an adjournment, &c.

"*Voted*—m^r. William Park undertakes to thrash out all ye English grain Now In ye fields—Rye and Wheat—and to take every seventh Bushel for his Thrashing, &c.

"*Voted*—that Cap^t Butler, Cap^t Stewart & Cap^t Gore Is appointed as a Com^{tee} to Lott out all ye corn Now standing at Wyoming to the persons now on ye Ground that will undertake to gather & stack ye same and Bring it in to ye fort and crib up ye same, &c.

"*Voted*, That what grain each man shall soe shall be his own to Reap ye Next year for his own private Property—Lett it be on his own Land or on any other mans Lott, &c.

"*Voted*, that Doc^t. Joseph Sprague† shall Have a settling Right In one of ye five towns.

"*Voted*, that No person that is admitted in as a settler shall go Home or absent himself without Liberty of ye Com^{tee} —if they Do they shall forfeit their settling Right.

"This meeting is adjourned untill Fryday ye 4th Day of october next at six a Clock in ye morning at this place."

On October 4th the settlers assembled in town-meeting, but, without transacting any business, adjourned till Saturday, October 12th, at six o'clock in the morning—which seems to have been the favorite hour here, in those days, for holding town-meetings; presumably in order that the settlers might attend to the public affairs of the community be-

* This was GEORGE MINARD, who in 1787 was living at either Manville, or Montville, Connecticut.

† In all probability intended for *Reuben Cook*, Richard Cook having been killed during the siege of Fort Wyoming.

‡ See page 721.

fore repairing to their usual daily vocations, which they desired to pursue without interruption. In this latitude, at the middle of October, sunrise does not occur until after six o'clock.

The following is a copy of the minutes of the meeting referred to.

"Att a meeting Legally warned and Held In Wilksbury october 12th 1771 Capt Butler was chosen moderator for ye work of ye Day.

"*Voted*, that John Dougherty, Peter mathews, John White, William young, David young, Thomas Robinson, John McDaniel, William Vallentine, Asa Lyon, William Buck, John Depew, Levi Green are to be stationed on ye west side of ye River in ye Block House with Capt Stewart.

"*Voted*—that Atherton's Family, Adsel's [Hedsall's, or Hadsell's] Family & Anguish & his family is to Have ye Liberty to Live on ye west side of ye River provided they move to ye Block House with Capt Stewart.

"*Voted*—that all ye Persons that are Not stationed in ye Blockhouse on ye west side of ye River & in ye Blockhouse at ye mills* is to move in to ye fort at this Place.

"*Voted*—that David Sanford & William Vallentine is to Have a settling Rite In one of ye towns Now laid out &c.

"*Voted*—that ye Comtee shall Dispose of ye Pennemites cows to such Persons as they think Proper.

"*Voted*—that this meeting is adjourned untill Fryday ye 18th Day of this Instant october at 7 a Clock in ye forenoon at this place."

At the meeting on October 18th Obadiah Gore, Jr., was "appointed and chosen Clerk to the Company," to serve during the absence of Ezekiel Peirce, who, on that day, set out for his home in Connecticut.† At a meeting held on October 23d by adjournment it was "*Voted*, That Lieut. Gaylord, Capt. Follett and Capt. Gore Be a Committee to Treat with Mr. Atherton about the corn that he harvest^d, and make their return at the next meeting." At an adjourned meeting held October 28th it was "*Voted*—that this Company takes 45 Baskets of Corn that the Athertons have raised, and except that in Full for their part of s^d corn. *Voted*—that every one that has brought up corn [to the fort] shall bring an account of the Number of bushels to Capt. Butler this evening."

In Volume II of the original "Westmoreland Land Records," referred to on pages 26 and 28, *ante*, there is recorded "A list of Settlers on Susquehannah 5th Sept. 1771." In April, 1885, the present writer examined that list and extracted from it a few of the 104 names composing it; but recently, when he desired to make a complete copy of the list for insertion in this history, the person now having in possession the public record-book mentioned would not allow it to be seen or examined by this writer or any other person. However, among the collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society there is an original document (in the handwriting of Zebulon Butler) entitled: "List of Settlers on Susquehannah River, October, 1771." This list, which was prepared by Zebulon Butler, Lazarus Stewart and John Smith of the Committee of Settlers, contains 121 names—including those of the Committee—and the following is a careful copy of the same. In most instances the date affixed to a name indicates the time of the arrival at Wilkes-Barré of that particular person.

"Atherton, James —Home 22d.	Brokaw, John —Home 19th. Ret. Dec. 15th.	Bennet, Thomas Bennet, Joshua—23 ^d Oct.
Atherton, Asel	Belden, Ezra	Carey, Eleazar—24th Oct.
Atherton, James—Jr. —Home 22d.	Baker, John—Home 12th.	Crofford, William —Home 17-30 Oct.
Anguish, Jacob	Beech, Amos	Comstock, John
Bennet, Isaac	Brown, David	Cook, Reuben—Home 19th.
Buck, William—Lieut.	Bates, Caleb—4th Oct. Home 11th. Ret. Dec. 15.	Crooker, Joseph

* At Mill Creek.

† See his name in the list on page 715.

Cole, Leonard
—Home 19th. Ret. Dec. 15.
Colegrove, Jeremiah
—4 Oct. Home 11.
Cockran, Andrew—23 Oct.,
Wm. Reynolds' Right.
Cary, Barnabas—24 Oct.
Carey, Eleazar—Jr.—24 Oct.
Cary, John—24 Oct.
Depew, John
Dorrance, John
Dougherty, John
Dixon, Robert—31 Oct.
Follet, Benjamin—Capt.
Fish, Elisha
Fish, Jabez
Fenton, William
Fuller, Stephen
Farnum, Levi
Feezler, Henry
—Home 25 Oct.
Feezler, Jacob
French, Thomas—21 Oct.
French, Arthur—25 Oct.
Frazier, John—27 Oct.
Green, Levi
Gardner, Peregreen
Goss, Philip
—Home 18th. Ret. Dec. 20.
Gore, Daniel
—Home 19th. Ret. Dec. 15.
Gore, Obadiah—Jr.
Gore, Asa
Goss, Nathaniel
Gaylord, Samuel—Lieut.
Gore, Silas
Gore, Obadiah—Capt.
Gordon, Thomas—28 Oct.
Hopkins, Robert

Hopson, Jordan
Hopkins, Timothy
—Home 25.
Hotchkiss, Samuel
Hibbard, Ebenezer
—Went away 17.
Hedsall, James
Hickman, Andrew—2d Oct.
Hawkins, William—24 Oct.
Johnson, Edward
—Home 19th. Ret. Dec. 15.
Jones, Crocker
—Went home 11th.
Johnson, Hendrick
—Home 19th.
Kentnor, George
Lyon, Asa
Lake, Thomas—23 Oct.
McDonnor, John
Minard, George
McClure, Thomas
Marvin, David—Capt.
Marvin, Matthew
Matthews, Peter
Nelson, Martin
Nisbitt, James
Nisbitt, Samuel
Osburn, John
Osburn, Jacob—27 Oct.
Peirce, Ezekiel—Maj.
—Home 18th.
Parks, William
Pettibone, Noah
—Home 26th for 20 days.
Phillips, Nicholas
Post, Stephen
Peirce, Timothy
Pearce, Timothy—Jr.*
—31 Oct.

Reynolds, Christopher
Roberson, Thomas
Stark, Aaron—23 Oct.
Sprague, Joseph
Satterly, William—Away 1.
Smith, Timothy
Smith, Abel—Went away 11.
Returned Dec. 15.
Stewart, Lazarus—Jr.
Stephens, John
Stephens, Eliphalet
—Home 29th.
St. John, Daniel
Sanford, David—4 Oct.
Staples, John—23 Oct.
Sawyer, John—23 Oct.
Stewart, William
Silsberry, Elijah—27 Oct.
Terry, Parshal—Jr.
Vincent, Cornelius
Vincent, Isaac
Vannorman, Brink
Valentine, William
—7 Oct. to 27.
Wilder, Aaron
Woodward, Richard
White, John
Walworth, Thomas
Warner, William
Weeks, Philip
Williams, William—23 Oct.
West, Richard—24 Oct.
Weeks, Jonathan—27 Oct.
Young, William
Yale, Enos
Yale, Ozias
—Home 26th for 25 days.
Young, David
Yates, John—DDD. 18."

In an original "List of Settlers on the Susquehannah, December, 1771," made up by Zebulon Butler and Stephen Fuller, and now in the possession of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, are the following nineteen names which do not appear in the foregoing list for September. Zebulon Butler is marked as having gone home on December 18th.

"Allen, Daniel—Dec. 1st.
Buck, Philip—28th.
Clark, Benjamin—15th.
Eveland, Frederick—15th.
Forgason, John
Gore, Samuel—15th.
Hollenback, Matthew—9th.

Harding, Stephen
Heffelfinger, Henry
—Home 18th.
Hopkins, William—15th.
Phillips, Frank—15th.
Perkins, John—15th.
Ross, Daniel—15th.

Utter, Abraham
Utter, Moses
Willcox, Eason
Weeks, Jesse—Home 10th.
West, Eleazar—Dec. 1st.
Yale, Stephen
—Home 13th."

At last the Wyoming settlement under the auspices of The Susquehanna Company was beginning to flourish; new settlers—men, women and children—from Connecticut and elsewhere were coming to the valley nearly every week; town-meetings were being frequently held at Fort Wyoming, Wilkes-Barré, by the qualified "proprietors" of the whole

* This was Timothy Pearce originally of Pawling Valley, or Pawling's Precinct, Dutchess County, New York. He was a descendant of Nathan Pearce, Sr., who settled in Pawling about 1760. He traced his origin to John Pearce, a Welshman, who immigrated to America about 1660. At "Pawling's Precinct," under date of September 3, 1771, James Starke wrote to "Captain Butler at Wilksborough on Susquehannah" as follows (see original letter in the possession of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society): * * "I have hired the bearer hereof, Timothy Pearce, to go on the same right for two months. * * At the end of two months I will come and take possession of it myself."

As shown by the memorandum made opposite the name of Timothy Pearce in the foregoing list, he arrived at Wilkes-Barré October 31, 1771. Subsequently he became an inhabitant of Pittston Township, and was residing there in 1776, '77 and '78, as is shown by the tax-lists for those years. Immediately after the battle of Wyoming he made his way back to Pawling.

settlement, at which affairs of common interest and public good were discussed and acted upon. In every respect the people showed that they were competent to defend themselves, and their footing seemed securely established. In the meantime, what were the Pennamites doing? Let us betake ourselves to Philadelphia and learn.

October 4, 1771, President Hamilton transmitted to Governor Trumbull of Connecticut copies of the Articles of Capitulation of Fort Wyoming and of the depositions of Colonel Clayton and Captain Morris, previously mentioned, and at the same time wrote a vigorous letter relative to "the disturbances and violent proceedings" of The Susquehanna Company, "who have associated to themselves some of the most abandoned and profligate of our [Pennsylvania] people, such as are accused, and indeed stand indicted, of capital crimes here." Continuing, President Hamilton wrote* :

"As the people concerned in these violent and even hostile measures, profess to act under the authority of your Government, and have made a capitulation *expressly on behalf of the Government*, I have thought it proper and expedient to send a messenger to your Honor, on purpose to know with certainty whether they have proceeded in any sort under your countenance or authority, or that of your Assembly." * *

Connecticut had not yet "asserted its title" to the Wyoming region, and consequently Governor Trumbull cautiously replied to President Hamilton on October 14, 1771, as follows† :

"The persons concerned in these Transactions have no order and directions from me, or from the General Assembly, for their proceedings upon this occasion ; and I am very confident that the Assembly will never countenance any violent, much less hostile, measures in vindicating the right which The Susquehanna Company suppose they have to the lands in that part of the country, *within the limits of the Charter of this Colony*. * * You will see that * * the claimants under that Company * * complain that they were first attacked and ill treated by the people of your Province, when they meant only a peaceable possession of the lands they claim a title to, and wished to vindicate that title in due course of law." * *

At Philadelphia, October 8, 1771, the Provincial Council addressed to the Hon. Thomas Penn and John Penn, Esq., the following communication‡ :

"In our letter of August 20th we acquainted you of the unfavorable situation of your affairs at Wyoming, and that we had an intention of laying the matters before the Assembly, in hopes of their assistance. We did so, and now inclose you copies of our message and their answer ; by which you will perceive the uncertainty of succeeding in our application. We have despatched a messenger to the Governor of Connecticut to know whether that Government have given any countenance or authority to the proceedings of their people at Wyoming. If they should deny that they act under the authority of Government (as we conceive they will), it is thought it may favor the application we intend to make to the approaching Assembly. If they should avow their proceedings, it may be a proper foundation for an application at home.§ Our intelligence from Wyoming is that their numbers have not increased, as expected ; that there is a *disagreement between the New Englandmen and [Lazarus] Stewart's party*, and that they are not preparing for a crop of Winter grain. From a view of what is past, we think it highly probable that nothing but the interposition of the King and Council can put an end to this troublesome and expensive business."

July 15, 1771, Richard Penn (mentioned in the note on page 560, Vol. I) was commissioned Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania, and some weeks later he set sail from England for Philadelphia, where he arrived about the 14th of October. On the 16th of October his commission was read in public and he assumed the office to which he had been appointed. The next day he issued a proclamation announcing his appointment, etc., to the office of Lieutenant Governor, and setting

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," IX : 777.

† See *ibid.*, X : 3.

‡ For the original, see "No. 135" of the "Penn Manuscripts," previously described.

§ To the King and his Council.

forth that the Hon. Thomas Penn and John Penn, Esq., were "the true and absolute Proprietaries and Governors-in-Chief of the Province." On the following day he sent to the General Assembly an address, in which he recommended the adoption of measures for the suppression of "the riotous settlers at Wyoming." He said, among other things* :

"I am sorry to be under the necessity at my first arrival among you to apply for your assistance. * * * It is a matter of public notoriety that *those daring offenders Lazarus Stewart and his accomplices*, with a number of adherents, expelled our people from their settlements at Wyoming. * * It is more than probable that, encouraged by their late success, they may extend their possessions to other parts of the Province."

From the *Pennsylvania Packet*, published at Philadelphia, Monday, November 4, 1771, we glean the following :

"An Oyer and Terminer was held in this city on Monday last [October 28th], when an indictment was read against WILLIAM SPEEDY, for the murder of Captain Ogden.† The counsellors for the King were Andrew Allen and James Tilghman, Esquires. Those for the defendant were John Ross‡ and Edward Biddle (of Reading), Esquires. The examination and pleas lasted until nearly six o'clock in the evening, when the jury retired and in half an hour returned with their verdict, '*Not guilty.*' Their Honors, the Judges, then *passed sentence upon the culprit*, to wit : That he should give security in £1,000 for his good behavior for a year—himself in £500, and two freeholders in £250 each."

Speedy procured bail in due time and was set at liberty, but instead of repairing to Wyoming he returned to the West Branch of the Susquehanna (whence he had come to Wilkes-Barré in 1770), and there we shall meet him again before we reach the end of this chapter.

On page 1,054 of "The Town Book of Wilkes Barre" mentioned on page 27, *ante*) we find the following original minutes of a town-meeting held at Fort Wyoming.

"Att a meeting of ye Inhabitants of ye townships at wyoming in wilksbury Legally warned & Held December 7th, 1771—Capt. Zebⁿ Butler was chosen Moderator for this meeting.

"*Voted*, That this company is to take in settlers on ye following considerations : That those that take up a settling Right in Lackawanna§ shall pay to this company Forty Dollars, and those that take a Right in Wilksbury or Plymouth shall pay Fifty Dollars ; & those that take a right in Kingstown|| shall pay 60 dollars—all for ye use of this Company. Ye above dollars not to be paid untill it is determined that ye land belongs to ye Susquehannah Purchasers, and ye money to be on interest from ye first day of July next till paid.

"*Voted*, That Capt. Butler and Capt. Fuller is appointed by this Compy a Comtee to take bonds, in ye behalf of the Compy, of those settlers that shall be admitted, &c."

At a town-meeting held December 17, 1771,¶ it was "*Voted*, That Joseph Sprague,** John Frazier, Timothy Pearce, Jr.,†† Stephen Harding, Caleb Bates * * [and others named] have each a settling right in ye township of Lackaworna. That Capt. Stephen Fuller‡‡ be ad-

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," X : 2.

† See pages 679 and 682.

‡ Of Easton, Pennsylvania. Admitted to the Bar of Luzerne County as a non-resident attorney about 1797. See Chapter XXXII.

§ Lackawanna Township, mentioned on this page and on page 677, was the original name of Pittstown (later Pittston) Township. It seems to have borne the name "Lackawanna" from 1769 till late in the Spring of 1772.

|| This is the first time, either in the records of The Susquehanna Company or of the settlers at Wyoming, that the name "Kingstown" is applied to the township in question. Previously it is always referred to as "The Forty Township."

¶ See page 1,055 of "The Town Book of Wilkes Barre"—previously mentioned.

** May 27, 1772, Joseph Sprague (then of Wilkes-Barré) conveyed to Jeremiah Blanchard of Coventry, Kent County, Rhode Island, for £50, his settling right in "the township of Lackawanna, so called." May 30, 1772, Barnabas Cary, of Lackawanna Township, conveyed "ye 8th Meadow Lot in Lackawanna Township" to Jeremiah Blanchard.

‡‡ See note on page 715.

¶¶ STEPHEN FULLER, (JR.), the son of Stephen Fuller, Sr., was born about 1716 in the north-eastern section of the town of Windham, then in Hartford, but later in Windham, County, Connecticut ; which section (including what was known as "Windham Village," as distinguished from "Windham Green," mentioned on page 249, Vol. I) was erected about the year 1717 into the parish of Canada, and in 1786 into that of Hampton. From May, 1750, to May, 1762, Stephen Fuller, Sr., was annually appointed and commissioned by the General Assembly of Connecticut one of the Justices of the Peace in and for the county of Windham. In May, 1739, Stephen Fuller, Jr., was established and commissioned by the General As-

mitted [permitted?] to purchase a settling right in *ye township 40*, provided he puts on an Able bodyed man on said right and doe duty equal to ye rest of ye settlers, &c." The same action was taken with reference to Capt. Caleb Bates.

The following is a verbatim copy of the minutes of a town-meeting recorded on page 1,056 of "The Town Book of Wilkes Barre," previously mentioned.

"Att a meeting of ye Inhabitants Now att wyoming Legally warned and Held in Wilksbury January ye 13th 1772—Capt. Fuller was chosen moderator for sd. meeting &c. Mr. John Perkins was chosen Clerk &c. *Voted*, That their shall be Built a good Block house at ye East end of ye fort for ye guard to keep in and to place ye cannon in. *Voted*, That Capt. Fuller, Capt. Bates, Timothy Smith, Danl. Gore & Mr. Allen are appointed as overseers to see sd. House is Built according to sd. vote of ye Company. *Voted*, That Timothy Smith* is added in as a Com^{tee} man with Capt. Butler & Capt. Fuller to admit

sembly Ensign of the 3d Company, or Train-band, of the militia in the town of Windham; and in May, 1749, he was appointed and commissioned Captain of the same company. Captain Fuller was one of the grantees named in the Indian deed of July, 1754 (see page 272, Vol. I), being the owner of one right in the Susquehanna Purchase. January 6, 1762, he sold half of that right to his brother-in-law, Joseph Abbott of Pomfret, Connecticut. Captain Fuller came to Wyoming in May, 1769, in the company of settlers led by Major Durkee—as described on page 487—and he seems to have been, from the first, a man of importance and influence among his fellow settlers, and his name is mentioned frequently in these pages.

Having been admitted a proprietor in the township of Wilkes-Barré Captain Fuller drew Lot No. 16 in the town-plot in June, 1770 (see page 662, *ante*), and at the same time, or later, he drew Lot No. 11 in the "First Division, or Meadow, Lots," Lot No. 20 in the "Third Division, or Back, Lots," and Lot No. 40 in the "Fourth Division, or Five-Acre, Lots." In 1773 he acquired from Thomas Weeks Lot No. 17 in the town-plot and from Solomon Avery Meadow Lot No. 12—which last-mentioned lot Captain Fuller "manned by his son John Fuller, agreeably to the regulations of The Susquehanna Company." February 24, 1774, Captain Fuller conveyed to his daughter Abigail (Fuller) Bidlack, "in consideration of natural love and affection," Lot No. 17 in the town-plot. (December 15, 1797, Mrs. Bidlack—then the wife of Col. John Franklin—conveyed this lot to Nathan Palmer.) June 15, 1782, Captain Fuller conveyed thirty-two square perches of Lot No. 16, at its southern corner, to Messrs. Matthias Hollenback and John Hageman, and two months later he conveyed the remainder of the lot to his son John Fuller. In 1787 Matthias Hollenback acquired the title to the whole lot, by purchasing the respective interests of John Hageman and John Fuller. Captain Fuller also owned lands in Plymouth, originally drawn by him as one of the proprietors of that township. These lands, aggregating about 270 acres, with some improvements, he sold April 12, 1780, for £1,500 to Benjamin Harvey, the present writer's great-great-grandfather. In October, 1775, Stephen Fuller was appointed and commissioned Captain of the First, or Lower, Wilkes-Barré Company in the 24th Regiment, Connecticut Militia. (See Chapter XII.) He was in Wyoming in July, 1778, and undoubtedly took part in the battle of Wyoming. (See, in Chapter XVI, his name in the list of militia under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Butler.) In 1780 and 1781 Captain Fuller was the heaviest taxpayer in the town of Westmoreland.

Capt. Stephen Fuller was married in Canada parish, in the town of Windham, October 17, 1751, to Mary (born July 6, 1732), second daughter and fifth child of Philip and Abigail (Buckford) Abbott of Windham. (For a sketch of the Abbott family see page 721.) About 1783 or '84 Captain Fuller and his wife and other members of their family removed to Sheshequin—then in Tioga Township, Luzerne County, and now in Athens Township, Bradford County—Pennsylvania, where Mrs. Fuller died May 5, 1808. Captain Fuller died at Athens (formerly Tioga Point) in the Spring of 1813.

The Rev. Dr. Craft, in his "History of Bradford County, Pennsylvania," says (page 365): "Capt. Stephen Fuller came to Sheshequin with Captain Spalding in 1783. * * * Stephen Fuller lived on Lot No. 16, Wilkes-Barré. He became quite a speculator in lands under the Connecticut title. Besides receiving a large grant as compensation for his losses from the Pennamites, he was the owner of another township and part owner of several others. In one of his deeds he is described as a *mason by trade*." March 1, 1795, The Susquehanna Company granted to Captain Fuller a township named "Fullersville." It comprehended parts of the present townships of Burlington, Franklin and Barclay in Bradford County, Pennsylvania, and Towanda Creek flowed through it. (See the map facing page 468, Volume I.)

Some of the children of Capt. Stephen and Mary (Abbott) Fuller were as follows: (i) *Abigail*, born in 1752; married (1st) in 1772 to James Bidlack, Jr., and (2d) to Col. John Franklin. (See subsequent chapters for sketches of these two men.) She died at Athens, Pennsylvania, January 31, 1834. (ii) *Stephen*, born about 1753; married about 1775 to Sarah Bidlack (born 1756), sister of James Bidlack, Jr., mentioned above. Stephen Fuller, Jr., who, as early as 1776, at least, was an inhabitant of Kingston Township, was killed at the battle of Wyoming, and was survived by his wife and one daughter—Polly (born about 1776), who, prior to June, 1799, was married to Judge Ebenezer Griffin, Jr., of Hampton, Windham County, Connecticut. Mrs. Sarah (Bidlack) Fuller was married (2d) February 7, 1782, to Asa Abbott, born May 25, 1756. (See sketch of the Abbott family.) She died January 31, 1837, having survived her husband. (iii) *John*, came to Wyoming with his father in 1770 or '71. In 1780 he was a private in Capt. John Franklin's company in the Continental, or United States, service at the Wyoming Post. His name is in the assessment list of Tioga Township, Luzerne, now Bradford, County, Pennsylvania, for 1796. (iv) *Thomas*, killed at the battle of Wyoming. (v) A daughter, who was married at Wilkes Barré, January 2, 1782, to Gideon Baldwin. (vi) *Reuben*, born about 1763. He was living with his father at Wilkes-Barré in 1781, and later. His name is in the assessment list of Tioga Township—previously mentioned—for 1796.

*TIMOTHY SMITH was born at Voluntown, Windham County, Connecticut, April 28, 1740, the third child of John and Phebe (Peirce) Smith, mentioned in the note on page 410, Vol. I. He was one of the original Connecticut settlers at Mill Creek, in Wyoming Valley, in 1762 and '63 (see page 404, Vol. I), and was probably there at the time of the massacre in October, 1763. In February, 1769, he was one of the "First Forty" settlers, and in that year was twice taken a prisoner to Easton and committed to the jail there by the Pennamites. He was one of those who escaped from the jail in September, 1769, and for whose recapture a reward was issued. (See pages 473, 476, 478 and 514, Vol. I.) After his hasty departure from Easton, between sunset and sunrise, Timothy Smith lost no time in making his

Timothy Smith

Facsimile of his signature written in 1774.

way to Voluntown, where he remained until March, 1770, when he returned to Wyoming with the reinforcements led in by Major Durkee. (See page 646.)

When the lands of Kingston, or the "Forty," Township were allotted to the proprietors thereof in the Spring of 1772, Timothy Smith drew "House Lot No. 2, Lots numbered 7 and 18, Second Division, and Lot

settlors on ye forfeited Rites and to take Bonds in behalf of ye company, &c. *Voted*, That Asa Lyon is intituled to a settling right in ye township of Plymouth provided he puts on an able Boded man, &c. *Voted*, That Philip Buck be admitted in as a settler and to hold a settling right for Mr. William Stewart."

The following (see the original now in the collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society) is a copy of one of the bonds given by certain settlers in 1772 in pursuance of the resolutions adopted by the proprietor-settlers at the town-meetings held December 11, 1771, and January 13, 1772.

"KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS that I PEREGREEN GARDNER* of Wilksbury in Susquehannah Purchase am holden and stand firmly Bound unto ZEBULON BUTLER, STEPHEN FULLER & TIMOTHY SMITH and to ye rest of ye Comtee of settlers on ye Susquehannah Purchase in ye full & Just sum of Thirty pounds Lawfull mony of New England to be paid unto them ye sd Zebulon Butler, Stephen Fuller, Timothy Smith & to their Heirs, Executors or adminors or assigns to ye which payment well & truly to be made & Done I bind myself my Heirs, Executors & adminors Firmly by these presents. Signed with my Hand & sealed with my seal this 11th Day of February A. D. 1772 & in ye 12th year of ye Reign of our Sovereign Lord George ye 3rd King &c :

"THE CONDITION of ye above written obligation is such that whereas ye Company of Settlers on ye Susquehannah Lands at wyoming in ye Susquehannah purchase so called, did at their meeting legally warned & held at ye fort in wilksbury on sd Land on ye 7th Day of December 1771 vote that all ye New Settlers that Had Not Been at any former Cost to obtain settling Rights in sd Purchase untill that time, shall pay to Zebulon Butler, Stephen Fuller, & Timothy Smith, Comtee appointed by sd Company to take sd Bonds for ye use and Benefit of sd settlers, ye several sum or sums for each settling Right as was then voted by sd Company (*viz.*) for one settling Right in ye township of wilksbury ye sum of Fifty Dollars &c : & whereas ye above Bounden PEREGREEN GARDNER did on ye 31st Day of January 1772 make application to sd Company at their meeting on sd 31st Day of January 1772 for a settling Right in ye township of Wilksbury on ye conditions above sd which was then granted & voted by sd Company at ye time above sd &c.

No. 21, Third Division." Shortly after the drawing of these lots Forty Fort (see Chapter XIII) was erected by the settlers in Kingston a few rods north of Timothy Smith's "House Lot"—which lot contained a little more than two acres, and lay not far from the bank of the river, within the present limits of the borough of Forty Fort. In the Spring of 1772 Mr. Smith took up his residence in Kingston, and dwelt there until his death—which occurred in the Spring of 1776, in the thirty-seventh year of his age. He was a man of considerable influence among the Wyoming settlers, and was held in high regard by them. His name appears frequently in the following pages.

Timothy Smith was married in Connecticut in 1758, in the nineteenth year of his life. Owing to the loss and destruction of family and other records, it is now impossible to state where and to whom he was married. His wife died in 1760, or '61, leaving one child—*Benjamin Smith*, born in 1759, presumably at Voluntown.

Benjamin Smith, abovenamed, was reared in the home of his paternal grandparents in Connecticut. August 1, 1779, at the age of twenty years, he enlisted as a private in the 2d Regiment, Connecticut Line, in the Continental service. This regiment was raised in 1777, and was recruited at large throughout the State. In 1779 new levies were made to fill up the depleted ranks, and men were enlisted for short terms. During the time that Benjamin Smith was a member of this regiment Zebulon Butler was its Colonel, but he was absent on detached service, in command of the Wyoming Post. The regiment served on the east side of the Hudson River, in General Heath's wing of the army, during the operations of 1779, and spent the Winter of 1779-'80 at Morristown, New Jersey, where Benjamin Smith was discharged from the service January 15, 1780, his term of enlistment having expired. The 1st Regiment, Connecticut Line, originally commanded by Col. Jedidiah Huntington, and after March, 1778, by Col. Josiah Starr, was raised in and after January, 1777, mainly in the counties of New London and Windham. In 1780 the ranks of this regiment were filled up with new men, enlisted for short terms. Benjamin Smith, who had returned from the army in New Jersey to his home in Voluntown, enlisted July 15, 1780, in the 1st Regiment, and served with it along the Hudson during the Summer. The regiment went into Winter quarters early in the Autumn at Camp "Connecticut Village" (see page 486), and there Benjamin Smith was discharged December 15, 1780—his term of service having expired.

Benjamin Smith continued to make his home at Voluntown, and, owing to the unsettled state of the country, did not venture to visit Wyoming Valley for some years after the death of his father. He finally removed here in the latter part of 1782 and took up his residence in Kingston, on one of the lots belonging to the estate of his deceased father. In 1787 he was married to Welthea Ann (born Voluntown, Connecticut, November 30, 1759), fourth daughter and child of Amos and Lucretia (*Miner*) York. September 12, 1787, Benjamin Smith was appointed by the Orphans' Court of Luzerne County administrator of his father's estate. Mrs. Welthea Ann (*York*) Smith and her third child—lad of some eleven years—died September 27, 1804, of an epidemic which prevailed in Wyoming Valley in the Autumn of that year. Mother and son were buried in one grave in the old burial-ground at Forty Fort, not far from their home. Benjamin Smith was married (2d) some years later to Zurviah (born Groton, Connecticut, January 4, 1758), second daughter and third child of Capt. William and Judith (*Reed*) Gallup, mentioned in the note on page 629, *ante*. Benjamin Smith died at his home in what is now the borough of Forty Fort January 19, 1816, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and his widow Zurviah died May 18, 1840, in the eighty-third year of her age. Zurviah (*Gallup*) Smith bore her husband no children.

Benjamin and Welthea Ann (*York*) Smith were the parents of five children, all of whom were born in Kingston Township, as follows: (i) *John*, born November 4, 1789; for many years a well-known physician in Wilkes-Barré, where he died August 24, 1869. (ii) *Oliver*, born about 1791; married before March, 1821, to Lodovick Gaylor of Wyalusing, Bradford County, Pennsylvania, son of Justus Gaylor, Jr., and grandson of Justus Gaylor (1752-1820). (iii) *Amos*, born 1793; died September 27, 1804. (iv) *Pearce*, born about 1795; married March 5, 1817, to Ada, daughter of Capt. Thomas and Eleanor (*Shontz*) Jenkins; died subsequently to 1866. (v) *Phoebe*, born about 1797; married before March, 1821, to Jonathan Fellows of Huntington Township, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania.

For further references to Benjamin Smith and his family see "The Harvey Book," page 908.

* (v) PEREGREEN GARDNER mentioned in the note on page 254, Vol. I.

"Now ye true Intent and meaning of ye Condition of ye above obligation is that if ye above Bounden PEREGREEN GARDNER His Heirs Execu^{rs} or admin^{ors} or either of them shall well and truly pay unto Zebulon Butler, Stephen Fuller or Timothy Smith or to ye rest of ye Com^{tee} of settlers or to their Heirs &c : ye full and Just sum of Fifteen pounds Lawfull money of New England on or before ye first Day of July which will be in ye year of our Lord 1773 with Lawfull Interest thereon from ye first Day of July Next Coming untill paid, and also to Do all ye Duties on s^d Right agreeable to ye votes of s^d Company, that then ye above obligation is to be Nul and void. But on ye s^d Gardner's Non performance thereof then to stand & Remain in full force & virtue in ye Law.

"Signed Sealed & Delivered

in Presence of

"WILLIAM BUCK,

"WILLIAM YOUNG,

[Signed]

"PEREGREEN GARDNER," [L. S.]

In February and March, 1772, the settlers, with very few exceptions, were still living in Fort Wyoming and the Mill Creek block-house—being about equally divided between the two strongholds. In the early part* of the Winter of 1771-72 both the fort and the block-house had been enlarged and strengthened. Miner, in his "History of Wyoming" (pages 139 and 140, and Appendix, 47), gives a brief description of the block-house at Mill Creek, drawn from data furnished him by persons who had been occupants of the block-house at the period mentioned.

"A ditch was dug around the area (nearly an acre); logs, twelve or fourteen feet high, split, were placed perpendicularly in double rows, to break joints, so as to enclose it. Loop-holes to fire through with musketry were provided. Huts were built all around the inside, against the wall of upright timbers. They were one story high; several were divided into a number of small but neat and comfortable rooms. The huts of Captain Butler and Nathan Denison adjoined each other. Next in the row was the store of Matthias Hollenback. He had brought up from Lancaster County a variety of indispensable articles. * * The next in order—the largest building in the stockade—was a boarding-house kept by Dr. Joseph Sprague. Neither a chair nor table nor bedstead, except the rude construction of an augur and ax, was yet in the settlement. A samp mortar—that is, a large stump hollowed eight or ten inches by burning, the pestle worked by a spring pole—pounded corn, wheat and rye for bread; and this was their only mill. Venison and shad were plenty, but salt was a treasure. Dr. Sprague would load his horse with wheat and go out by the bridle path* (for as yet there was no road) to the Delaware at Cushetunk, have his grist ground, get a few spices and a runlet of Antigua rum. * * A small number of Indians, friendly and good neighbors, lived on the flats† half a mile above Mill Creek, and frequently visited the stockade. Among them were 'Capt.' Job Chillaway,‡ 'Black Henry' and John Lystrum. The wife of 'Captain' Chillaway seemed pious and well disposed. From the Moravians she had derived the name of 'Comfort,' and the knowledge to knit and to sew. The men were excellent hunters, and supplied the fort with game."

At a town-meeting held January 21, 1772,§ it was voted that William Stewart and Phineas Peirce should "have settling rights in ye township of Forty"; and that "Doct^r Sprague [was] to have a settling right in Wilksbury, provided he gave a bond of fifty dollars to Capt. Butler and ye rest of ye Com^{tee} for ye use of ye Company." Early in

* The "Upper Road to the Delaware," described on page 646.

† At or near the site of the former Monsey village, *Matchasaung*, described on page 213, Vol. I.

‡ See pages 650 and 701.

§ See page 1,057 of "The Town Book of Wilkes Barre," previously mentioned.

February, 1772, in accordance with the abovementioned vote, Dr. Joseph Sprague, who, some four months previously, had come from Poughkeepsie, Dutchess County, New York (see page 713), executed to Messrs. Butler, Fuller and Smith a bond in the sum of £30, conditioned for the payment of £15, with interest, on or before July 1, 1773. "At a meeting of the Inhabitants at Wyoming legally warned and held in Wilksbury January 27, 1772, John Smith, Esq., was chosen Moderator. The meeting was opened, and adjourned by reason of ye badness of ye weather until the 31st *instant*, at ten of ye clock in ye forenoon." At the adjourned meeting held on January 31st Curtis Spaulding and Isaac Underwood were "admitted into ye township Forty"; Cyprian Hibbard was admitted on the right of his brother William Hibbard, and Asa Stevens was admitted into the township of Wilkes-Barré, and gave his bond for fifty dollars. It was "*Voted*, That Mr. Forgason is not excepted as a settler on John Staples Right by this Company; therefore ye sd Forgason is voted out by this Company, to depart out of this Company, &c." Eleazar Carey was admitted as a settler in the Forty Township, provided he should give to the committee a bond for sixty dollars.

A legally-warned meeting of the inhabitants was held at Fort Wyoming February 25, 1772, and John Smith, Esq., was chosen Moderator. The meeting was then adjourned till February 27th, "by reason ye people on ye west side of ye river can't pass over—ye river being so high." The following extracts are from the minutes* of the meeting held February 27th.

"Ye Proprietors in each *settling-town* that is not now filled up shall have ye liberty to admit in settlers into their respective towns until the vacant rights are all filled up in each town, without being voted in by this Company. *Voted*, That ye right that Capt. Robert Hopkins is on is voted to Robert Dixon. *Voted*, That Captain Attwaters has no right in ye township Forty & is excluded out of said Forty Township."

The following is a copy† of one of the bonds given to the Committee representing the proprietors of Wilkes-Barré, under the abovementioned resolution regarding the admission of new settlers into the townships of Wilkes-Barré, Hanover, Kingston, Plymouth and Pittston.

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS that I JOHN ABBOTT‡ Late of Windham But Now of Wilksbury on ye Susquehannah Purchase am Holden and stand firmly Bound unto JOHN SMITH, PEREGREEN GARDNER and AARON WILDER a Comtee for ye town of

* See page 1,059 of "The Town Book of Wilkes Barre."

† See the original in the collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

‡ JOHN ABBOTT was born in the town of Windham, Windham County, Connecticut, September 27, 1741, the seventh and youngest child of Philip and Abigail (*Bickford*) Abbott, mentioned in the note on page 718. George Abbot, or Abbott, born in Yorkshire, England, about 1615, settled in 1643 at Andover, Massachusetts, where he was married in 1647 to Hannah Chandler (born in 1629). He died in 1681 and she died in 1711. They were the parents of sixteen children, the sixth of whom, William, was born November 18, 1657, and died October 21, 1713. He was married to Elizabeth Gray (who died in December, 1712), and they became the parents of twelve children, among whom were Paul and Philip. Paul Abbott had a son Benjamin (born July 25, 1724), who was the father of Asa Abbott (born May 25, 1756), who was married to Mrs. Sarah (*Bidlack*) Fuller, as mentioned in the note on page 718.

Philip Abbott, mentioned above, was born April 3, 1699, the ninth child of William and Elizabeth (*Gray*) Abbott. He was a farmer, and in 1722 removed from Andover and settled in Windham, Connecticut, where he was married October 8, 1723, to Abigail Bickford, and where he died April 17, 1749. Philip and Abigail (*Bickford*) Abbott became the parents of the following-named children, all born in Windham: (i) *John*, born July 12, 1724; died July 18, 1740. (ii) *Abiel*, born March 3, 1726; died May 21, 1772. (iii) *Stephen*, born April 21, 1728; married January 3, 1750, to Frelove Burgess, and had Susannah, born October 23, 1752. (iv) *Hannah*, born March 16, 1730. (v) *Mary*, born July 6, 1732; married to Stephen Fuller, as previously mentioned; died May 5, 1803. (vi) *Joseph*, born February 14, 1735. (vii) *John*, born September 27, 1741; killed in August, 1778.

(ii) *Abiel Abbott*, who was a Captain in the Connecticut militia, was named as one of the grantees in the Indian deed of July, 1754 (see page 272, Vol. I), he having subscribed for one share, or right, in the Susquehanna Purchase. In February, 1772, he conveyed one-half of this right to his son Philip. (ii) *Abiel Abbott* was married at Windham June 5, 1750, to Abigail Fenton. *Abiel* died May 21, 1772, at Windham, and his widow was afterwards married to John Chamberlain of Amenia Precinct, Dutchess County, New York, and died August 14, 1776. The children of *Abiel* and *Abigail* (*Fenton*) *Abbott* were: (1) *Philip*, born March 23, 1751; died March 8, 1834. (2) *James*, born March 9, 1753. (3) *Abiel*, born November 28, 1754. (4) *Abigail*, born February 21, 1763. (5) *Anna*, born September 18, 1765.

(1) *Philip Abbott*, eldest child of Capt. *Abiel Abbott*, came to Wyoming Valley from Windham, Connecticut, early in March, 1772, in company with his uncle (vii) *John Abbott*, and was admitted as a settler in Wilkes-Barré. When, in the ensuing month, a distribution of the Wilkes-Barré lands was made to the

proprietors of the township (see page 727), Philip Abbott was allotted Lot No. 34 in the town-plot, Lot No. 44 in the 1st Division, Lot No. 37 in the 3d Division and Lot No. 11 in the 4th Division. These lots he owned until September 23, 1777, when he conveyed them to his brother James, who, June 13, 1787, sold them to Matthias Hollenback. Philip Abbott remained at Wilkes-Barré only until 1773 or '74, and then returned to Windham County, where, at Brooklyn, July 6, 1775, he was married by the Rev. Josiah Whitney to Anna Hewitt. She died December 29, 1796, and a year or two later Philip Abbott returned to Wilkes-Barré with his children. March 17, 1815, he was married (2d) at Wilkes-Barré to Mabel Merritt. He died at Kingston, Pennsylvania, March 8, 1834, aged eighty-three years. The children of (1) Philip and Anna (*Hewitt*) Abbott who grew to maturity were: (i) Philip, born April 14, 1781; died August 1, 1854. (ii) James Hewitt, born in 1786; died in 1809. (iii) Hannah, born February 28, 1788; married June 13, 1807, to Luther Yarrington of Wilkes-Barré (see sketch of Yarrington family); died May 23, 1858. (iv) Abiel, born October 7, 1790; died October 2, 1838. (v) Mary, born in 1793; became the wife of Dr. Josiah Jackson, of Kingston, Pennsylvania.

(i) *Philip Abbott*, son of Philip and Anna (*Hewitt*) Abbott, came to Wyoming Valley with his father, brothers and sisters. December 25, 1805, he was married at Tobyhanna, then in Northampton, but now in Monroe County, Pennsylvania, to Lucy Waller. She died May 27, 1822, and September 5, 1836, Philip Abbott was married to Sybil (born February 17, 1802; died in August, 1879), daughter of John and Sybil Gridley and widow of Edward Rohn, all of Wilkes-Barré. (i) Philip Abbott was, in middle life, a contractor and builder, and in the years 1835-37 built a number of locks and dams in the Lehigh River for The Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company mentioned below. A few years later, in partnership with his son Merritt, he constructed the first railway in Wyoming Valley. (See Chapter XLVIII.) Philip Abbott died August 1, 1854, in Plains Township, Luzerne County, where, for a number of years, he had been a farmer and a Justice of the Peace. By his first wife he had the following-named children: Merritt (born in 1806; md. to Isabella Adams), Eliza (1808), Anna Maria (born in 1810; md. to Thomas Van Horn), Polly W. (born in 1812; md. to Luther Andrus), Arrilla W. (1816). By his second wife Philip Abbott had: (1) Lucy Waller (born May 18, 1838; married November 3, 1856, to Richard C. Totten of Wilkes-Barré) and (2) Philip. The last-named was born in Wilkes-Barré April 8, 1840. From 1855 to 1866 he was a clerk in the hardware establishment of Ziba Bennett, Wilkes-Barré, and from 1866 to 1883 was a member of the firm of Z. Bennett & Co. (successors to Ziba Bennett). In 1884 Mr. Abbott moved to St. Paul, Minnesota, where he now resides—being engaged with his elder son in the manufacturing business at Minneapolis. (2) Philip Abbott was married at Wilkes-Barré October 12, 1869, to Jennie, daughter of George and Sarah (*Sealy*) Willets, and they are the parents of two sons (both born in Wilkes-Barré): (i) *Clinton Philip Abbott*, born October 23, 1875; graduated at Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Iowa, in 1899. (ii) *John G. Abbott*, born August 26, 1878; graduated at Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, in 1905, and now practising medicine in St. Paul.

(iv) *Abiel Abbott*, son of Philip and Anna (*Hewitt*) Abbott, was, at the age of fourteen years, indentured to George Chahoon of Wilkes-Barré to learn the trade of carpenter and joiner. He served seven years as an apprentice, and then pursued his trade on his own account. On Sunday, October 17, 1813, he was married at Kingston, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, by the Rev. Benjamin Bidlack, to Celinda (born 1795), daughter of Elisha and Eunice (*Carver*) Atherton of Kingston. (See a sketch of the Atherton family in a subsequent chapter.) In 1814 Abiel Abbott went to Mauch Chunk, in the employ of Messrs. Miner, Cist & Co. of Wyoming Valley, who were attempting to mine and ship anthracite coal from a bed near Mauch Chunk. (For an account of that venture, and Abiel Abbott's connection with it, see Chapter I.I.) Returning to Wilkes-Barré after a few months' absence Mr. Abbott opened a carpenter-shop here and resumed work at his trade. September 4, 1815, he became a member of Lodge No. 61, F. & A. M., of Wilkes-Barré. When, in 1819, The Lehigh Navigation Company (afterwards The Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company) began its operations at and near Mauch Chunk, Abiel Abbott—having lost by fire at Wilkes-Barré his shop, tools and, indeed, all the profits of several years' industry, and his wife and infant daughter having died July 2, 1817—went down to Mauch Chunk with several other Wilkes-Barré men in search of employment. Messrs. White and Hazard soon learned to appreciate Abiel Abbott's merits. They found in him, in addition to a correct knowledge of his trade, a sound judgment, enlarged and liberal views in respect to business in general, quickness to discern and skill to execute; and all these qualities were combined with strict integrity and spotless honor. Within fifteen years Mr. Abbott rose to the position of Superintendent of the L. C. & N. Company's works, with a salary of \$2,500 per annum, which, for those days, was a large one. Early in 1838, finding that his health was giving way, he purchased a farm in Kings-town Township, to which he removed with his family a few months later, and there he died October 2, 1838. In 1822 he had married (2d) Sybil Wheeler (born 1792), daughter of James Wheeler, who bore him six children, as follows: James W. (Cashier, at one time, of the First National Bank of Tamaqua, Pennsylvania), Celinda, Edwin, Anna, Hannah and Louisa. Mrs. Sybil (*Wheeler*) Abbott died August 14, 1853, and is buried by the side of her husband in Forty Fort Cemetery. By his first wife Abiel Abbott had two children; (1) Jacob Dorman, b. at Wilkes-Barré in 1815, and died at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, February 5, 1833. (2) Celinda, born and died at Wilkes-Barré in 1817.

(vii) *JOHN ABBOTT*—born September 27, 1741, son of Philip and Abigail (*Bickford*) Abbott—who executed the "settler's bond" printed on the next page, was married in the parish of Canada (later Hampton), in the town of Windham, November 4, 1762, to Alice (born at Windham in 1741), daughter of Stephen Fuller, Sr., and sister of Capt. Stephen Fuller, mentioned on page 717. John Abbott was by trade a carpenter and joiner. As previously noted he came to Wyoming with his nephew Philip in March, 1772, and, having been duly admitted a proprietor in Wilkes-Barré, participated in the distribution of lots which took place in April, 1772, and was allotted Lot No. 35 in the town-plot, Lot No. 48 in the 1st Division, Lot No. 10 in the 3d Division and Lot No. 2 in the 4th Division. He lived either in the fort or the block-house at Wilkes-Barré until about 1774, when, having erected a house on one of his lots in what is now Plains Township, opposite Forty Fort, he removed to it with his family. Prior to 1778 he disposed of his town-plot (No. 35) to the Rev. Jacob Johnson.

John Abbott took part in the battle of Wyoming as a private in the Sixth, or Upper Wilkes-Barré, Company of the 24th Regiment, Connecticut Militia, commanded by Capt. Rezin Geer. Escaping from the field of battle in the general rout he waded through the shallow water of the Susquehanna to Monocanock Island. Crossing the island he, being unable to swim, was aided over the deep channel of the river between the island and the Wilkes-Barré shore by his neighbor and fellow-soldier George Cooper, who was also fleeing from the scene of carnage. In the flight of the inhabitants of Wyoming from the valley after the surrender of their various forts to the enemy, Mr. Abbott took his family down the river to Sunbury, and, leaving them there, joined the detachment of militia under the command of Lieut. Col. Zebulon Butler (see muster-roll of the same in Chapter XVI) and marched to Wilkes-Barré on August 4, 1778. Stone says ("History of Wyoming," p. 270) that Mr. Abbott found "his house and his barn had been burnt, his cattle slaughtered or driven away and his fields ravaged. The gleanings only remained to require his attention. These he attempted to gather [about the middle of August], but in doing so, while engaged in the field with a neighbor named Isaac Williams, a young man, or rather youth of eighteen years, of fine promise, they were shot by a party of Indians who stole upon them unawares, scalped, and left dead upon the spot.

"The widow, with her helpless charge [of nine children, the eldest of whom was a daughter fourteen years of age], being now entirely destitute, was compelled to seek her way back to Hampton—a distance of more than 300 miles—on foot, penniless, heart-broken, and dependent upon charity for subsistence. But the journey was effected without loss of life or limb. * * She remained at Hampton several years after the troubles [in Wyoming] were over, and until her sons were grown up. Returning then to the valley, and reclaiming successfully the estate of her husband, she settled thereon with her family." September 20, 1782, Capt. Stephen Fuller was appointed administrator of the estate of John Abbott, deceased. After her return to Wilkes-Barré Mrs. Alice (*Fuller*) Abbott was married, as his second wife, to Stephen



OLD GRAVE-YARD NEAR PLAINSVILLE.
Mentioned on page 723.

wilksbury In sd Purchase In ye full & just sum of Thirty pounds Lawfull money of New England to be paid unto them ye sd JOHN SMITH, PEREGREEN GARDNER and AARON WILDER or to their suckcessors in sd office or to either of their Heirs, Executors or adminors or assigns to ye which payment well & Truly to be made & Done I Bind my self my Heirs Executors & adminors Firmly by these Presents. Signed with my Hand & sealed with my seal this 23rd Day of march A. D. 1772 & in ye 12th year of his majesties Reign George ye 3rd King &c :

"THE CONDITION of ye above written obligation is such that whereas ye company of settlers on ye Susquehannah Purchase Did at their meeting Legally warned and Held in wilksbury February 27th 1772 voted that ye Propriators in each settling town that is Not filled up shall have ye Liberty to admitt in settlers into their Respective towns untill ye vacant Rights are all filled up in each town. And whereas JOHN SMITH, PEREGREEN GARDNER, & AARON WILDER are a Comtee appointed by ye town of Wilksbury to transact ye affairs of sd town and to admitt settlers &c.: and whereas ye above Bounded JOHN ABBOTT made application to sd Comtee for ye town of Wilksbury for to Purchase a settling Right in sd town of wilksbury and sd Comtee Granted sd settling right and it was voted by sd company &c :

"Now ye true Intent and meaning of ye condition of ye above obligation is that if ye above Bounden JOHN ABBOTT his Heirs Executors or adminors or either of them shall well & truly pay or cause to be paid unto JOHN SMITH, PEREGREEN GARDNER or AARON WILDER or to their suckcessors in sd office ye full & Just sum of Fifteen pounds Lawfull

Gardner of Wilkes-Barré, mentioned in the note on page 254, Vol. I. Mrs. Gardner died at her home, in what is now Plains Township, in June, 1816, and her remains are interred in the little grave-yard between Port Bowkley and Plainsville which is almost hidden from view and shut off from access by immense piles of culm and rock, deposited there in the course of recent coal-mining operations carried on near by. (See the photo-illustration facing this page.)

The children of John and Alice (*Fuller*) Abbott were as follows: (i) *Alice*, born April 17, 1764. (ii) *Abigail*, born December 15, 1765; died young. (iii) *Stephen*, born December 6, 1767; died June 19, 1770. (iv) *Charles*, born June 3, 1769; died after 1853. (v) *Stephen*, born April 19, 1771; died July 22, 1853. (vi) *Abigail*, born about 1773; died unmarried. (vii) *Reuben*. (viii) *Lydia*, became the wife of ——— Swetland, and was living in Knox County, Ohio, in 1853. (ix) *Celinda*, became the wife of Reuben Taylor, and in 1853 was living in Scott, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, having survived her husband. (x) and (xi) *Mary* and *Hannah* (twins). (xii) *Sarah*, born February 28, 1778; became the wife of ——— Kennedy, and in 1853 was living in Wyoming County, Pennsylvania.

(iv) *Charles Abbott* returned to Wyoming from Windham County with his mother, brother and sisters, and settled in that part of Wilkes-Barré Township which later became Plains Township. Prior to 1800 he was married. His name appears in the tax-lists of Wilkes-Barré for 1796, 1802, 1807 and other years. Some years later he removed to Delaware County, Ohio, where he was still living in 1853.

(v) *Stephen Abbott*, born April 19, 1771, third son of John and Alice (*Fuller*) Abbott, returned to Wyoming with the other members of his mother's family and settled on the fine farm on Jacob's Plains which had been owned by his father. There he resided until his death. Stephen Abbott was married at Wilkes-Barré in 1799 to Abigail (born at Stonington, Conn., June 25, 1779), daughter of William and Philomena (*Frink*) Searle and granddaughter of Constant Searle, who was killed at the battle of Wyoming. Mrs. Abigail (*Searle*) Abbott died June 2, 1842, and Stephen Abbott was married (2d), a few years later, to Mrs. Sarah (*Denison*) Ferrier (born in 1794; died in 1883), youngest child of Col. Nathan and Elizabeth (*Sill*) Denison, and widow of Thomas Ferrier.

The children of Stephen and Abigail (*Searle*) Abbott were as follows: (1) *John*, born in Wilkes-Barré Township April 8, 1800; died November 27, 1861. (2) *William*, born about 1808; married to Ellen, daughter of Cornelius and Catharine (*Kennedy*) Courtright of Plains (Wilkes-Barré Township), and subsequently to 1843 removed to Ohio. (3) *Eliza*, born October 21, 1806; married January 3, 1826, to Robert (born August 17, 1805; died December 9, 1842), son of Asher and Mary (*Wright*) Miner of Wilkes-Barré. (See a sketch of the Miner family in a subsequent chapter.) Mrs. Eliza (*Abbott*) Miner died August 18, 1846, in Wilkes-Barré Township. (4) *Stephen Fuller*, b. July 14, 1809; died February 11, 1856.

(1) *John Abbott* remained on his father's farm, in what is now Plains Township, until he became of age, when he went to Mauch Chunk, Pennsylvania, and entered the employ of The Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company. In 1829 he returned to his ancestral home, and there remained successfully engaged in farming until his death. He was married March 11, 1830, to Hannah (born in Wilkes-Barré Township February 7, 1798), daughter of Cornelius and Catharine (*Kennedy*) Courtright of Plains. Cornelius Courtright (or "Courtright" as he, himself, wrote his surname), son of Benjamin, was born March 19, 1764, in the Minisink region, New Jersey (see note, page 189, Vol. 1), not far from the Delaware Water Gap. In 1784 or '85 he removed to Wilkes-Barré Township, where he was married October 1, 1786, to Catharine, daughter of John Kennedy, a native of Dublin, Ireland. In November, 1787, Mr. Courtright was elected Ensign of the militia company of the "Upper District of Wilkes-Barré" (Daniel Gore, Captain), in the Battalion commanded by Lieut. Col. Matthias Hollenback. Mr. Courtright settled in that part of Wilkes-Barré which later was erected into Plains Township, and there he lived the remainder of his life—becoming a large landholder. January 1, 1806, he was commissioned a Justice of the Peace, and in that office he was continued until 1840. He was one of the Commissioners of Luzerne County in 1813, '14, '15, '30, '31 and '32; in 1816 he was a candidate for State Senator in the district composed of the counties of Northumberland, Columbia, Union, Luzerne and Susquehanna, but was defeated at the polls by Charles Frazer. In 1820, '21 and '23 he was elected one of the Representatives from Luzerne County to the State Legislature. "For a long series of years he was one of the most public-spirited, active men of our county." Benjamin (born March 17, 1789; died January 22, 1867), John (born October 21, 1790; died May 16, 1830), Mrs. Horace G. Phelps, Mrs. William Abbott and Mrs. John Abbott were the children of Cornelius and Catharine (*Kennedy*) Courtright. Mrs. Catharine (*Kennedy*) Courtright died at her home in Plains May 12, 1846, and Cornelius Courtright died at the residence of his son-in-law in Plains May 25, 1848.

(1) *John Abbott* died at his home in Plains November 27, 1861, and his widow, Mrs. Hannah (*Court-right*) Abbott, died at her residence on North Franklin Street, Wilkes-Barré, May 3, 1892. John and Hannah (*Courtright*) Abbott were the parents of the following-named children: (i) *Robert Miner*, born ———; resides at Davenport, Iowa. (ii) *Catharine C.*, born December 16, 1838; died April 8, 1894. (iv) *Lucy W.*—who resides in Wilkes-Barré.

(4) *Stephen Fuller Abbott*, born July 14, 1809, in what is now Plains Township, spent his life there as a farmer. March 1, 1847, he became a member of Lodge No 61, F. and A. M., Wilkes-Barré. In 1837 he was married to Charlotte (born June 30, 1810), daughter of Charles and Letitia (*Wright*) Miner of Plains. (See a sketch of the Miner family in a subsequent chapter.) Stephen Fuller Abbott died February 11, 1856, and his wife died July 28, 1859. Their children were: The Rev. William P. Abbott, D. D. (born December 31, 1838; died December 22, 1878), a prominent minister in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and Stephen H. Abbott (born October 24, 1844; died September 12, 1887).

money as above sd on or Before ye first Day of July which will be in ye year of our Lord 1773 with ye Lawfull Interest from and after ye first Day of July Next after ye Date of sd Bond and Do all Duties on sd Right agreeable to ye Rest of sd Propriators then ye above obligation is to be void. But on ye sd Abbotts Non performance thereof then to stand and remain in full force and virtue in ye Law.

"Signed Sealed and Delivered

[Signed]

In Presence of

"JOHN ABBOTT, [L. S.]"

"JOSEPH SPRAGUE,

"EZEKIEL PEIRCE,

The following is a verbatim copy of the original minutes of a town-meeting held at Fort Wyoming, as recorded on page 1,061 of "The Town Book of Wilkes Barre."

"At a meeting of ye Proprietors now at Wyoming Legally warned & held in Wilksbury fort March 12, 1772—It was then put to vote by this Company that those people called ye Dutch People to whom ye township down at ye Fishing Creek* so called was laid out for, have forfeited their Rights to this company by their unfaithfulness, &c.; and it was then voted in ye affirmative by this Company.

"Voted, That ye Six-mile township that was voted to ye Paxton Boys, so called, shall now be laid out in lieu of Nantecook (which ye Paxton [Boys] took in lieu of ye six-mile township)† at or near ye Fishing Creek so called, for ye benefit of ye 240 first settlers.

"Voted, That Esquire [John] Smith, Lieutenant [William] Buck, Mr. [Peregrine] Gardner, Daniel Gore and Oliver Smith are appointed by this company a Comtee to go down to ye Fishing Creek to view and look out a township of Six-miles square for ye Benefit of ye 240 settlers.‡

"Voted, That Esquire Smith, Captain [Lazarus] Stewart and Mr. Gardner be and they are hereby appointed a Comtee to regulate ye scouting and guarding, and station ye People at each Block-house &c., & make their report to ye adjourned meeting."

At a town-meeting held at "Wilksbury fort" March 31, 1772, with "Esquire Smith Moderator for the day," it was "Voted, That there shall be twelve men to stand on ye guard twenty-four hours, and a scout to be taken out of ye twelve men to scout ye next day."

By an Act of the Pennsylvania Legislature passed March 21, 1772, the county of Northumberland was erected out of parts of the counties of Lancaster, Cumberland, Berks, Bedford and Northampton. The bounds of the new county stretched to the New York-Pennsylvania boundary-line, and included not only Wyoming Valley, but the entire territory, and more, claimed by The Susquehanna Company under its deed from the Six Nation Indians. In other words, the Northumberland County of that day comprehended the territory included within the limits of the present-day counties of Potter, Tioga, Bradford, Susquehanna, Lackawanna, Wyoming, Sullivan, Lycoming, Clinton, Luzerne, Columbia, Montour, Northumberland, Snyder and Union, and parts of Schuylkill, Mifflin, Juniata, Center, Clearfield, Cameron, Elk and McKean. March 24th the Provincial Council commissioned Dr. William Plunket Chief, or President, Judge of the Northumberland County Courts, and William Maclay, Samuel Hunter, Turbutt Francis (see page 664) and others Assistant, or Associate, Judges. The first Court in and for the new county was held at Fort Augusta§ April 9, 1772; and the first Court of Common Pleas was held there May 26, 1772, at which

* The East Branch of Fishing Creek, now known as Huntington Creek.

† See page 652.

‡ The township laid out in accordance with this vote was subsequently named "Huntington."

§ By order of Governor Penn in Council, June 16, 1772, Surveyor General John Lukens was directed to lay out a town for the county-seat of Northumberland County between Fort Augusta and the mouth of Shamokin Creek, to be called "SUNBURY." The order was executed between June 26 and July 3, 1772, and return was made July 4th. The first house erected in Sunbury seems to have been a frame one, built by Surveyor General Lukens for his own use. The second house built in Sunbury, and now the most historic house in the town, was a stone dwelling-house erected for William Maclay in 1773 on the lot fronting the river, at the foot of the present Arch Street. It is now owned and occupied by the Hon. S. P. Wolverton. The Rev. P. V. Fithian, a Presbyterian minister and a graduate of Princeton College in 1772, made a journey through a part of Northumberland County in the Summer of 1775, and in his journal he wrote: "The town of Sunbury lies near a half mile below the fort [Augusta], on the north side of the Main Branch [of the Susquehanna]. It may contain 100 houses. All the buildings are of logs but Mr. Maclay's, which is of stone."

time the commission of William Maclay (abovementioned) as Prothonotary, Clerk of the Courts and Register of Wills was read, and several attorneys were admitted to practise before the Court—among them being James Wilson, of York, mentioned in the note on page 653.

According to the records of the Court held April 9th it was ordered by the Court that the County should be divided into seven townships, one of which was to be called "Wyoming." Mahoning Township embraced the territory between Mahoning Creek and the West, or Main, Branch of Fishing Creek (emptying into the Susquehanna about a mile below the present borough of Bloomsburg), and immediately above the mouth of Fishing Creek the township of Wyoming began, and extended northward along the Susquehanna, and westward, far beyond the limits of Wyoming Valley. Some time later, by order of the Northumberland County Court, the townships of "Stoke" and "Shawanese" were erected out of the township of Wyoming—Stoke including the Manor of Stoke and, of course, Wilkes-Barré, and Shawanese including the Manor of Sunbury (as laid out for the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania) and, of course, The Susquehanna Company's townships of Plymouth and Kingston. From 1778 to 1787, inclusive—and perhaps for a longer period—Northumberland County comprehended ten townships, of which Wyoming was one. During that period none of the New England settlers in and near Wyoming Valley were assessed for taxes, nor did any of them pay taxes to the county of Northumberland or to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. In 1781 and 1786, as well as in other years at that period, the following-named "non-residents" were assessed by the Northumberland County authorities for lands in Wyoming Township. Benjamin Chew, 5,000 acres, the Estate of Turbutt Francis, 900 acres, John M. Nesbitt, 300 acres, Dr. William Plunket, 580 acres, and Joseph Shippen, 1,800 acres. In August, 1786, a return was made to the General Assembly of Pennsylvania of the number of taxable inhabitants in the State. The report for Northumberland County was as follows: "2,102 men and 44 women—the townships of Stoke and Shawanese not included."

A lawfully-warned meeting of The Susquehanna Company was held at Norwich, New London County, Connecticut, April 1, 1772, and the following preamble and resolutions were adopted.

"WHEREAS, This Company are fully sensible of the equity and justice of their claims to the Susquehanna country, and of the rectitude of their intention in prosecuting their claims (which has been to gain possession of those lands *in order to lay a foundation for a legal trial and decision* of their cause); yet, instead of the Proprietors of Pennsylvania bringing forward or prosecuting any proper civil action in which the title to those lands might be set up and brought into question for a legal decision and determination, instead thereof have made divers attempts to drive us off by force (though under pretext of law process for riots and actions of a criminal nature), by which means great violence and some bloodshed has happened, contrary to our intentions and inclinations. But as we are determined to prosecute our claims by every legal way and means, and to prevent future violence and bloodshed—*Voted*, That some proper person or persons be appointed to proceed to Philadelphia as soon as may be and address his Honor Governor Penn, and with him confer upon what method may be taken to bring the contending claims of the Proprietors of Pennsylvania and The Susquehanna Company to a legal and equitable decision, that all tumults and violences for the future may be prevented.

"*Voted*, That Capt. Joseph Trumbull* be, and he is hereby, appointed agent for this Company, as soon as may be to repair to Philadelphia and wait on his Honor Governor Penn, agreeable to the above vote.

"*Voted*, That application be made to the General Assembly of this Colony in May next for the establishment of civil government among the settlers in the Susquehanna country, within the limits of the Charter of this Colony.

* See page 470, Vol. I.

"Voted, That Col. Elizur Talcott be appointed to forward and prosecute the petition as above-mentioned.

"Whereas, There are many proprietors of the Susquehanna Purchase that have not paid up the taxes already granted on the Susquehanna rights, it is now Voted, That the same be paid by the first day of May, next; and all such proprietors as shall refuse or neglect to pay the same by that time, their rights shall be forfeited and revert to the Company.

"Voted, That the thanks of this Company be returned to the Hon. Wm. Samuel Johnson,* Esq., for his special services done for this Company in Great Britain, and that the Hon. Eliphalet Dyer be desired to present the same accordingly.

"Voted, That there be a committee of five men appointed, who shall be empowered to receive in settlers who have been sufferers—by reason of their being drove off their settling-rights or by being imprisoned, or that have been hindered from repairing to or holding their said rights by act of Providence—to fill up the five townships† that are already laid out. Provided, that no person or persons that now are admitted, and that are now on or in said townships (holding the same according to the former votes of this Company), or are now imprisoned, or absent by leave from the Committee (who return according to the license from said Committee), shall be liable to be removed, or be removed, from or out of any of the said five townships.

"Also Voted, That the Committee now appointed are hereby empowered to lay out to forty settlers, at Capouse Meadows, one or more townships five miles square, divided into forty-three shares—three for public use, as in the other townships—in order to supply said sufferers (respect being had to the time and nature of their sufferings); provided the said sufferers shall apply to the said committee any time before the first day of July next, and then go to the said township and hold and improve the same upon the same terms the other settlers hold the other townships.

"Voted, That said Committee are likewise empowered to order and direct where new townships shall be laid of five miles square, divided into fifty-three rights or shares (three of which shall be for public use), when they shall be applied to by twenty proprietors, by themselves or agents, for lands to settle on as a part of their proprietors' rights. Provided, always, that no person shall have any lands laid out to him, or shall be received into any township as a proprietor, until he brings a certificate from the Clerk of this Company that he is a proprietor and has paid all the taxes due on his rights, or otherwise satisfied the Committee now appointed to lay out townships that he is a proprietor in said Purchase, and has paid all the taxes due on his said right; * * * and that there shall be twenty settlers settled within each of sd townships within two years from ye time of laying out ye same, in order that sd proprietors of sd township shall hold ye same.

"Also Voted, That if there shall be more of the aggrieved settlers that shall appear by the time aforesaid to settle on said lands, the said Committee are hereby empowered to lay out a township on Muncy Creek, of six miles square, to fifty proprietors—if so many shall appear by the time aforesaid—to be laid out into fifty-three shares; and if not filled up by such suffering settlers, the other shares to be filled up by the proprietors that come on to settle on their original rights. * *

"Voted, That Capt. Zebulon Butler, Maj. Ezekiel Peirce, Stephen Fuller, Robert Hunter and Obadiah Gore, Jr., be and they are hereby appointed a Committee to order and regulate the settlement of our lands in the Susquehanna Purchase according to the foregoing votes."

Zebulon Butler was in attendance upon the aforementioned meeting, and at its close spent a few days with his family at North Lyme. Thence, on the 16th of April, he set out for Wilkes-Barré. In his journal he recorded the route he traveled—which was the one then usually followed by travelers between New London County and Wilkes-Barré—and it was as follows: "North Lyme to Hartford, to Farmington, to Woodbury, to Roxbury, to North Fairfield, to Fishkill; April 21st crossed the North River and went [undoubtedly by way of Goshen, Orange County, New York] to Owens'; 23d went to Minisink; 25th to Big Lackawanna; 26th (Sunday) to Capouse; 27th to Wyoming."

During March, 1772, the weather in eastern Pennsylvania was very severe. From the *Pennsylvania Packet* (Philadelphia) of March 16, 1772, we glean the following:

"During the last week there fell so large a quantity of snow that in many places it was two feet deep. The weather has been extremely cold for some days past."

On the 2d of April there was again a heavy fall of snow. At Philadelphia six inches fell, which, however, had melted by the 5th of the

* See page 478.

† Pittston, Wilkes-Barré, Hanover, Plymouth and Kingston.

month. On Saturday, April 25th, about eight o'clock in the morning, a slight shock of earthquake occurred in eastern Pennsylvania, which was perceptible at Wilkes-Barré as well as at Philadelphia. At the former place, just about the time of the quaking, the men of the settlement had assembled at Fort Wyoming to hold a town-meeting, in pursuance of an adjournment. Capt. Obadiah Gore was chosen Moderator "in ye room of Esquire Smith, he being not well enough to attend."* The most important items of business transacted were the following:

"Voted, That ye Proprietors belonging to ye several townships have the liberty to move into their own town and there fortifie and guard by themselves by ye 4th day of May next.

"Voted, That those thirty-five men that is now in ye township of Lackawornat shall be entitled to all ye Company's right to said township." * *

With the coming of Spring in 1772 many of the settlers at Wyoming departed for their old homes in New England and elsewhere and soon returned with their wives and children, their live stock and their personal and household effects. Many new settlers, also, came to the valley to cast in their lots with the hardy pioneers, and were welcomed and admitted, under the regulations of The Susquehanna Company, as inhabitants in some one of the several townships. The surveys of the five settling townships were perfected, and in April, or May, 1772, there was a redistribution, or a new allotment, of the lands in those townships to their respective proprietors. As near as can be learned from the meager original records now accessible, the lands in Wilkes-Barré were distributed on or about April 30, 1772.† The following—entitled "A Copy of the List of Names of the Inhabitants of Wilkesbarré, and the Number of the Lots they are entitled to in the year 1772; Copied from 'Wilkesbarre Town Votes, No. 1' "§—is a transcript from page 26, Book I, of the manuscript "Minutes of Evidence" of the Compromise Commissioners, referred to on page 25, Volume I. This list has never been printed heretofore.

"DRAWERS' NAMES.	1ST DIVISION,	2D DIVISION,	3D DIVISION,	4TH DIVISION,
	OR MEADOW, LOTS.	OR HOUSE, LOTS.	OR BACK, LOTS.	OR 5-ACRE, LOTS.
Avery, Solomon	12	36	49	50
Abbott, John	48	35	10	2
Abbott, Philip	44	34	37	11
Atherton, Asahel	39	40	29	29
Butler, Zebulon	4	3	50	49
Bennet, Isaac	6	19	3	10
Colt, Harris	1	8	4	25
Comstock, William	42	14	16	39
Dixon, Robert	14	18	11	44
Durkee, John	5	4	6	14
Downing, Jonathan	25	22	46	46
Farnham, Ebenezer	23	32	2	38
Farnum, Levy	24	28	48	9
Fish, Jabez	27	13	26	35
Frazier, Robert	31	10	45	12
Fuller, Stephen	11	16	20	40

* His illness increasing in severity, Mr. Smith, accompanied by his sons Timothy and Abel, set out a few weeks later for his home in Voluntown, Connecticut, where his wife and the majority of his children were still residing. There he died in August or September, 1772.

† Later, Pittston.

‡ It appears, however, according to the MS. records of the "Confirming Commissioners"—see paragraph "(4)," page 29, Vol. I, of this history—that some, or possibly all, of the lots in the 4th Division of Wilkes-Barré were not drawn until the Spring of 1773. For example: At "a proprietors' meeting held May 31, 1773," John Abbott drew Lot No. 2, Levi Farnum drew Lot No. 9, and Roasel Franklin drew Lot No. 13—all of the 4th Division. Subsequently (prior to 1787) these three lots became the property of Obadiah Gore, Jr.

§ Concerning this book of town records see "(iii)," on pages 26 and 27, Volume I.

|| The Town-plot (see page 655) comprised these lots.

"DRAWERS' NAMES.	1ST DIVISION,	2D DIVISION,	3D DIVISION,	4TH DIVISION,
	OR MEADOW, LOTS.	OR HOUSE, LOTS.	OR BACK, LOTS.	OR 5-ACRE, LOTS
Fish, Thomas	26	21	43	18
Gore, Obadiah—Jr.	8	6	24	21
Gardner, Peregrine	13	9	34	33
Gore, Daniel	38	20	22	15
Gore, Silas*	50	38	44	28
Gardner, Peregrine	32	50	13	32
Gardner, Peregrine	33	49	18	5
Hibbard, Cyprian†	20	27	8	8
Hopson, Jordan	9	41	40	1
Jones, Crocker	10	31	5	47
Kentner, George	29	24	23	48
Peirce, Abel	40	42	27	26
Ross, Jeremiah	43	23	32	37
Rude, Michael	28	33	17	3
Reynolds, Christopher	18	47	33	17
Stark, Aaron	35	29	25	4
Smith, John—Esquire	45	48	21	19
Sill, Jabez	22	1	35	27
Stark, James	34	30	41	36
Stark, James	2	12	15	6
Spencer, Caleb	41	46	7	34
Stevens, Asa	49	7	47	20
Sprague, Joseph	46	45	30	31
Stephens, John	47	25	38	23
Stephens, Thomas‡	36	2	28	13
Staples, John	17	39	42	22
Staples, John	16	26	31	45
Utter, Moses	35	5	12	41
Wilder, Aaron	19	44	39	30
Warner, William	7	43	14	24
Walker, George	21	37	36	42
Weeks, Jonathan	15	15	19	7
Weeks, Philip	3	11	1	43
Weeks, Thomas	30	17	9	16 "

At the time of the allotment of the Wilkes-Barré lands what was called the town-plot was still "a sterile plain, covered with pitch pine and scrub oak." However, within a very short time the first house within the bounds of the town-plot was erected, a well was dug, and other improvements were made by Capt. Stephen Fuller (previously mentioned) on his lot (No. 16) at the south-west corner of Main and Northampton Streets. The carpentry was done by John Abbott (previously mentioned), Captain Fuller's brother-in-law, and the stone-work—foundation walls, fireplace, chimney, and well lining—was, presumably, done by Captain Fuller himself, he being a mason by trade. The remains of the old fireplace of this house were to be seen as late as 1812—the building itself having been burned down either in 1778 or 1784—while the well on the premises was in evidence, and perhaps in use, as late as 1830.

Miner ("History of Wyoming," Appendix, 47) says: "Mr. John Abbott * * put up the first house, on the south-west corner of Main and Northampton Streets." Pearce ("Annals of Luzerne County," 229) says: "The first dwelling, within the limits of the town-plot [of Wilkes-Barré], was a log cabin built by John Abbott on the south-west corner of Main and Northampton Streets, in 1769." Both these state-

* July 6, 1772, Silas Gore sold the lots drawn by him in Wilkes-Barré, "together with all the after divisions which may be made," to Jonathan Stowell of Ashford, Connecticut, for £20.

† Cyprian Hibbard subsequently disposed of the lots which he had drawn to Asa Stevens (see page 729), who, August 21, 1772, sold the same to Enoch Judd for £43.

‡ Thomas Stephens subsequently disposed of the lots drawn by him to Elijah Loomis of Harrington, Litchfield County, Connecticut, who, February 22, 1773, sold the same to Elisha Swift—then or later of Kingston—for £100.

ments give the impression that this first house was the property of John Abbott, which, of a certainty, was not the case. Nor was the house in question erected in 1769, for, as we have heretofore shown, John Abbott was not in Wyoming in that year, there was then no town-plot, and in the year mentioned there was no house erected either in the locality mentioned or elsewhere in what is now Wilkes-Barré, save the houses at Fort Durkee. As previously stated, John Abbott's house-lot was No. 35 (at the south-east corner of Main and Union Streets) in the town-plot.

Judge Jonathan Stevens of Bradford County, Pennsylvania, some years before his death in June, 1850, wrote* that his father, Asa Stevens,† "in the month of April, 1773, moved his family into a house erected on the Wilkes-Barré town-plot. Previous thereto only two houses had been erected thereon. In one of them resided Stephen Fuller, and in the other Benjamin Clark.‡ Near the lower, or south-west, corner of the plot were two more houses. In one lived Jabez Sill§ with his family, and in the other two brothers, Jabez and Elisha Fish,|| single men." Judge Stevens was, evidently, under the impression when he wrote the foregoing that the two house-lots occupied in 1772 and '73 by Jabez Sill and the Messrs. Fish were not within the bounds of the town-plot. They were, however—the former occupying Lot No. 1 and the latter Lot No. 13. According to Miner Jabez Sill "built the *second house* erected in Wilkes-Barré," at the north-east corner of River and South Streets. Benjamin Clark was not a Wilkes-Barré proprietor in 1772, and therefore could not have been occupying then in that township a house and lot of his own. He was, undoubtedly, "manning" and improving a "right" in Wilkes-Barré owned by some one of the proprietors of the township.

At a town-meeting held at Fort Wyoming May 1, 1772, the following business was transacted.¶

* See Craft's "History of Bradford County," page 365.

† ASA STEVENS was born in Plainfield, Windham County, Connecticut, in May, 1734, the son of Jonathan, who was the son of Simon and Mary (*Wilder*) Stevens of Lancaster, Massachusetts. Asa Stevens was married October 1, 1761, to Sarah Adams (born January 17, 1738, in Canterbury, Windham County, Connecticut), and settled in Canterbury. He came to Wyoming in December, 1771—living for a time in the block-house at Mill Creek—and was admitted a proprietor in Wilkes-Barré January 31, 1772, as noted on page 721. He drew Lot No. 7 in the town-plot, and the house which he subsequently erected thereon stood about where the Hotel Sterling now stands. In 1778 Asa Stevens was Lieutenant of the First, or Upper Wilkes-Barré, Company in the 24th Regiment, Connecticut Militia, and July 3, 1778, he took part in the battle of Wyoming and fell on that bloody field. His widow and children—the youngest child only two months old—made their way on foot to Canterbury, Connecticut, where they remained until peace was established, when they returned to Wilkes-Barré. Sarah (born in 1767; died August 14, 1823), daughter of Asa and Sarah (*Adams*) Stevens, was married at Wilkes-Barré in 1786 to Anderson Dana, Jr. (born in Ashford, Connecticut, August 11, 1765), fourth child of Anderson and Susanna (*Huntington*) Dana. (See a sketch of the Dana family in a subsequent chapter.) Mary (born in May, 1778, died November 16, 1860), daughter of Asa and Sarah (*Adams*) Stevens, was married at Braintrim, Pennsylvania, in October, 1801, to Eleazar Dana (born August 12, 1772), brother of Anderson Dana, Jr., mentioned above. Asa Stevens, Jr., was the eldest son of Lieut. Asa Stevens. He was residing at Wilkes-Barré in 1787 and '88. Jonathan Stevens, second son of Lieut. Asa Stevens, was born at Canterbury, Connecticut, in July, 1764. At the age of sixteen he enlisted in the army of the Revolution, and served therein for nearly three years. In 1786 or '87 he returned from Connecticut to Wilkes-Barré and resided here until 1795, when he removed to Braintrim, in what is now Wyoming County, Pennsylvania. There he resided until 1805, when he removed to Wyalusing. From 1812 until his death in June, 1850, his home was at Standing Stone in Bradford County, Pennsylvania. In 1800 and for a number of years subsequently he was a Justice of the Peace; in 1811 he was elected a Representative to the Pennsylvania Legislature; in 1814 and for many years thereafter he was Deputy and County Surveyor in and for Bradford County, and from May, 1818, till 1840, he was one of the Associate Judges of that county.

‡ BENJAMIN CLARK was from Tolland County, Connecticut. He came to Wyoming Valley early in May, 1772, and on the 7th of the following July Thomas McClure of Kingston conveyed to said Clark—described as "now on said Susquehanna Purchase"—a half-right in the Purchase, in consideration of "thirty Spanish milled dollars." August 23, 1773, Samuel Pratt of Kingston conveyed a quarter-right in the Susquehanna Purchase to Benjamin Clark, then of Wilkes-Barré. Benjamin Clark was a soldier in one of the Wyoming Independent Companies (see Chapter XIII), and served till the end of the war. About 1784 he settled at what is now Frenchtown, Bradford County, Pennsylvania, but later removed to Ulster Township in the same county. At a subsequent period he was a Captain in the Pennsylvania Militia.

§ For a sketch of Jabez Sill and his family see a subsequent chapter.

|| For a sketch of the Fish family see a subsequent chapter.

¶ See "The Town Book of Wilkes Barre," page 1,065.

"Voted, That ye present Comtee proceed & fill up to ye number of 240 settlers, & admit none but such as are good wholesome inhabitants, &c.

"Voted, That those people that was at ye siege in July and August, 1771, & regained and took possession of our Lands at wyoming, shall be Intitled to ye New fishing seine, to be their own property to use & fish with, provided they will fitt it up, &c."

At a meeting "of proprietors and settlers legally warned and held in Wilksbury May 13, 1772," Captain Butler was chosen Moderator for the day and it was "Voted, That if any man shall turn his horse or oxen or any other of his creatures loose in any of ye inclosed fields, and it shall be proved against him, he shall pay a fine according to ye discretion of ye Comtee."

Miner, in speaking of the condition of affairs and the happenings at Wyoming in the Spring and Summer of 1772, says that "it [1772] may be regarded as a transition year, full of undefined pleasure flowing from the newness and freshness of the scene—a comparative sense of security—the exultation from having come off victorious—the influx of old neighbors from Connecticut." The following two or three items, extracted from the original records of the settlement, will give the reader some idea of the transactions in the sale and locating of lands which took place here in the Spring and Summer of 1772. March 13th Asahel Buck of Dutchess County, New York, sold to John Depew of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, a half-right in the Susquehanna Purchase. Some weeks later John Depew sold, for "one-half barrel of flour worth £3," a piece of land "at a place called Wilkesbarre Fort, in ye Susquehanna settlement." At "Wilksbury Fort, May 14, 1772," Benjamin Follett, "a committee-man," received from John Thompson of Branford, New Haven County, Connecticut, "a note of hand for £12, 12sh.," which entitled said Thompson "to one right of land in ye Susquehanna Purchase." Between April and November, 1772, the "Committee of Settlers at Wilksberry" granted liberty to John Smith, Peregrine Gardner, John Depew, Augustin Hunt, and various other proprietors in The Susquehanna Company, "to locate and lay out tracts of land for themselves at various points outside the five settling towns—as part of their proprietary right." The bodies of land thus located were termed "pitches".

At an adjourned meeting of the settlers held at Wilkes-Barré May 20, 1772, it was "Voted, That ye proprietors belonging to ye town of Pittstown* have ye liberty to go into their own town & to fortify and keep in a body near together and guard by themselves until further orders." At a meeting of the Committee of Settlers held at Wilkes-Barré May 22, 1772, it was voted:

"That Roasel Franklin have that right in Wilksbarre drawn by Thomas Stephens. That James Bidlack have that right in Plymouth drawn by Nathaniel Drake. That Mr. McDowell† be voted into the Forty Town [Kingstown]. That, for the special services

* This is, apparently, the first time in the original records that this name is applied to the township referred to.

† JOHN MCDOWELL, or MCDOWEL, of Cherry Valley, Smithfield Township, Northampton County, Pennsylvania, mentioned in the note on page 468, Vol. I. He was one of the few Pennsylvanians living near the Delaware River, north of the Blue Mountains, who in 1754 became share-holders in The Susquehanna Company. John McDowell—according to the inscription on his grave-stone, still standing—was born in Ireland May 20, 1714, the son of Robert and Jane McDowell, who were of Scottish ancestry. John McDowell immigrated to Pennsylvania, and, having settled in the northern part of Bucks, which later became Northampton County, he was married about 1745 to Hannah, daughter of Nicholas and Hannah De Pui. John and Hannah (*De Pui*) McDowell were the parents of the following-named children, and probably others: *Robert McDowell*; *Jane McDowell* (third child), baptized May 20, 1750, and married about 1777 to Elijah Shoemaker, mentioned on page 468; *Hannah McDowell*, born April 15, 1752, in 1770 became the wife of John Shaw (born at New London, Connecticut, October 27, 1745, son of John and Eunice Shaw, and died in Northampton County, Pennsylvania, May 27, 1823) and died July 8, 1812, leaving a son—Peter Shaw—born August 2, 1788, and died May 21, 1866; *Elizabeth McDowell*, who became the wife of Col. Jacob Stroud, the founder of Stroudsburg, Monroe County, Pennsylvania, and whose name is frequently mentioned hereinafter. John McDowell was one of the original proprietors of the township of Capouse, later called Providence. He died at his home in Northampton County September 7, 1779.

done this Company by Colonel Dyer, agreed that his son, Thomas Dyer,* shall have a right in the Forty, if he has a man on it by the first day of August next. That the rights that are sold in the Six-mile Township† or Capouse‡ shall be sold at sixty dollars each, and bonds taken."

On the same day that the aforementioned meeting was held at Wilkes-Barré the Moravian diarist at the Indian town of *Friedenshütten* (see page 443) made the following entry in the journal of the mission§ :

"Three white men from Wyoming are about, buying up horses and cattle and paying the Indians for them in *lead coin*. We despatched a runner to *Schechschiquanink*|| with words of caution."

In the private account-book, or journal, of Zebulon Butler for the month of May, 1772, we find the following charges entered against "The Susquehannah Proprietors": "To $\frac{1}{4}$ cwt. of flour, 2 lbs. of loaf sugar and $8\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of meat for Mr. Johnson; $\frac{1}{4}$ cwt. of bread and flour for the Nanticoke King, and shoeing his horse, 8sh. 6d." The "Nanticoke King" referred to in the foregoing extract was the chief of the Nanticoke Indians who had formerly dwelt in Hanover Township (see pages 238 and 239, Vol. I), but were then living at Otsiningo, or Chenango, near the present city of Binghamton, New York. The chief, with a small retinue, was on his way to Philadelphia when his wants were supplied by Captain Butler at Wilkes-Barré in May, 1772. The "Mr. Johnson" mentioned above was the Rev. Jacob Johnson, A. M., referred to on pages 82 and 449, Vol. I. When Captain Butler was in New London County in April, 1772, as previously related, he saw the Rev. Mr. Johnson and prevailed upon him to make a journey from Groton to Wilkes-Barré for the purpose of looking over the ground here with a view of locating as the people's pastor—the settlement being then without a minister of the gospel. Mr. Johnson arrived here about the middle of May,¶ and after a sojourn of several weeks—during which he preached a number of times to the people at Fort Wyoming and the Mill Creek block-house—he returned to Groton.

About the time of Mr. Johnson's departure from Wilkes-Barré there arrived here from Stockbridge, Massachusetts, a "Stockbridge Indian named *Jehoiakim Moh-how-wo-weet*, accompanied by his wife and family" and bearing from the Hon. Timothy Woodbridge (see page 256) a letter of recommendation, which set forth that these Indians were "desirous of settling on the Susquehanna." "I hope," wrote Judge Woodbridge, "they will behave well and be kind to the English and seek to serve their interest."

Early in May, 1772, Capt. Obadiah Gore, Sr., was sent to Connecticut by the settlers at Wyoming bearing a power of attorney from themselves to Col. Elizur Talcott, authorizing and empowering him to appear before the General Assembly of Connecticut at its approaching session and urge that the Wyoming region be erected into a county of Connecticut and provided with officers for its management and government.** Under date of Wednesday, May 27, 1772, Captain Gore wrote from Bolton, Connecticut, to Zebulon Butler at Wilkes-Barré as follows:

"I came to Hartford last Monday, and on Tuesday * * delivered the power of attorney to Colonel Talcott. * * Have conversed with a number of members of the House, who are of the opinion that nothing will be done this Court. The Assembly has

* Maj. THOMAS DYER, mentioned on page 394, Vol. I.

† Later called Huntington Township.

‡ Later called Providence Township.

§ See "Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society," I: 203.

|| Sheshequin. See note on page 443, Vol. I.

¶ See the first paragraph of the note on page 663.

** See page 725.

sent to Great Britain and has had no answer yet. They say it would be a very extraordinary step to make a county before they have had an answer from England. Captain Trumbull* brings favorable news from Philadelphia, which I understand is sent to you by Colonel Dyer. There has been a motion made to have one Justice of the Peace, or more, whose power is to extend throughout the Government [of Connecticut]. If so, Major Parsons† is willing, if commissioned, to go to Susquehanna to administer law."

Among the collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society is an original "List of Settlers at Susquehanna in May, 1772." It was prepared by Capt. Zebulon Butler, Maj. Ezekiel Peirce, Capt. Stephen Fuller and Obadiah Gore, Jr., of the Committee of Settlers, and is in the handwriting of Captain Butler. There are 215 names in the list, which reads as follows‡:

Atherton, James	Denison, Nathan	Hibbard, Ebenezer
Atherton, Asel	Dean, Jonathan	Hibbard, Wm.
Abbot, John	Durel, Stephen	Harding, Stephen
Abbot, Philip	Depew, John	Harvey, Benj.—Jr.
Adams, Isaac—April 25.	Drake, Shubael—2d.	Harris, Elijah
Adams, Noah	Downing, Jonathan—3d.	Harris, Peter—Jr.
Allen, Daniel	Dana, Anderson—3d.	Hopkins, Francis
Allen, Isaac—April 27.	Dixon, Robert	Hopkins, William
Atherton, James—Jr.	Dorrance, John	Holmes, Sam'l
Blanchard, Jeremiah	Davidson, Douglass—14th	—Out 25th for 3 weeks.
Brokaw, Abraham	—Home 31st for 3 weeks.	Harding, Lemuel—5th.
Brown, James	Davidson, Wm.—14th.	Hickman, Andrew
Bates, Capt. Caleb—14th.	Eveland, Fred'k	Hopkins, Capt. Robert—6th.
Bennet, Joshua—9th.	Ewing, John—3d.	Harvey, Benj ⁿ —7th
Brockway, Richard	Fish, Elisha	Harris, Peter—4th
Bennet, Isaac	Farnam, Levi	Jones, Crocker—Came from
Bennet, Thomas	—Sold out, Sept. '72.	gaol July 26.‡
Bennet, Solomon	Fuller, Capt. Stephen	Jordan, Stephen
Buck, Lieut. Wm.	Fuller, Stephen—Jr.	Jearum, Zerubabel
Butler, Capt. Zebulon	Farnam, Ebenezer	Jenkins, John—Jr.
Buck, Aholiab	—26th out for 3 wks.	Jenkins, Stephen
Buck, Philip	Follet, Benj.—Jr.	Jameson, John—8th.
Baldwin, Gideon	Fish, Joseph	Johnson, Hendrick—12th.
—To be absent 3 wks.	Frazier, John	Johnson, Turner—12th.
Baker, John	Follet, Capt. Benj.	Johnson, Edward—24th.
Baker, Gideon	Franklin, John—20th.	Kentner, George
Brokaw, John—Home 14th.	Franklin, Roasel—20th.	Lester, Edward
Bidlack, James	Gardner, Simeon—3d.	Lyon, Asa—6th
Brown, David	Gardner, Stephen—3d.	Munson, Obadiah—On Enos
Beech, Amos	Gardner, Peregreen	Yale's Right May 25.
Barney, Henry	Gore, Silas	Manvel, Nicholas
Belding, Ezra—2d.	Gore, Asa	Munger, Daniel
Bingham, Gideon—3d.	Gallup, Joseph	McClure, Thos
Backus, Stephen	Gaylord, Joseph	Marvin, Seth
Clark, Martin—25th.	Goss, David	Matthews, Peter—6th.
—Out June 2 for 10 days.	Gaylord, Giles—4th.	Marvin, Matthew—20th.
Carey, Eleazar	Goss, Philip	Marvin, Capt. David—20th.
Cary, Barnabas	Goss, Nathaniel	McDonnor, John—22d.
—Out 30th for 22 days.	Gaylord, Justice	Marvin, David—Jr.—20th.
Cary, John	Green, James	McCoy, Ephraim
Crooker, Jos.	Gore, Capt. Obadiah	Nisbitt, James
Clark, Benj.—4th.	Gore, Obadiah—Jr.	Nisbitt, Samuel
—Out June 2 for 10 days.	Grimes, William—22d.	North, John
Churchill, Jonathan	Gore, Daniel—24th.	Nash, Phineas—25th, on
Cole, Benj.—Home 31st.	Gardner, Stephen—Jr.—24th.	Messenger's Right
Curtis, Fred'k	Hopkins, Deacon Timothy	Osburn, Sam'l
Crandel, Eben ^r	Hopkins, James	Osburn, John
—Out 30th for 3 weeks.	Hedsall, James	Perkins, John—25th.
Corey, Jenks	Harding, Stephen—Jr.	Peirce, Abel
Carr, Daniel	Hotchkiss, Sam'l	Peirce, Maj. Ezekiel
Cady, Simeon—12th.	Hibbard, Cyprian	Peirce, Timothy
David, John	Hopson, Jordan	Peirce, Phineas

*Capt. JOSEPH TRUMBULL, who had been appointed by The Susquehanna Company to wait on Governor Penn of Pennsylvania. See page 725.

†SAMUEL H. PARSONS, mentioned on page 657.

‡The dates affixed to a number of the names indicate—except where otherwise stated—when the persons in question arrived at Wyoming. § See page 738.

Porter, Tho ^s	Spencer, Robert	Vincent, Cornelius—20th.
Pearce, Timothy—Jr.	Spaulding, Oliver*	Verner, Titman
Phillips, Francis	Spaulding, Andrew	—D. D. July 4th.
Post, Stephen—6th.	Smith, Abel	Wilder, Aaron
Parke, William—8th.	Stevens, Asa	White, William
Parke, William—Jr.—12th.	Slater, Sam'l	Weeks, Jonathan
Pettebone, Noah—Jr.	St. John, Daniel	Whittelsey, Asaph
Pettebone, Noah—20th.	Seeley, Michael—20th.	West, Richard
Pensil, John	Stark, Christopher—5th.	West, Eleazar
Roberts, Elias	Stephens, John	Willcox, Elisha
Read, Robert	Smith, Chas —6th.	Willcox, Eason
Reynolds, Christopher	Staples, John—6th.	Webb, Reuben
Roberson, Thomas—22d.	Stubbs, Sam'l—8th.	Williams, John
Reynolds, William—6th.	Strickling, Ebenezer	White, John
Roberson, Ashbel—7th.	—11th. Home 14th.	Warner, William—6th.
Ross, Daniel—12th.	Sprague, Dr. Joseph—14th.	Walworth, Tho ^s —6th.
Stoddard, Thomas—24th.	Tuttle, Joshua	Weeks, Tho ^s —10th
Stewart, Capt. Lazarus—22d.	Terry, Parshall	Weeks, Barthol —10th
Smith, John—Esq.	Tiffany, Nathan—D. May 9.	Wheeler, Ephraim
Stewart, Lazarus—Jr.—22d.	Terry, Parshall—Jr.	—11th. Home 14th.
Stewart, William	Taylor, Matthew	Weeks, Jesse—14th.
Stewart, James—22d.	Tripp, Isaac—Esq.—27th.	Williams, John—Jr.
Smith, Timothy	Thomson, John—12th.	—27th to be out 3 weeks.
Sawyer, John	Underwood, Isaac	Yale, Enos
Stowell, Jonathan	Utter, Moses—11th.	Young, William"

At a meeting of "proprietors and settlers legally warned and held at Fort Wilksbarre June 1, 1772, Captain Butler was chosen Moderator for ye work of ye day. *Voted*, That those proprietors and settlers that live on ye West side the River shall do all the duties on that side ye river; and all those that live on ye East side of ye river shall do ye duties on ye East side of ye River—as guarding and scouting at present, &c."

Numerous references are made in the preceding pages to the Moravian Indian towns *Friedenshütten* (near the site of which the modern village of Wyalusing is located) and *Schechsichiquanink*, or Sheshequin (on the site of which the village of Ulster now stands), both being within the bounds of the Susquehanna Purchase and within the present limits of Bradford County, Pennsylvania. In September, 1771, David Zeisberger (see page 220, Vol. I) came from the Ohio to *Friedenshütten* and brought the Indians there and at Sheshequin an invitation to settle in the Ohio region. This was accepted by these Christian Indians, who had been experiencing considerable uneasiness and uncertainty, with respect to their tenure of the lands they occupied, ever since the treaty at Fort Stanwix and the sale by the chiefs of the Six Nations to the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania of the territory lying along the North Branch of the Susquehanna. Early in June, 1772, preparations were made by the missionaries and the Indians at *Friedenshütten* and Sheshequin for an exodus to the Ohio, and Thursday, June 11th, was fixed upon as the day of departure. They went in two parties—one, consisting of fifty-four Indians led by Bishop John Ettwein, going overland; and the other, consisting of 140 Indians led by missionary John Rothe, going down the Susquehanna in canoes. The chapel and other buildings at *Friedenshütten* were boarded and nailed up, and left in charge of Job Chillaway (previously mentioned) and his wife. The bell was taken down from the turret of the chapel and placed in the bow of one of the canoes, and at two o'clock in the afternoon of June 11th John Rothe and his wife set out in their canoe, followed by thirty other canoes containing the 140 Indians and their belongings. The voyagers were divided in five divis-

* On page 1313 of "The Town Book of Wilkes Barre" the following receipt is recorded: "*Wilksbarry, in Connecticut June 30th, 1772.* Then received of OLIVER SPAULDING, late of Woodberry, now at Wilksbarry, 42 dollars for one Right. * * [Signed] "JOHN JENKINS, Comtee."

ions, each of which was placed in charge of a captain. The first canoe of the fleet carried the bell, which was tolled until the boats had rounded the mountain a mile and a-half below the deserted village. In his journal of this voyage John Rothe wrote :

"We advanced the first day but eight miles, by reason of a heavy rain. During the 12th, because of the high wind, the canoes rocked roughly in the water. On the 13th [Saturday] the wind was still contrary, causing high waves in the river. At noon we passed Lechawachnek.* As we passed the Fort we saw it lined with spectators, and a man playing on a violin. We encamped on the stony beach of the river, and were disturbed at night by some drunken fellows. On Sunday the 14th, after we had passed the [Nanticoke] falls below Wyomik, I held preaching. We then paddled on, and on the 15th reached Nescopeck."

The fort referred to by Rothe was undoubtedly Fort Wyoming at Wilkes-Barré, and not the block-house at Mill Creek. The latter structure was situated some distance back from the wooded bank of the river, while the former stood on the bank, near its edge, in full and unobstructed view from the river.

At Philadelphia, under date of June 22, 1772, Gov. Richard Penn of Pennsylvania issued a proclamation against the "Connecticut intruders." It was printed by D. Hill in the form of a broadside, and was distributed throughout the settled parts of the counties of Northampton and Northumberland. An original copy of this broadside is now in the possession of Mr. James Terry of New Haven, Connecticut (mentioned on page 30, Vol. I), and it reads, in part, as follows :

"WHEREAS, I have received information that the Connecticut intruders—who have so often *disturbed the peace of this Government*—not content with having, in the most violent and hostile manner, dispossessed a number of people lawfully settled at Wyoming under the Honorable Proprietaries of this Province, have lately extended their unlawful possessions to the lands at Shohola and Lechawaxin,† and other parts within this Province, where they are now building forts and places of defence and making warlike preparations to support themselves in their possessions unlawfully obtained ;

"AND WHEREAS, divers people belonging to the said Colony have also at different times endeavored to persuade and inveigle many of the inhabitants of this and the neighboring Provinces to confederate and join with them in such their illegal designs, and to assist in settling and holding the said lands by a strong hand ;

"WHEREFORE, as well to assert the just rights of the Proprietaries of the said lands, as to warn and prevent any of the inhabitants of this Province from being unwarily drawn in to join the said intruders in prosecuting their illegal settlements, I have judged it proper, by and with the advice of the Council, to issue this Proclamation, hereby strictly enjoining and requiring, in His Majesty's name, all and every person and persons already settled or residing on the said lands at Wyoming, Shoholy and Lechawaxin, and other parts of the Susquehanna and Delaware, without the license of the Proprietaries, or authority of this Government, *immediately to evacuate their settlements and to depart and remove themselves off and from the said lands without delay.* And I do hereby forbid all His Majesty's subjects, of this or any other Province or Colony, on any pretence whatsoever, to intrude upon, settle or possess any of the aforesaid lands, or any other lands within the limits of this Province, without the express permission of the Proprietaries or this Government, as they will answer the contrary at their peril, and on pain of being prosecuted with the utmost rigour of the Law." * * *

In *The Connecticut Courant*, at Hartford, June 23, 1772, and in other newspapers about that time, the following advertisement was printed :

"SUSQUEHANNAH."

"WHEREAS it is reported in several Provinces on the Continent, that the New England company of settlers at Wyoming, on Susquehannah River, receive & harbour thieves, robbers and money-makers,‡ that have made their escape from Justice ; also servants that have run away from their masters—These are therefore to certify all whom it may concern, that *the above reports are false*, but on the contrary that we will give our assistance

* The mouth of Lackawanna River.

† Within the limits of the present Pike County, Pennsylvania. See the "Map of a Part of Pennsylvania," farther on in this chapter.

‡ See page 731, paragraph 3.

in helping to stop, secure and return all such offenders, that they may be brought to justice, whenever we have knowledge of them, either by advertisement or otherwise.

"June 11, 1772.

[Signed]

"ZEBULON BUTLER,	} Committee of Settlers at Wyoming."
"EZEKIEL PEIRCE,	
"STEPHEN FULLER,	
"OBADIAH GORE, JR.,	

The following is a copy of the original minutes* (in the handwriting of Maj. Ezekiel Peirce, Clerk) of a town-meeting held at Fort Wyoming.

"Att a meeting of the Propriators and setlers Legally warned and Held In wilksbarry June 29th 1772—

"Capt Zebulon Butler was chosen Moderator for the work of ye Day.

"Voied—That Each of ye Propriators & setlers Belonging to ye township Kingstown shall by themselves or some meet Persons by them Provided within 30 Days be at their Equal Proportionable Parts of Building a sufficient Fortification for their Defence & Remove themselves Into ye same in order for ye Defence of themselves and ye Rest of

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Att a meeting of the Propriators and setlers Legally warned and Held In wilksbarry June 29th 1772—

Capt Zebulon Butler was Chosen Moderator for the work of ye Day—

Vote— That Each of ye Propriators & setlers Belonging to ye township Kingstown shall by themselves or some meet Persons by them Provided within 30 Days be at their Equal Proportionable Parts of Building a sufficient Fortification for their Defence & Remove themselves Into ye same in order for ye Defence of themselves and ye Rest of

Photo-reproduction of a part of page 1,308 of "The Town Book of Wilkes Barre."

ye settlers on this Land or Forfitt their setting Right in sd town or such other sum or Penalty as this meeting shall see cause to Inflict, Regard being Had to the Nature and aggravation of there offence. & also keep up such a watch and Gaurd as shall from time to time be thought Proper by ye Comtee and setlers on this Land.

"Voted—That each of the Propriators & setlers belonging to township of Plymouth shall by themselves &c. within 40 Days be at their Equal Proportionable Parts of building a sufficient Fortification for their Defence & Remove themselves Into ye same, &c. [as in the case of Kingstown].

"Voted—That this meeting is adjourned until to-morrow morning at six o'clock in ye forenoon at this place."

The business transacted at the town-meeting held June 30, 1772, pursuant to adjournment, is shown by the original minutes, herewith reprinted in part—the spelling of many of the words in the original not being adhered to, however.

* See page 1,308 of "The Town Book of Wilkes Barre."

"*Voted and Determined*, That whenever any contention shall Happen between any two of this community about the Property of any Goods, Cattle or any other thing as Insulting, Slandering, abuseing, cheating or in any way to Injure his Neighbour, or by swearing, cursing or stealing shall Brake the Law; that ye Meathod of settling ye same for ye Futer shall be by ye Determination of 3 Judicious freeholders—two appointed by ye two Contending parties & the other by the Comtee of Settlers. And that such Freeholders when met shall have Power to Determin all Reasonable fines and Demands Pursuant to ye Laws of this Coloney and their Best Judgment.

"*Whereas* there is and may be many Disorders committed by ye Retailing of spirituous Lickquor in small Quanteties Both to ye settlers Now on ye Land, also strangers and Trantiant Persons coming into this place & Company, also to ye Indians Natives—which Disorders to prevent it is *Now Voted*, That there shall be but one Publick house to Retail speriteous Lickquors in small Quanteties in Each of ye first five towns; and that Each Person for ye Purpose of Retailing as aforesd shall be appointed by the Comtee of each Respective town in which they Live or to which they Belong; and that they and Each of them shall be under the Direction of sd. Comtee by whom they are appointed, Not Repugnant to ye Laws of the Coloney of Connecticut; and that such Retailers that shall not Duly observe such Directions and Restrictions as they shall severally receive from sd. Comtee shall on complaint made to this Company suffer such Pains and Pennalties as this Company shall see cause to Inflict—Not exceeding his or their settling Right. Regard being Had to ye Nature & agravation of ye offence.

"*Voted*, also, that if any other Person or Persons whatsoever shall Presume to Retail any such Spirituous Licquours as above^{sd} without ye Liberty first had and obtained as aforesd they shall be Lyable to suffer ye same pains & Pennalties as aforesd; and that sd. Comtee shall take ye oversite of ye same and make complaint thereof to this Company.

"*Voted*, That this Company shall at ye cost and charge of this Company as soon as may be send out to ye Nearest County town in ye Coloney of Connecticut, or to sum other of ye Neighbouring Coloneys, and Procure a sealed Half Bushel & a peck measure and one Gallon pot, Quart pott, point pot, Half point & Gill measures for a standard & Rule for this Company to by and sell by &c.; and for ye Comtee to procure them as soon as may be; and also sutable weights as ye Law Prescribes, &c.

"*Whereas* James Foresides Being a Propriator and settler on ye Susq^h Purchase, and by his unfaithfulness Has Forfited His settling Right—voted by this Compy that John McDole* shall be Intitled to sd. Right on account of paying a sum of money for sd. Foresides, as McDole was Bondsman for sd. Foresides—Provided ye sd. McDole settles sd. Right in a Reasonable time.

"*Voted*, That Mr. Christopher Avery have pay for his ox killed by this Company in January, 1771, & that Captain Butler, this Company's Treasurer, pay sd. Avery out of this Company's money, &c."

Among the collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society is an original "List of Settlers at Wyoming in June, 1772," prepared at that time by the Committee of Settlers. In that list are the following names which do not appear in the list for May, reprinted on page 732.

Avery, Christopher—18th.
Blackman, Elisha
Baker, Coonrod—30th.
Baker, Coonrod—Jr.—28th.
Dougherty, John—24th.
Dole, Hendrick—30th.
Fish, Jabez
Harrington, Peter
Hopkins, Gardner—26th.
Harvey, Elisha—25th.
Harding, Abraham—20th.
Out 26th for six weeks.
Hopkins, Timothy—Jr.—20th.

Jenkins, John—16th.
Johnson, Solomon—18th.
Malry, N. Jonathan
Moss, [or Morse], Joseph
—18th.
Marvin, Seth—25th.
Murphy, John—30th.
Perkins, John—Jr.
Phillips, Nicholas
Parke, Isaiah
Rose, Timothy—6th.
Slocum, Joseph

Stephens, Benjamin
Upson, Asa
Tracy, Solomon—20th.
Home 26th for six weeks.
Terry, Jonathan—27th.
Verner, Jacob
—D. D. July 4th.
Wintermute, Philip—27th.
Williams, William—8th.
Wart, John—17th.
Young, David
Young, Robert
Young, John

In the latter part of May, 1772, the situation of affairs in Wyoming Valley being deemed satisfactory by the Committee of Settlers, as well as by the Standing Committee of The Susquehanna Company, it was decided to take steps to lay out and settle a township at or near the mouth of Muncy Creek on the West Branch of the Susquehanna (within the present limits of Lycoming County), in accordance with the resolution of The Susquehanna Company adopted at its meeting held April 1, 1772. (See page 726.) Therefore a company of five or six New

* John McDowle of Northampton County, Pennsylvania, mentioned on page 730.

Englanders—an advance party—proceeded from Wilkes-Barré down the Susquehanna to Sunbury, intending to journey thence up the West Branch to the designated locality. The object of their journey becoming known to the authorities of Northumberland County at Sunbury, the latter proceeded, by force, to prevent the New Englanders from continuing their journey. In the melee which ensued Crocker Jones of Wilkes-Barré was severely wounded, taken prisoner and conveyed to Fort Augusta, where, after a hearing before Justices William Maclay and Samuel Hunter, he was committed to the jail at Carlisle, in Cumberland County (Northumberland not being provided with a jail then), to appear and answer at the next term of the Northumberland Court of Quarter Sessions.*

Another member of this advance party of Yankees was the Rev. Benajah Roots, who was taken prisoner and detained at Fort Augusta. The others of the party eluded the authorities and returned to Wilkes-Barré. Thereupon a company of some twenty or thirty prospective settlers was organized, and about the middle of June they set out for the West Branch. John Blair Linn, in his "Annals of Buffalo Valley" published a number of years ago, says (page 45):

"It appears that in June, 1772, a large band of armed men from Connecticut appeared on the West Branch to dispossess [?] the inhabitants, and were prevented. * * John Scott of Northumberland County deposed that June 15, 1772, William Speddy† met him and companions from Bucks County, near Buffalo Creek [in what was then Northumberland, and is now Union, County]; * * he said he supposed they were travelers and looking for lands to buy. He desired them to be careful how they purchased of Penn, unless they had likewise New England rights. * * He [Speddy] owned that he stood by and saw [Lazarus] Stewart shoot [Nathan] Ogden,‡ and justified the action."

By order of the Northumberland County Court early in July, 1772, the *posse comitatus* was raised, and, proceeding up the West Branch to the tract of land occupied by Marcus Huling (see page 666), dispersed the Yankees who were collected there.§ About the same time Col. Elizur Talcott (whose name is frequently mentioned in the preceding pages) and Noah Phelps (see page 480) of Connecticut,|| accompanied

* In the year 1790 Robert King of Northumberland County presented an account against the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, reading in part as follows (see "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, XVIII: 697): "1772—June 6. To taking Crook [Crocker] Jones, an inhabitant of Wyoming (he being a prisoner), from Fort Augusta to the Goal of Carlisle (distant 73 miles), by order of Samuel Hunter and William Maclay, Esquires; to cash pd. for hand-cuffs; to cash pd. the prisoner's expenses three days on the road; to cash pd. my own and prisoner's expenses two days in Carlisle before the jailor would receive him, on account of a fracture in his skull, which he received at his being taken—the Doc's bill included. [Total] £2, 15s. 10d."

Jones was released from jail (see the following page), and returned to Wilkes-Barré July 26, 1772 (as noted on page 732). November 29, 1773, Seth Marvin of Wilkes-Barré conveyed to Crocker Jones of Wilkes-Barré, for £100, one settling right in Plymouth which Marvin had purchased from Samuel Holden Parsons of Lyme, Connecticut, and which consisted of House Lot No. 5, one-half of Meadow Lot No. 5 and one-half of Meadow Lot No. 8. January 6, 1778, Crocker Jones conveyed to Silas Harvey "all title and interest to ye improvements that have been done by me [Jones] on a certain tract of sixty acres, with two log houses, on the East side of Susquehanna River, opposite ye mouth of Shickshinny Creek; it being land that Samuel Gordon surveyed to ye said Silas Harvey."

† This was WILLIAM SPEEDY, mentioned on pages 676 and 717. Mr. Linn spells his surname "Speddy," as shown in the extract given above and in the one in this note; but in all the original records of The Susquehanna Company, and in the Philadelphia newspapers giving an account of his trial at Philadelphia, and in other publications of early days, his name is spelled "Speedy." Mr. Linn says: "Speedy was the pioneer of New England civilization in Buffalo Valley. He chose for his residence a little dale on Turtle Creek. In December, 1776, he volunteered in Capt. John Clarke's company of Northumberland County, and served during the campaign of Trenton and Princeton." In 1778 he resided on the tract of land mentioned above. About 1785 he removed to Lost Creek Valley, Juniata County, Pennsylvania, and died at a place called Speddy's Gap, near McAllisterville. He had, says Mr. Linn, a son named William Speddy, Jr., and the latter's grandson, J. W. Speddy, lived at Mifflintown, Pennsylvania, in 1877.

‡ See page 679.

§ In 1790 Robert King of Northumberland County, previously mentioned, rendered an account against the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, reading in part as follows (see "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, XVIII: 698): "1772—July 3. To myself and horse five days, viz.: from 3d to 7th, both days included, collecting the inhabitants of Northumberland County in order to apprehend a party from Wyoming (then Assembled at Marcus Huling's on the West Branch of Susquehanna River), by order of Doc. William Plunket, Esq.—£1, 17s. 6d."

|| It seems that Colonel Talcott and Mr. Phelps had come to Wyoming for the purpose of locating and laying out a township for a company of shareholders in The Susquehanna Company whose agents they were. At Glastonbury, Connecticut, under date of September 25, 1772, Colonel Talcott wrote to Samuel Gray, Esq., Clerk of The Susquehanna Company, in part as follows (see the original letter now in the

by John Hutchins of Wyoming (see his name in the list of settlers on page 741), arrived at Sunbury, where they duly executed bonds, or recognizances, for the release from custody of Crocker Jones and the Rev. Benajah Roots, and for their appearance at the next term of Court. The original recognizance executed for Mr. Roots is now in the possession of Mr. James Terry of New Haven, Connecticut (see page 30), and by his courtesy a verbatim copy of it is here printed for the first time, as follows:

"Northumberland County, ss :

"Be it remembered that on the Sixth Day of July Anno Dom. 1772, Before WILLIAM PLUNKET, Esquire, One of his Majesties Justices for the County aforesaid personally appeared The Rev^d Benajah Roots, Col. Elizur Talcott, Noah Phelps and John Hutchins, and acknowledged to owe to our Sovereign Lord the King, that is to say

The Rev^d BENAJAH ROOTS in One Thousand Pounds,
Col. ELIZUR TALCOTT in Five Hundred Pounds,
NOAH PHELPS in Five Hundred Pounds,
JOHN HUTCHINS in Five Hundred Pounds,

Money of Pennsylvania of their goods and Chattels, Lands and Tenements to be levied, Subject to the following Conditions. That the above named BENAJAH ROOTS Shall immediately evacuate depart from and intirely remove out of any Settlement he has or may have made for him in any part of the Province of Pennsylvania aforesaid as granted by Charter, without the leave or lycence of the Proprietors of said Province, and that he will not associate with or join himself unto the people called Connecticut Intruders nor Aid, Assist or Abet them, nor shall he molest or disturb in their Settlements any people settled under Pennsylvania, nor shall he allure, Inveigle or persuade any of the Inhabitants of this Province to join with them or attempt to do it; nor shall he attempt to Survey, mark or lay out any Lots of Land or Townships within the said Province unless by the leave of the Surveyor General of said Province. And shall in the mean while behave himself orderly and Soberly, towards all his Majesties Subjects in General, and be and appear at the next Court of Quarter-Sessions at Fort Augusta the Fourth Tuesday in August next, then and there to answer, &c.

[Signed] "BENAJAH ROOTS,
"JOHN HUTCHINS,
"ELIZUR TALCOTT,
"NOAH PHELPS."

"Acknowledged & subscribed
Before WM. PLUNKET.

Who the Rev. Benajah Roots was, whence he came, or whither he went after his experience with the Pennamites at Fort Augusta, we have been unable to learn.

Shortly after the occurrence of the incident just narrated the Wyoming settlements were visited by another minister of the gospel—the Rev. Noah Wadhams,* A. M., of New Preston, Litchfield County, Con-

possession of Mr. James Terry, mentioned above): "The proprietors of the town that I made a pitch for meet at Wethersfield this week to consult what is best to be done in our Susquehanna affair. * * * Some think it best to agree with Governor Penn, or to call help from New York, as they say they offer to defend us. But this must be the last shift for us to make, I think. * * * *That country is worth contending for.*" The town referred to above by Colonel Talcott was probably "Hungary," inasmuch as, November 1, 1774, Zebulon Butler, agent for Col. Elizur Talcott, Capt. Gad Stanley, Capt. Elisha Phelps and Capt. Aaron Cleveland, laid out a township by that name containing twenty-five square miles. The same was approved November 1, 1774, by the proper committee of The Susquehanna Company.

* NOAH WADHAMS—OR WADHAM, as he himself wrote his surname in 1773 and earlier—was born in Wethersfield, Hartford County, Connecticut, May 17, 1726, the son of Noah and Anne (*Hurlbut*) Wadham. Noah Wadham, Sr., last-mentioned, was born August 10, 1695; in 1736 he removed from Wethersfield to Middletown, Connecticut, and thence, about 1773, to Goshen, Litchfield County, Connecticut, where he died in 1783. He was the son of John Wadham (born July 8, 1655), who was the son of John Wadham who came from England to America, as early as 1650, and settled in Wethersfield, where he died in 1676. Noah Wadham, Jr., was graduated at the College of New Jersey (Princeton University) in September, 1754, with the degree of A. B. Subsequently he studied theology with the Rev. Abel Newell at Goshen, Connecticut, and in 1757, upon the organization of the Society, or Parish, of New Preston in the towns of New Milford and Kent in Litchfield County, Connecticut, he was ordained to the gospel ministry and installed pastor of the Congregational Church of New Preston. November 8, 1758, he was married to Elizabeth (born October 9, 1731), daughter of Moses Ingersoll of Westfield, and later of Great Barrington, Massachusetts. Moses Ingersoll, who was born February 10, 1694, the son of Thomas, was a first cousin of the Hon. Jared Ingersoll, mentioned on page 585, as well as hereinafter.

In 1761 the honorary degree of A. M. was conferred upon the Rev. Noah Wadham by Yale College. After his return from Wyoming late in the Summer of 1772, Mr. Wadham continued to serve as pastor of the Church at New Preston until March, 1773.

Under date of February 14, 1773, Mr. Wadham wrote from New Preston to Zebulon Butler at Wilkes-Barré in part as follows (see original letter in the collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society): "I have heard often of you this Winter, and take it that you are almost fearless about Pennemites, and I hope it is upon sufficient foundation; and I desire you may be directed to what is wise and for your safety to keep up a watch. From the little acquaintance I have about the Susquehanna proprietors I can't see but that there is a great prospect that they will be in a short time the quiet possessors as can be expected in such weighty unsettled matters. From what I can learn friends to the Susquehanna settlements much increase in the Government. * * * If it should be thought expedient by the people

that I should come over to preach in any of your towns, I should be willing if the state of my family should admit. * * * An affectionate regard to all friends and to Mr. [Jacob] Johnson. * * * I have not forgot the state I see the inhabitants were in, as sheep without a shepherd, when I was with you, and as there was a comfortable prospect that Mr. Johnson would come and settle with you. And as there was some that talked with me about my coming again, for they should want another preacher the Summer coming, if they were prosperous."

Mr. Wadham having decided to remove to Wyoming Valley, arrived at Wilkes-Barré early in April, 1773, and on the 22d of that month, at Wilkes-Barré—as shown by the original records of The Susquehanna Company (Book "C," page 100)—Zebulon Butler, "one of the committee empowered to admit settlers," received of "Rev. Mr. Noah Wadham 42 dollars," entitling him to "one whole right or share in the Susquehanna Purchase, agreeable to the vote of The Susquehanna Company at their meeting in 1772." October 14, 1773, Philemon Sanford and wife of Goshen, Litchfield County, Connecticut, conveyed their interest in a half-right in the Susquehanna Purchase to "Mr. Noah Wadham of New Milford," for £7.

Mr. Wadham settled in the township of Plymouth, and about that time his surname was metamorphosed into "Wadhams," either by his own act or through the careless speech and writing of his friends and neighbors. Col. H. B. Wright, in his "Historical Sketches of Plymouth," states (page 375) that "Mr. Wadhams continued his pastoral relations [at Plymouth], interrupted by an occasional visit to his family in Litchfield, until the year [1779] succeeding the Wyoming massacre, when he removed them to Plymouth." Undoubtedly this is an erroneous statement, as there is evidence that some or all of Mr. Wadhams' family were living in Plymouth prior to 1778. The Rev. George Peck, D. D., in his "Early Methodism," states that the Rev. Noah Wadhams "was baptized with the spirit of Methodism, and commenced preaching here and there, wherever he found an opening. He joined the Methodist Church and became a local preacher. He spent his latter years in preaching and laboring with great zeal and acceptability for the promotion of the interests of the societies." The fact is, that at about the time of his coming to Plymouth Mr. Wadhams became a Wesleyan in his theological opinions—which, like those of his friend and brother-in-law, the Rev. Samuel Hopkins (the celebrated Presbyterian divine, and the hero of Harriet Beecher Stowe's "A Minister's Wooing"), had undergone a change under the preaching of John Wesley and George Whitefield.

In the "Bill of Losses Sustained by the Inhabitants of Westmoreland" from July 3, 1778, to May, 1780 (see Chapter XIX), the amount of the Rev. Noah Wadhams' losses is stated at £193, 6s.

Mrs. Elizabeth (*Ingersoll*) Wadhams having died at New Preston, Connecticut, February 19, 1793, the Rev. Noah Wadhams was married a few years later to Diana, daughter of Jeremiah and Ann (*Paine*) Ross of Wilkes-Barré, and widow of John Hageman of Kingston. She died at Plymouth in October, 1804, and Mr. Wadhams died at Plymouth May 22, 1806, being survived by four sons, as follows: (i) *Noah Ingersoll* (born at New Preston October 14, 1761, and died at Plymouth May 12, 1845), (ii) *Calvin*, (iii) *Noah* and (iv) *Moses*. A daughter, *Anna* (born November 20, 1763), and a son, *Samuel* (born April 27, 1767), had died previously at New Preston; the former, December 5, 1799, and the latter, February 4, 1785.

(iii) *Noah Wadhams* was born June 6, 1770, at New Preston, Connecticut, and came to Plymouth with the other members of his father's family. Some years later he returned to Connecticut, studied law at the famous Litchfield Law School, and was admitted to practise before the Supreme Court of Connecticut. He returned to Plymouth in 1793 or '94, and in the latter year was admitted to the Bar of Luzerne County. November 7, 1814, he became a member of Lodge No. 61, F. and A. M., Wilkes-Barré. His wife was Elizabeth Barney of Plymouth. For a number of years he was a Justice of the Peace in Plymouth, where he died September 30, 1846.

(iv) *Moses Wadhams* was born February 8, 1773, at New Preston, Connecticut, the sixth child and fifth son of the Rev. Noah and Elizabeth (*Ingersoll*) Wadhams. January 11, 1801, he was married to Ellen (born January 12, 1776), daughter of John and Eunice (*Bradley*) Hendrick of New Fairfield, Connecticut. Eunice Bradley was a daughter of David and Damaris Bradley of Fairfield, Connecticut, and John Hendrick was a descendant, in the fourth generation, of Hendrick Hendricksen, a Hollander who was settled in Fairfield County, Connecticut, as early as 1664. His wife was "Heinechy," or Hannah (surname unknown). During the lifetime of their only son, Hendrick Hendricksen ("Henry the son of Henry"), the latter's name was anglicized into Henry Hendricks. Some of his descendants, at a later period, lopped off the "s" of their surname. Moses Wadhams and his wife established their home in Plymouth, and there he died September 25, 1804, of yellow fever, which was epidemic in Wyoming Valley that year. He was survived by his wife (who subsequently became the wife of Joseph Wright—*q. v.*) and two daughters, *viz.*: Phebe (born October 26, 1801; died in September, 1867) and Lydia (born October 23, 1803; died January 2, 1890).

(ii) *Calvin Wadhams*, the second son of the Rev. Noah and Elizabeth (*Ingersoll*) Wadhams, was born at New Preston, Connecticut, December 22, 1765. Coming with the other members of his father's family to Plymouth, he lived there until his death. The Rev. George Peck, in his "Early Methodism," previously referred to, says that Calvin Wadhams contributed largely to the erection in Plymouth of "a building called the 'Academy,' adapted both to the purposes of a school and of religious worship. The upper story was seated and fitted up with a pulpit and an altar, and was the only church in Plymouth for perhaps fifty years. Mr. Wadhams' house was ever open to the preachers, and was often filled full on quarterly-meeting occasions." Col. H. B. Wright, in his "Historical Sketches of Plymouth," says that Calvin Wadhams "possessed an agreeable presence and always had a kind expression upon his lips. He was strictly temperate, very industrious, and no man knew better the value of real estate." Calvin Wadhams was married February 10, 1791, to Esther (born June 10, 1768), daughter of Elijah and Susannah (*Henderson*) Waller of Kent, Connecticut. She died February 19, 1818, and on April 28, 1820, Mr. Wadhams was married (2d) to Lucy, third daughter of Capt. Samuel and Chloe (*Cruttenden*) Starr of Middletown, Connecticut, and widow of Samuel Lucas of Greenfield, Massachusetts, and Berkshire, New York. Samuel Starr, who was a sea-captain, was born at Middletown, Connecticut, April 25, 1725, the son of Samuel and Elizabeth (*De Jersey*) Starr. He was lost at sea in November, 1765. Chloe Cruttenden, to whom he was married May 31, 1748, was the daughter of Dr. Daniel Cruttenden. Calvin Wadhams died at Plymouth April 22, 1845, and his wife Lucy died there September 21, 1840, aged seventy-eight years.

Samuel Wadhams, the only son of Calvin and Esther (*Waller*) Wadhams who grew to maturity, was born in Plymouth August 21, 1806. "He inherited," says Colonel Wright, "the business qualifications and the even temper and kind disposition of his father. Stepping into the occupation of a large estate he exhibited great skill and judgment in its management, and made many valuable additions to it. * * * He died as he had lived, a man of unblemished integrity; upright in his dealings, and a worthy Christian member of society." He resided in Plymouth all his life, and was a man of much influence as well as of large wealth. He was a member of Plymouth Lodge, No. 332, F. and A. M., having been one of the first men admitted to membership in the Lodge after its constitution in April, 1859.

Samuel Wadhams was married April 7, 1824, to Clorinda Starr (born October 23, 1795), daughter of Dr. Elijah and Hannah (*Starr*) Catlin. Elijah Catlin was born in Harwinton, Connecticut, October 13, 1762, the son of Jacob and Hannah (*Phelps*) Catlin. He was married December 16, 1790, to Hannah (born August 13, 1764; died August 8, 1847) youngest child of Capt. Samuel and Chloe (*Cruttenden*) Starr mentioned above, and they settled in New Marlboro, Massachusetts, where Elijah Catlin died in June, 1823.

Samuel Wadhams died at Plymouth, Pennsylvania, December 15, 1868, and his wife died there April 28, 1870. The children of Samuel and Clorinda Starr (*Callin*) Wadhams who grew to maturity were the following-named, all born in Plymouth: (i) *Elijah Catlin*, born July 17, 1825; died January 18, 1889. (ii) *Esther Waller*, born December 13, 1826; married October 10, 1848, to Lazarus Denison Shoemaker, mentioned in the note on page 469; died at Wilkes-Barré August 4, 1889. (iii) *Calvin*, born December 14, 1833; died July 20, 1883. (iv) *Moses*, born November 23, 1836. He was married (1st) May 24, 1864, to Jane Chapman (born June 6, 1838), daughter of Seth and Harriet (*Douglass*) Starr of Canaseraga, New York.

necticut. He came in response to an informal invitation from some of his former parishioners, or neighbors, who were settled at Wyoming and who desired to have him remove from Litchfield County and take up his abode in their midst as their pastor. Mr. Wadhams remained at Wyoming for a few weeks and then returned to his home.

During all the exciting and important events which took place at Wilkes-Barré subsequently to September 22, 1770, and prior to the last days of August, 1772, Maj. John Durkee, the founder and namer of Wilkes-Barré, was languishing in the City Jail at Philadelphia. (See page 671.) At that period the jails in this country were, as a rule, noisome, loathsome places, and the life led by the majority of their inmates was little more than beastly. The jail in the City of Brotherly Love was no exception to this rule. In confirmation of this statement read the following item from the *Pennsylvania Packet* (Philadelphia) of January 4, 1770.

"Who would expect to hear of objects amongst us whose sufferings and miseries are beyond the power of words to describe? But such in reality is the miserable condition of the unhappy criminals in our gaol every Winter; not so much for want of food, as from cold and nakedness, for private families daily send them more or less [food], and in hard Winter the religious societies make public collections."

As we have previously noted (see page 726) the weather in eastern Pennsylvania—particularly in the locality of Philadelphia—was extremely severe in the Spring of 1772, and in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of March 16, 1772, we read the following:

"We hear that three of the prisoners confined in the gaol of this city died during the last week, and the Coroner's Inquest have found that they *perished through want of necessaries*. Think of this, ye who dissipate the bounty of Heaven in idle amusements! * * These poor sufferers, like Lazarus of old, ask for nothing but the crumbs which fall from your tables. The very refuse of your kitchens, beds and wearing apparel would

She died December 28, 1867, leaving two children: (1) *Marian Starr Wadhams*, born September 5, 1866; married September 25, 1894, to Samuel R. Maynard of Utica, New York. (2) *John Starr Wadhams*, born December 16, 1867; died November 10, 1868. (iv) Moses Wadhams was married (2d) to Jennie Fenn Morse, daughter of Aldson and Marcia (*Kendall*) Morse of Wilkes-Barré. Moses Wadhams died March 28, 1878, and some years later his widow became the wife of George S. Dana of Utica, New York.

(i) *Elijah Catlin Wadhams* was educated at Dickinson College, Pennsylvania, and the University of New York—being graduated at the latter institution in 1847. For twenty-five years he was a successful merchant in Plymouth; for upwards of twenty years he was a Justice of the Peace there; he was the first Burgess of the Borough of Plymouth, and, by successive re-elections, held the office for seven years. In 1873 he removed with his family to Wilkes-Barré, where he continued to reside till his death. In 1876 he was elected, as a Republican, to represent the 21st Senatorial District (comprising a large part of Luzerne County, including Wyoming Valley) in the Pennsylvania Senate for a term of four years. For upwards of thirty years he was a Director of The Wyoming Bank and its successor, The Wyoming National Bank, of Wilkes-Barré, and for a number of years prior to his death he was President of The First National Bank of Wilkes-Barré. For many years he was Superintendent of the Sunday School of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Plymouth, and for a long time previous to his death filled a similar position in the Central Methodist Episcopal Church of Wilkes-Barré. Mr. Wadhams was a zealous and influential Free Mason for over thirty years. He was initiated into Lodge No. 61, F. and A. M., Wilkes-Barré, April 16, 1855. He withdrew therefrom in 1859 and became one of the charter members of Plymouth Lodge, No. 332. He was the third Worshipful Master of that Lodge. He was a charter member and the second M. E. High Priest of Valley Chapter, No. 214, Royal Arch Masons, instituted at Plymouth August 8, 1867, and a charter member and the first T. I. Grand Master of Mt. Horeb Council, No. 34, Royal and Select Masters, constituted April 6, 1868. He was also a Knight Templar, and was for years an active member of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows.

Elijah Catlin Wadhams was married at Plymouth October 7, 1851, to Esther Taylor (born at Plymouth February 12, 1830), eldest child of Samuel French (born at Stratford, Connecticut, July 6, 1803; died at Plymouth July 25, 1866) and his wife Lydia Wadhams (born October 23, 1803; married May 21, 1829; died January 2, 1890), younger daughter of Moses and Ellen (*Hendrick*) Wadhams previously mentioned. Samuel French was the son of Samuel French (born at Weston, Connecticut, February 17, 1774) and his wife Frances, daughter of William and Eunice (*Burr*) Holberton of the parish of Stratfield, now a part of Bridgeport, Connecticut. Elijah Catlin and Esther Taylor (*French*) Wadhams became the parents of three sons and four daughters, namely: Samuel French, Moses Waller, Ralph Holberton, Ellen Hendrick, Cornelia Frances, Stella Catlin and Lydia French. Elijah Catlin Wadhams died at Wilkes-Barré January 18, 1889, and was survived by his wife and the children named above.

(iii) *Calvin Wadhams* was graduated at Princeton College in 1854 with the degree of A. B. He was admitted to the Bar of Luzerne County April 6, 1857, and located in Wilkes-Barré as a practising attorney. In September, 1858, he became a member of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, and from 1861 to 1872 was Secretary of the Society, and in 1873 and '74 was its President. He was one of the incorporators and early managers of the Wilkes-Barré City Hospital. Calvin Wadhams was married at Wilkes-Barré October 8, 1861, to Fanny D., daughter of John W. Lynde (born at Putney, Vermont, in 1788; died at Wilkes-Barré July 17, 1875) and his wife Mary Ann Cleveland (born in 1809; died at Wilkes-Barré September 21, 1837). Calvin and Fanny D. (*Lynde*) Wadhams became the parents of four children. Calvin Wadhams died at his Summer home at Harvey's Lake, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, July 20, 1883, and was survived by his wife and one son—Raymond Lynde Wadhams. For further interesting references to Calvin Wadhams see, in Chapter XXX, "Memorial Presbyterian Church."

be received by them with joy and thankfulness. We hope the humane part of the inhabitants of this city will guard for the future against accidents of the like nature, and thus wipe off the dishonour which the above melancholy catastrophe has done not only to Christianity but to Humanity. The inclemency of the present season still calls upon the public to afford relief to numbers who are now under confinement and in great distress in our gaol."

One week later the *Packet* printed the following:

"Since our last we have the pleasure of informing the public that large contributions of victuals, bed-clothes, wearing apparel and wood have been sent to the prisoners confined in our gaol."

It was not alone the vicious and the criminal inmates of the Philadelphia jail who suffered from cold, hunger and other ills, but also those helpless and hopeless individuals who were incarcerated for no other reason than that they were absolutely unable to pay their honest debts. All suffered alike—John Durkee with the rest. Finally, at a meeting of the Provincial Council held in Philadelphia August 21, 1772, Governor Penn laid before the Council a petition from Major Durkee, setting forth that he was indicted for a riot on the lands at Wyoming at the Sessions for the county of Northampton in April, 1770, and that from September following he had been closely confined in jail. Continuing, the petitioner stated: "That sometime afterwards he was sued for a large sum of money due to a gentleman in New York, with whom he has now compounded and obtained a discharge from his suit; that he has a wife and children in Connecticut who are in great distress, occasioned by his imprisonment, &c., * * and therefore humbly praying for relief by means of a *nolle prosequi* or otherwise." * * The said petition being read and considered by the Board, it was their opinion that, "in consideration of the prisoner's long confinement, and that he has now obtained a discharge from his creditors—at whose suit he has hitherto been detained in prison, as well as at the suit of the Crown, a *nolle prosequi* should be entered on the indictment, and the petitioner be discharged from his confinement—which the Governor accordingly directed to be done."* After his release from this confinement of twenty-three months Major Durkee returned to his home in Norwich, as stated on page 483.

In an original list of the settlers at Wyoming in July, 1772, prepared by the Committee of Settlers at the time, we find the following names which do not appear in the May or the June list previously mentioned.

Cooper, Thomas	Hutchins, John	Rollen, William—Home 3d.
Colt, Harris	Heath, Tho ^s	Silsberry, Elijah
Cady, Manasseh—28th.	Keyes, Timothy	—Home 18th for 10 days.
Ells, Thomas	Marvin, Uriah	Swift, Elisha
Dart, Nathan	Minor, Thomas—26th.	Staples, Samuel—2d.
Gallup, William	Pixley, David	Sill, Jabez
Goss, Solomon	Pixley, Ely	Sill, Shadrack
Hunt, Austin	Root, Stephen—28th.	Worden, Caleb
Hedsall, James—Jr.	Died Dec. 31, '72.	Yale, Ozias—12th.

Upon his return home from Wyoming the Rev. Jacob Johnson gave the matter of his removal to the new settlements much consideration, and shortly afterwards wrote the following letter†:

"Groton August 18th 1772.

"To the Com^{te} at Wilks Barre and People there and in the Towns on the Susquehanna.

"Gentlemen and christian Friends.

"All Love & Respect unto you. I lately received a Letter from Capt Zn. Butler as also one from Col Elph^t Dyer and Com^{te} at Windham with an enclosed copy of a letter from Capt Butler to sd^l Com^{te} Signifying the unanimous Request & Desire of the settlers

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," X: 52.

† The original is in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

on the Susquehanna that I would come among them in the character of a Preacher & Minister of Christ. I have taken the very Important Request into the most serious consideration And find a compliance therewith is like to be attended with almost Infinite difficulty both in my Family & People under my present care & charge. However this notwithstanding (upon the whole view of the case) I am of the mind 'tis the voice of God in his Holy wise & aldisposing Providence that I should come to you. Shall therefore endeavor by the Will of God to get things in Readiness for that Purpose as fast as conveniently may be.

"You will therefore I hope take some care to provide a House or some convenient place for Religious Worship that may best commodate the whole Body of the People for the present, some where near to which you will please to provide me a House or Place of Residence for my selfe & what small part of my Family I shall bring should any of them come with me. As to any other Provision I shall leave the ordering of that to the Comte & People as they may think fit or as occasion may call for.

"In the mean Time I pray you not to forget the Principle end & design of our Fathers coming into this wilderness—Nor be off your watch & guard & so be exposed to your spiritual or Temporal enemies. But above all by your Holy Lives & conversations Interest yourselves in the Divine Favor & Protection that God Himselfe may dwell with you & bless you and prepare the way for the Blessing of the Gospel Ministry & ordinances among you.

"So wishes so prays & most sincerely Desires your real Friend & humble servant for Christs sake with all affection,

"To the People in the
Several Towns on the
East Branch of the
Susquehanna.

[Signed] "JACOB JOHNSON."

"P. S. Possibly the Rumer of Peace & counter orders to Govern^r Penn [Penn] may be a Devise to put you off your Guard to make you a more easy Prey, be the more watchful that you may not be betrayed. 'Sure bind sure find' Is a Proverb as True as it is old. 'Trust not an Enemy too soon,' Make no man a Friend but upon sufficient Tryal, 'Such as have broken their Promise twice Dont believe tho' they should swear Thrice.' Never trust a Fox out of a cage—or a serpent 'till His Head is broke. When thine Enemy speaketh fair believe Him not, For there are Seven Abominations in his Heart.—*Proverbs of Solomon.* The Lord give understanding in all things.—*St. Paul.*"

About the middle of August, 1772, Zebulon Butler, who, it is hardly necessary to state, was then the principal man in the Wyoming settlements, set out from Wilkes-Barré for Connecticut to visit his family at Lyme, and, at Hartford and Windham, to attend to important affairs concerning the settlements. At Groton, under the date of September 1st, the Rev. Jacob Johnson wrote to Captain Butler at Lyme as follows:

"I have sent Letters to you both as being at Lyme & Susq^{ha}. Have received Letters from you & Comte at Windham. If you come into N. Eng^d & I dont see you before you return Please to let the People know I have determined to come there & winter there by the Leave of Divine Providence Yea & if it be the will of God to spend the Remnant of my Days in the work of the ministry among them I think it my Duty & hope it may be the salvation of many of their souls.

"I propose to be on my Journey the beginning of the next month. I shall likely be some time a coming for I propose to Preach on my Road there at all the Principal Towns & Cities. Perhaps I may go round by the way of New Haven, N. York, Philadelphia, East Town [Easton] & so by the way of Shamokin to Wyoming, tho I am not fully determined.

"I have wrote more at large & now a line by the Judds passing—who am Yrs. &c.,
[Signed] "J. JOHNSON."

"P. S. I tho't of bringing some Part of my Family but I am at Present undetermined about that. We hear the Indians are troublesome beyond you & there may possibly be some danger on the Susq^{ha}. It may be best not to bring my Family excepting one or two or so—or may be none but my selfe. I feel a weight of concern for the Dr^y People. My Love to them."

Immediately upon receipt of the foregoing letter Captain Butler journeyed from Lyme to Groton to see Mr. Johnson, and the next day the latter wrote the following letter* to the Wyoming settlers.

"Groton Sept^r 4th, 1772.

"To the People, Setlers in the Towns, on the East Branch of the Susquehanna.

"Brethren & Christian Friends

"The Country where You are now Settleing is undoubtedly within the claim of Connecticut Charter And of vast importance to the Colony and more particularly so to

* The original letter is now in the possession of Dr. Frederick C. Johnson of Wilkes-Barré, a great-grandson of the Rev. Jacob Johnson.

you that are Settling there not onely on account of your Temporal Interest but more especially so as it Respects the Kingdom of Christ & the Interest of the Christian Religion This hath lain with great weight on my mind for a number of years past that I could have no Rest in my Spirit 'till I made you a visit And I hope my Labors were not in vain in the Lord—

"And whereas You have been pleased to Request & Desire me to come again—as also the Com^{te} at Windham have Shewn their approbation thereof & full concurrence therein—And having opportunity the Day past to Confer with Capt. Butler on these things As also to receive from him a Subscription for my Temporal Support the Present year I do now in Addition to my other Letters Send you this Further to let you know my Purpose & Determination is to come & See you To preach the Gospel of Christ unto you Provided my Way be made plain by the Advise of Counsel & Concurrence of church & People here which I Shall next attend to—Our People have had it under consideration for Some Time past—I have conferrd with Some & had the minds of others in the Ministry who all as far as I can learn well approve of & think it my Duty to Remove I have conferrd with Several of our Principal People both of church & Society who much Desire my Continuation in the Ministry here But yet appear willing to Submit to my Remove if it may be for the greater benefit & enlargement of Christs Kingdom elsewhere which I doubt not will be sufficiently plain & Evident before a Counsel If anything Should fall out to the Contrary I shall let you know by the first opportunity In the mean time shall be making all convenient Readiness to be on my Journey to you at least by the Middle of the next month or sooner if I can get the way open for my Remove

"You will I hope provide Some Convenient House or Place for Public Worship that may best commod the Several Towns for the Present near unto which a House or Place for my Residence untill things are further Settled I heartily thank you one & all for your Regards Shewn & kindnesses bestowed on me when with you As also for the Provisions you have generously made by Subscription Should I again come among You I heartily & Sincerely pray a Blessing may descend down from Heaven upon you that the God of all Grace & everlasting consolation may be with you That He would multiply seed to the Sower & Bread to the eater that you may encrease & fill the Land be a Terror to all your Enemies a comfort to all your Friends Yea that You may be for a Name & Praise in all the Earth So wishes So prays Yours in

"To the People

"our Lord Jesus Christ

at Wilks Barre &
The other Towns on
The Susquehanna
East Branch.

[Signed] "JACOB JOHNSON."

Under the date of September 5th Mr. Johnson wrote to Captain Butler at Lyme, in part as follows (the spelling and lack of punctuation in the original letter not being adhered to, however):

"Inform me whether you purpose to return again to New England this Fall & remove your family, and if you do, when and what road you will take. Please to let Mr. William Gallup* know I waited on his wife yesterday and delivered his letter with my own hand; * * that she doesn't see how it is possible for her, with two pair of twins, and the youngest at her breasts, &c., to remove this Fall. However, that she and all her children are quite willing to remove as soon as they can."

On September 7th Mr. Johnson wrote from Groton to Captain Butler—still at Lyme—as follows†:

"SIR—Since my Letters of ye 4th & 5th Instant I have laid the Proposal of my Remove to the Susq^h more publicly before our church & congregation which appeared very striking & affecting to them Because they saw I was in earnest about it which they didn't really believe before, thinking I had only talk'd about leaveing them but now they become sensible I was really agoing away An universal silence by way of objection seised them—Only proposals of calling a meeting to make some settlement with me in case I was determined to leave them As also to call a counsel for my Removal &c which I was ready to do And these steps will speedily be taken excepting we should come to this agreement viz. that I preach to you at Susq^h this winter & make a settlement & finally remove next Spring which way may be most adviseable I am not certain but one or the other I am persuaded will take place so that the people at Susq^h may be pretty sure of my coming.

"There are many have their Faces that way. My wife since she saw you seems to be much more reconcild to my coming & her going, tho' not as yet untill things are more settled and more safe going & being there. Perhaps I may not come before the sitting of the Assembly in october next &c. "Yours, [Signed] "JACOB JOHNSON."

"P. S. The Reason of my enquiring whether you proposed to remove your Family this fall & when &c., was that I might know whether we should be company on the Road. Several I hear have lately gone & going."

* Mentioned on page 629.

† See the original letter in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

Within a few days after the receipt of the foregoing letter Captain Butler set out from his home at Lyme on his return journey to Wilkes-Barré, and September 16th, at Hartford, en route, he wrote to Colonel Talcott at Glastonbury as follows*:

"I have seen Mr. [Benjamin] Harvey that came from Susquehanna eight days ago. All was well then. Shall proceed there as fast as possible."

October 2, 1772, the Rev. Mr. Johnson wrote from Groton to Captain Butler at Wilkes-Barré that he purposed being at New Haven in the second week of the session of the General Assembly, "and from thence," he wrote, "on my way to the Susquehanna. * * I believe I shall bring none of my family with me as yet. I shall have the company of William Williams, whose father is a proprietor—an old man living in the North Parish of New London." Unaccompanied by any of the members of his family, Mr. Johnson† arrived at Wilkes-Barré towards the end of October.

* The original letter is now in the possession of Mr. James Terry, previously mentioned.

† JACOB JOHNSON was born at Wallingford, New Haven County, Connecticut, April 7, 1713, the tenth and youngest child of "Sergeant" Jacob and Abigail (*Hitchcock*) Johnson. "Sergeant" Johnson was a second cousin of "Deacon" Samuel Johnson (1670-1727) of Guilford, Connecticut, who was the father of the Rev. Samuel Johnson, D. D., the "father of Episcopacy in Connecticut" (as mentioned in the note on page 478)—the paternal grandfathers of the "Deacon" and the "Sergeant" having been brothers, and immigrants to Boston from Kingston-on-Hull, England, about the year 1638. Thomas Johnson, the grandfather of "Sergeant" Jacob Johnson, settled in New Haven, where, in 1640, he was drowned in the harbor. He was survived by his wife, Helena, and four sons, the youngest of whom, William, a native of England, settled in New Haven, where he was married in December, 1664, to Sarah Hall. He was a mason by trade. In 1670, with some thirty-seven other men, he signed the original compact for the settlement of Wallingford, and thus became one of the original proprietors of that town. However, he continued to reside at New Haven, where he died in 1716. William and Sarah (*Hall*) Johnson were the parents of thirteen children, the sixth of whom was "Sergeant" Jacob Johnson (previously mentioned), who was born at New Haven September 25, 1674. He was married December 14, 1693, to Abigail (born 1674; died January 9, 1726), daughter of John and Abigail (*Merriman*) Hitchcock of Wallingford, and settled in that town, where he became an extensive land owner. He was a Deputy from Wallingford to the General Court of Connecticut in 1721, 1732, 1733 and 1736, and for some time was Sergeant of the Wallingford train-band. He died at Wallingford July 17, 1749.

JACOB JOHNSON, "Sergeant" Johnson's youngest child, as previously noted, was graduated at Yale College in 1740, in the same class with Eliphalet Dyer, mentioned on page 393, Vol. I. At that time Mr. Johnson's home was at Wallingford, and he attended, as a "messenger" from the Church in that town, a Congregational Church council at Northbury, Connecticut, in May, 1740. Subsequently, having studied theology, he was ordained to the gospel ministry, and in 1749 was installed pastor of the "First Church of Christ" in Groton, New London County, Connecticut, as the successor of "ye Revd & Pious Mr. John Owen, the second ordained minister" of that Church, who had resigned his pastorate on account of ill health, and who died January 14, 1753, in the fiftieth year of his age. In 1755 Mr. Johnson was married to Mary (born November 28, 1730), daughter of Capt. Nathaniel and Mary (*Williams*) Giddings of Preston, New London County, Connecticut.

In 1763 Yale College conferred the degree of A. M. on Mr. Johnson. In 1765 he published a little pamphlet which attracted considerable attention in Connecticut and probably elsewhere. This publication—containing sixty-seven pages, and which sold for 1sh. 6d.—now appears to be of much rarity. There is a copy of it in the collections of The Connecticut Historical Society, and its title is as follows: "ZION'S MEMORIAL—Giving Some Account of the Present Work of God's Grace, with an ESSAY ON VISIONS, &c. By JACOB JOHNSON, A. M., Minister of Christ at Groton, Connecticut." In view of the fact that some three years after the publication of this pamphlet Mr. Johnson declared that he was "a seer"—that is, a *seer of visions* (see his letter to Sir William Johnson, page 450, Vol. I), it will be interesting to read the following extracts from "ZION'S MEMORIAL."

"I have given a particular and circumstantial account of a remarkable vision, or appearance of Christ, to * * *. To lead humble inquirers into the nature of such things, I have given my thoughts on visions and extraordinary appearances. * * * *Remark.* 'Tis not only possible but probable, yea, rational and credible, that there should be visions of Christ and angels. If we look thoroughly into the nature of things, we shall find it is just as reasonable there should be extraordinaries as ordinaries; and that 'tis no way improbable, irrational or incredible that Christ or an angel should have appeared in the above-mentioned vision. Because God has always dealt, more or less, in an extraordinary way, 'tis therefore reasonable to expect he will continue to do so to the end—because the world in general seem to be secure, and need something extraordinary to awaken them—because the Lord has been carrying on a remarkable work of grace, it is but reasonable to expect at such glorious seasons some extraordinary attendants. * * If it be inquired, 'How shall we know and discern betwixt a vision of Christ and His angels, and Satan transformed?' *Answer:* As we know and discern betwixt the Holy Bible and the Turkish Alcoran; or betwixt Christ the rightful head of the Church, and his pretended vicar, the Man of Sin; or betwixt a humble, holy Christian, and a proud, self-righteous Pharisee, or unhalloved enthusiast. There are three things summarily go into the character of the Devil, *viz.* pride, malice and deceit. Now if we have a vision of such a being, we may conclude it is the Devil. * * * I don't at all wonder that some are led away and deceived by visions and extraordinary appearances that have no experimental acquaintance with a work of grace in their own souls. * * But as I am apt to think extraordinaries will become more common, so their nature and character will be more clearly discerned and fully understood." * *

In the Spring of 1768 Timothy Green, the printer at New London, Connecticut, published, in a pamphlet of thirty-six pages, a discourse preached by the Rev. Jacob Johnson at the funeral of Col. Christopher Avery of Groton, Connecticut. A copy of that pamphlet is now in the collections of The Connecticut Historical Society.

In April, 1768, the Rev. Dr. Wheelock (see pages 409 and 450, Vol. I) desired Mr. Johnson to undertake a missionary journey to the Oneida Indians in New York. They were the first of the Six Nations to express a wish to have Christian missionaries come to their villages to teach and preach, and in 1761 Sampson Occum (Dr. Wheelock's earliest convert among the Indians) had been sent to them. From a monograph (unpublished) on the Rev. Jacob Johnson, prepared by his great-grandson, Dr. Frederick C. Johnson of Wilkes-Barré, we learn that Jacob Johnson, having decided to accede to Dr. Wheelock's desire, set

out from his home in Groton September 17, 1768, for Lebanon, Connecticut, the home of Dr. Wheelock. There Mr. Johnson received a commission to the Oneidas dated September 19, 1768, and was instructed by Dr. Wheelock to proceed to *Kanawaro'he*, or *Kanoalohale*, the "Lower Castle" (see page 449, Vol. I) of the Oneida nation, to take the place of the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, who had returned to his home a short time before on account of ill health. Mr. Johnson made the journey from Lebanon (300 miles) in ten days, going by way of Fort Stanwix, where he met Capt. (subsequently Lieut. Col.) John Butler, who, nearly ten years later, commanded the British and Indian forces at the battle of Wyoming.

At the "Lower Castle" Mr. Johnson found David Avery, a missionary and teacher from Connecticut, and on October 1st the latter wrote to Dr. Wheelock as follows: "Sir William Johnson and a large number of gentlemen have been at Fort Stanwix about three weeks. The Indians are come and coming, and it is expected that all will arrive in a week or ten days. I design to accompany Jacob Johnson over [to Fort Stanwix] as soon as the Indians go [from here]." Messrs. Johnson and Avery, in company with some, or all, of the Oneida Indians who attended the council at Fort Stanwix (see page 448, Vol. I), arrived there on the 10th of October, and soon thereafter Mr. Johnson wrote to Dr. Wheelock, asking that the Rev. Mr. Kirkland be sent to Fort Stanwix forthwith, and stating: "We have more privately consulted the two chiefs of the Oneidas in order to apprise them of this design [to purchase a large section of the Indian lands], and if possible to fix in them an unchangeable resolution and determination upon no consideration to part with their lands." October 17th Mr. Johnson wrote from Fort Stanwix to Dr. Wheelock that Governor Penn had gone home, but that before he went Mr. Johnson had conferred with him about setting up an Indian college on the Susquehanna. "I asked him," wrote Mr. Johnson, "if the Proprietaries would not come to some agreement with the New England purchasers on the Susquehanna. He said 'Yes, as they would with any other purchasers, but upon no other terms.'" Mr. Johnson stated further that he had conferred with Richard Peters (see page 262) upon the subject of the Susquehanna lands, and had also "conferred with Sir William Johnson personally about the Indian school." He wrote that Sir William had treated him (Jacob) "in the most handsome and genteel manner imaginable, which has endeared him to me very much."

A few days subsequently to the writing of the abovementioned letter Sir William decided to exclude, and did exclude, the Rev. Jacob from the conference with the Indians (as noted on page 450, Vol. I)—giving as some of his reasons therefor the following, in a letter written by him to Gen. Thomas Gage (mentioned on page 650) soon afterwards. "The New Englanders have had missionaries for some time among the Oneidas and Ojagwas, and I was not ignorant that their old pretensions to the Susquehanna lands was their real object, though religion was their assumed object. Two New England missionaries came up, strongly recommended to me by Dr. Wheelock, and did all in their power to prevent the Oneidas (whose property part of the Susquehanna is) from agreeing to any line. They even had the face, in opposition to His Majesty's commands and the desire of the Colonies, to memorial me, praying that the Indians might not be allowed to give up far to the west or north, but to reserve it for the purpose of religion."

On November 6th, at Albany, Mr. Johnson wrote: "The business of the Congress is now completed; all is in confusion." A day or two later Messrs. Johnson and Kirkland, and probably David Avery also, set out for "Oneida" (*Kanoalohale*?), whence, on December 28th, Mr. Johnson wrote to Dr. Wheelock that Mr. Kirkland was there with him; that he (Johnson) had not been favored with an interpreter, except occasionally; that he was studying the Oneida language and hoped to speak to the Indians in their own language before he should leave them. According to original letters now in existence, written in January, 1769, by the Rev. Jacob Johnson to Dr. Wheelock (authenticated copies of which letters are now in the possession of Dr. F. C. Johnson), the Rev. Messrs. Johnson and Kirkland set out from "Oneida" about the 10th of January, 1769, for Canajoharie, the "Upper Castle" of the Mohawks (described on page 264, Vol. I) and the home of Joseph Brant (mentioned on page 299), who had formerly been a pupil in Dr. Wheelock's school and was then in the twenty-seventh year of his age. The missionaries arrived at Canajoharie on Friday, January 13th, and the following Sunday Jacob Johnson preached to the Mohawks and had Joseph Brant for his interpreter. On Monday the 16th Mr. Johnson set out for Oneida and Mr. Kirkland for "Johnson Hall," the residence of Sir William Johnson, situated about twenty miles east of Canajoharie.

April 7, 1769, Mr. Johnson returned from his mission to his home at Groton (see page 82, Vol. I), having been absent nearly seven months, during which time he had traveled on horseback and on foot over 1,000 miles. He wrote that he was able, in some measure, to preach to the Oneidas in their own language, and that if he had remained with them three months longer he "could speak their language complete; and in six months more all the languages of the Six Nations." He stated that "the Mohawk and Oneida languages are almost exactly the same."

Pearce says ("Annals of Luzerne County," page 278): "In 1770 the [Susquehanna] Company engaged the Rev. Jacob Johnson, of Groton, Connecticut, to supply the place of Mr. Beckwith. Mr. Johnson hastened to his new field of labor, and ministered as best he could in holy things, in the midst of civil strife. He remained but a few months, when he returned to Connecticut, leaving the Rev. Elkanah Holmes in charge of the belligerent flock of Yankees and Paxton Boys." For this statement there is no authority whatever. Elkanah Holmes was a Baptist elder, a member of the Philadelphia Conference, who, in 1776, came from Kingwood, New Jersey—the home of Col. Charles Stewart (see page 692)—to Wyoming as a missionary, and preached here for awhile.

Upon the arrival of Mr. Johnson at Wilkes-Barré in the latter part of October, 1772, as previously stated, he took up his abode at the Mill Creek block-house, and, evidently, was still living there in May, 1773. This we gather from the journal of "Deacon" John Hurlbut, who came from New London County, Connecticut, to Wyoming Valley in May, 1773. (See Johnson's "Historical Record," I: 213.) Under date of Tuesday, May 25th, Mr. Hurlbut wrote: "Visited Mr. Johnson at Chapman's Mills. Went to Wilkbury fort. In ye afternoon went over to Capt. Gore's in Kingston, then returned to Wilkbury. Went up to Abraham's Plains. Again returned to ye Fort [Wyoming, or Wilkes-Barré]. At a town-meeting at night [see page 763, *post*]; returned to Kingston to Benedict Satterly's. Slept there that night. *Wednesday, May ye 26th*—Went down on ye fields to Plymouth, and then back to Capt. Gore's; then returned to Wilkbury again. Visited Mr. Johnson. Was with him about two hours and a-half. Found him in a low, disconsolate state, but looking like rain [I] rid for Laquawanar Fort"—the Pittsfort, or block-house, referred to in the minutes reprinted on page 730, *ante*. Chapman's Mills—a saw-mill and a grist-mill—referred to by Mr. Hurlbut in his journal, stood on the north bank of Mill Creek just east of the present Main Street (Wilkes-Barré) bridge across that stream. These mills were erected by Nathan Chapman (said to have come from Goshen, New York) in the Summer, or early Autumn, of 1772, and are more particularly described in Chapter I.

In the Summer of 1773 Mr. Johnson went to Groton to arrange his affairs there and remove his family and belongings to Wilkes-Barré. The journey was begun in the latter part of October, and was made on a sloop from Groton, or New London, to New Windsor (opposite Fishkill Landing) on the Hudson River, in Orange County, New York, where the travelers arrived on November 1st—on which day Mr. Johnson wrote to Zebulon Butler at Wilkes-Barré as follows: "I am now at this place. Should be glad of some help. I have a wagon load of goods—that is, two hogheads, two chests and eleven souls [Mr. Johnson and his wife, their eight children and a negro slave]—to get on my way. I shall come along as soon and as fast as I can."

In addition to the "50-acre Lot" and "Wilkes-Barré Island" the proprietors of Wilkes-Barré subsequently bestowed upon and granted to Mr. Johnson "Public Lot No. 1" (mentioned on page 656), to be "his property in fee simple, by virtue of his call and settlement here as the first ordained minister." This lot lay in that part of Wilkes-Barré Township which is now Plains Township, immediately adjoining the present north-eastern boundary of Wilkes-Barré Township, and extended from the main, or middle, road near

Mill Creek to the south-eastern boundary of the township. It was certified under the Act of April 4, 1799, as containing 396 acres and 94 perches. Within eight or ten years after settling here Mr. Johnson acquired other real estate in Wilkes-Barré to a considerable amount. March 8, 1778, the proprietors of Wilkes-Barré bestowed upon him Lot No. 9 in the town-plot, which they had purchased from Haggai Cooper, who had derived his title from Peregrine Gardner, the original owner. November 5, 1777, this action of the proprietors was confirmed by a town vote. May 12, 1777, Mr. Johnson became the owner of Lot No. 10 in the town-plot, and Lot No. 45 (containing 181 acres) in the 3d Division of Wilkes-Barré, having purchased the same from George Bissell, Jr., who had derived his title through his father, George Bissell, Sr., from Robert Frazer, who was the original owner. July 1, 1777, Mr. Johnson bought of James Stark, for £8, Lot No. 12 in the town-plot, and later in the same year, or early in 1778, he bought of John Abbott Lot No. 35 in the town-plot. For the location of these various town-lots see page 655. Across Mr. Johnson's "50-acre lot" and the north-western halves of Lot No. 12 and Lot No. 10 ran the rocky ridge which terminated in "The Redoubt," on the River Common opposite Lot No. 10, as described on page 697.

In July, 1778, after the battle of Wyoming, when the houses of Wilkes-Barré were almost entirely destroyed by the savages, Mr. Johnson's house—which stood on Lot No. 9—was burned. Other property belonging to Mr. Johnson was destroyed at that time, and in the list of losses incurred at Wyoming—prepared and presented in October, 1781, to the Connecticut Assembly, by its orders (see Chapter XIX)—the losses of Mr. Johnson were reported at £459, 4sh., one of the largest amounts in the list. Mr. Johnson and his family fled from Wyoming, in common with the majority of the inhabitants of the valley, within a day or two after the surrender of Fort Mifflin, and made their way to Mr. Johnson's native town of Wallingford, where they took up their abode. There, under the date of September 27, 1778, Mr. Johnson wrote to his son-in-law, Col. Zebulon Butler, addressing his letter in "care of Mrs. Butler, at the Public House of Mr. Wadkins, thirteen miles west of the North River—New Windsor." (Colonel Butler's eldest daughter, Hannah, was then at Lyme, Connecticut.) Mr. Johnson wrote: "If you don't think it advisable for me to come on the Susquehanna this Winter I shall engage in other business. How is it with you? Anything saved on the ground, as to the fruits and effects there, or what was *hidden*? Also, how is it with the dead bodies, or bones of the dead? * * Mrs. Johnson wants to know whether her clothes were found by the enemy—if not, that you would take care of them."

Under the date of November 10, 1778, Mr. Johnson wrote from Wallingford to Colonel Butler at Wilkes-Barré as follows: "I was in great hopes of seeing Colonel Denison, to hear more particularly by him, and write and send to you, but failed. Tho I went and sent to Hartford I could not see him, he being then gone to Windham. * * * We have heard since your letter (of September 25th) that you were again drove off, destroyed, and many of you killed by the enemy, tho this was afterwards contradicted. I have been not a little concerned about you and the people there, lest the enemy should get some advantage against you, there being now, as I am told, about 150 in all—soldiers and inhabitants—and in a little picket fort that could make no considerable defense against 700 or 800 or 1,000 Tories and Indians, and while so many of ye old enemies, the Pennamites, are watching for an opportunity to do you a mischief, and would, no doubt, be glad and rejoice at it. Things being so with you I should by no means at present think it safe to come or send my negro or anything of value there where you be. If you had 500 or 700 men with a good strong fort, such as that at Fort Stanwix, and well laid in with all warlike stores, provisions, &c., I should think quite otherwise; and until that be done, as the day now is, it seems rather presumptuous than prudent, to venture your lives and fortunes (the little left) in such a weak and defenceless state. * * * Continental Dollars, one thing with another, are at a discount of ten and twelve for one, and rarely answer to buy anything at all."

February 16, 1779, Mr. Johnson wrote from Wallingford to Colonel Butler at Wilkes-Barré as follows: "I am not determined as yet whether it will be best for me to come or send any part of my family. * * I have as yet engaged in no business, *excepting I have the care of a school*, and occasionally preach here and there as a door opens. I think it would be but reasonable you should have a Chaplain or minister with you in Continental pay. If I could come in that character I don't know but I would come and bring my negro and one of my boys with me. You and the people there may advise upon it and let me know your mind, either by letter or when you come this way. If this can't be effected (tho I don't doubt but that it might by application to Congress, or even to Connecticut State)—I say, if this can't be done, I shall engage in some other way and lay by the thoughts of coming to Susquehanna, at least at present, tho the state of things here are uncommon. * * I am concerned for my daughter's health—I mean Miss Butler [Mrs. Zebulon Butler]. If I knew what she might want, and it was in my power to send it, I would not fail to do it. * * Let her not be concerned for us or her only son, Zebulon, Jr., for he is as our own." Mrs. Butler had, some time before, rejoined her husband at Wilkes-Barré, leaving her only child, Zebulon Johnson Butler, then nearly three years old, with his grandparents at Wallingford, with whom Colonel Butler's daughter Hannah was also then residing.

September 30, 1779, Mr. Johnson wrote from Wallingford to Colonel Butler at Wilkes-Barré, in part as follows: "Yours by Mr. Sills (18th inst.) I received. * * As to my coming up with my family this Fall: Tho I had (before the arrival of Mr. Sills and your letters by him) concluded otherwise, this notwithstanding I have since determined, by the Leave of Heaven, to come, provided it appears to be the mind of the People (the Inhabitants) that I should come; as also that I come in the character of a Continental Chaplain, or be stationed at Wilksbarre or elsewhere in that Public Character, and that one of the Continental waggons be sent here to remove me with my family and necessary effects to Wilksbarre. Other wise I shall not be inclined to come; altho' for your sake, Miss Butler's sake, and some others of my Particular Friends I should be very glad to come, and bring your Dr. son and my grandson equally dear to me, to whom your bowells often times yearn towards, and who is so desirous once again to see his Daddy and mammy, and almost overjoy'd to hear there was a prospect of going. * * I have in this Letter said I would come to Wilksbarre provided it appears to be the mind of the People—Inhabitants—I should come, for I would come by their desire and good will, & I know not I have any reason to distrust their Good will. I say further I will come provided I come in the Public office & character of a Continental chaplain. For I mean to spend the Remainder of my Days in Preaching the Glorious Gospel of the great saviour of the world, and so many Doors stand open this way that I should not choose to come to Susquehanna except a Door opens there for Public usefulness."

About the same time that the Rev. Jacob Johnson wrote the foregoing letter his wife, Mrs. Mary Johnson, wrote to her daughter, Mrs. Zebulon Butler, as follows: "We had concluded to come to Wilksbarre when your father saw Captain Colt and Mr. Gould at Lyme. They told him they had heard eighteen men were a mowing of the Flats; the Indians rose upon them and killed seventeen of them. * * That put a stop to our thoughts of coming till we heard further. I hope in six or seven weeks to be with you. * * Zebulon [Johnson Butler] is often talking about his daddy and mammy. You can't think what a man he is. He goes of arrants, cuts wood, husks corn, feeds hogs—does a great deal of work, he says. He is a charming child. I could not have been contented had he not been with me. * * I hope Colonel will send for us as soon as we have wrote, for it would cost beyond account to get horses here for such a journey. * * Your father went to town for Calico. Could get none. He sent to Hartford and got a patron [pattern] one. If you like it, he can get more. It was 25 Dollars a yard. It was the cheapest I have seen."

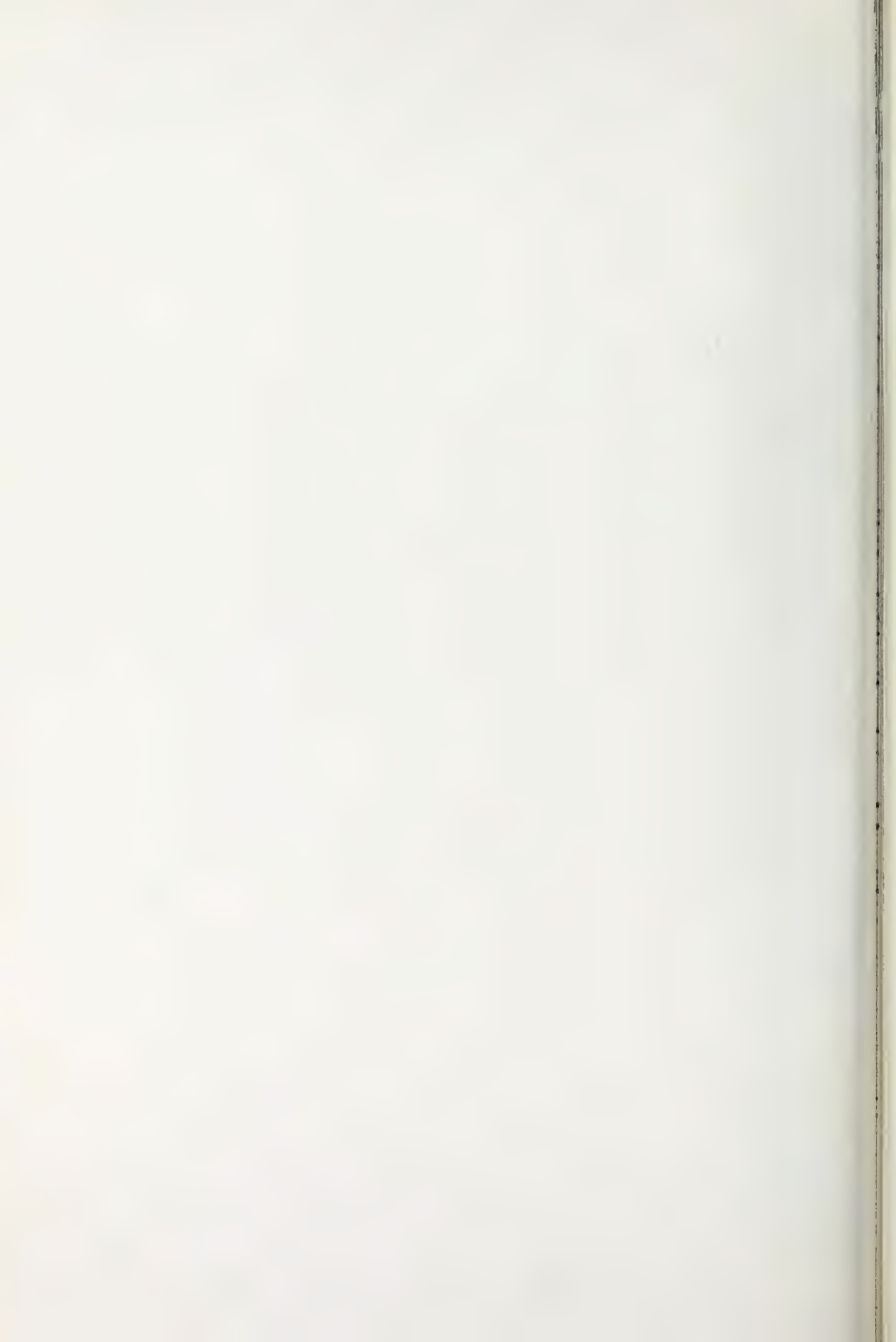
It was not until the forepart of June, 1781, that Jacob Johnson and his family returned to Wilkes-Barré. Having no house of their own which they could occupy they took up their residence at the corner of River and Northampton Streets, in a part of the house of Colonel Butler, then occupied by the latter's wife and children—he himself being absent on duty with his regiment at Peekskill, New York. Within three weeks after the arrival of the Johnsons at Wilkes-Barré Mrs. Lydia (Johnson) Butler died, as previously noted (on page 638). Mr. Johnson soon began the erection of a log house on his town-plot No. 9, at the south-east corner of the present Union and River Streets, and upon its completion in the Spring of



HOUSE ERECTED AND OCCUPIED BY THE REV. JACOB JOHNSON.

It stood at the north-east corner of River and Union Streets, and in later years was owned and occupied by Dr. C. F. Ingham.

From a photograph taken in 1887.



1782 he and his family removed into it from the Butler house. In 1791 Jacob Johnson, his wife and two of their children were still residing there, while Jacob Williamson Johnson (the eldest living child of the Rev. Jacob) was living with his newly-wedded wife in a small house across the street, on town-plot No. 10. May 1, 1792, the Rev. Jacob Johnson conveyed to his son Jacob Williamson, "in consideration of love and good will," Lot No. 35 in the town-plot, and other lands. Jacob Williamson thereupon removed to the house which stood on "No. 35"—a log house, standing at the south-east corner of the present Main and Union Streets, where, many years later, the three-story brick building owned by the late Charles Roth was erected. About 1793 the Rev. Jacob Johnson erected on Lot No. 10—at the north-east corner of River and Union Streets—a very substantial frame house, in which he and his wife lived until their respective deaths. Then the house was occupied by Jehoia P. Johnson; then for awhile by Charles Miner; next, for a number of years, by Arnold Colt, and lastly, for upwards of thirty years (having, in the meantime, been renovated and slightly remodeled), by Dr. Charles F. Ingham. In the Summer of 1887 Dr. Ingham demolished the old building, and erected on its site the three-story, double-building of brick now standing there.

The Rev. Jacob Johnson died March 15, 1797, and his wife died January 18, 1805. From early life Mr. Johnson "claimed to possess the gift of prophecy, and to some extent that of a seer," wrote one of his grandsons in 1882. "He became somewhat visionary, and eccentric in his habits, in the latter years of his life"; he made himself a girdle of hair, which he wore, like John the Baptist, around his loins; he was a devout Second Adventist, and also believed himself to be endowed with a preternatural knowledge of coming events. At length, in the eighty-fourth year of his life, the infirmities of age began to creep upon him, and there came to him one night, in a "vision," a mysterious forewarning of his death. This was so real and impressive that Mr. Johnson "not only made the usual preparations for dissolution," but set about digging his own grave. Climbing up the steep ascent of "Redoubt Hill," in the rear of his residence, he passed up along the crest of the ridge to a point near its greatest elevation—which, for many years now, has been locally known as "Westfield's Hill." There, on his own land (a part of the "50-acre Lot"), a few rods north of the junction of the present Franklin Street with North Street, he proceeded, with mattock and spade, to dig his grave due east and west. He continued at his task for some hours, but his feeble health would not admit of protracted labor, and it required some days to complete the task. Returning from it finally he informed his younger son of what he had done, and, in a cheerful and unconcerned manner giving some directions for his funeral, retired to his chamber for rest; but ere the morning sun shone in at his window the Angel of Death had passed by that peaceful cottage and breathed in the face of the good old man as he slept, and there was mourning in the little hamlet.

Upon the death of Mrs. Johnson nearly eight years later her remains were interred by the side of those of her husband. As years passed these secluded and solitary graves were neglected, yet were not entirely forgotten. The spot was well known, although not marked by any monument or the presence of other graves. Col. W. L. Stone (see page 19, Vol. I), writing in 1839 of the eminence upon which these graves were situated, said (see "History of Wyoming," page 327): "From its crest the landscape is as beautiful as fancy can paint. Upon the summit of this hill sleep the remains of the Rev. Mr. Johnson, the first clergyman of Wyoming. He was a good scholar and a man of talents—greatly beloved by the flock over which he watched for many years. He was, however, an eccentric man, entertaining some peculiar views in theology. He believed in the second coming and personal reign of Christ upon earth, and insisted upon being buried here, facing the east, so that he could see the glorious pageant of the Messiah in His second descent." Some thirty-five years ago the remains of Jacob Johnson and his wife were removed from "Westfield's Hill," and now rest in Hollenback Cemetery underneath a substantial and attractive monument.

(Further mention of the Rev. Jacob Johnson is made in subsequent pages—especially in Chapter XXX.)

The Rev. Jacob and Mary (*Giddings*) Johnson were the parents of nine children, only four of whom grew to maturity, viz.: (i) *Lydia*, born in 1756; became the wife of Colonel Zebulon Butler—*q. v.*; died June 26, 1781. (ii) *Jacob Williamson*. (iii) *Jehoia Pitt*. (iv) *Christiana Olive*. The last-named was born in 1769 at Groton, Connecticut. She was married at Wilkes-Barré, March 25, 1801, by Dr. Matthew Covell, a Justice of the Peace, to William Russell, Jr. (born February 15, 1774), son of William and Mehetabel (*Coven*) Russell. For a number of years William Russell, Jr., owned and carried on a pottery on River Street below Union, on a part of Lot No. 9, previously mentioned. He died in Wilkes-Barré June 27, 1830, and his wife died here January 15, 1831, aged sixty-two years. They had no children.

(ii) *Jacob Williamson Johnson* was born at Groton about 1765. We have noted on page 452, Vol. I, that the Rev. Jacob Johnson sometimes, about the year 1768, signed his name "Jacob Ws. Johnson." It is quite probable that his full name was Jacob Williamson Johnson, and that within a few years after naming his son Jacob Williamson he discarded the "Williamson" from his own name. Jacob Williamson Johnson, Jr., was married, presumably at Wilkes-Barré, about 1790 or '91, to Anna Bailey. He died at his home, corner of Union and Main Streets, May 22, 1807, and his wife died there September 2, 1807. They were survived by two daughters: (1) Mary Bailey, who became the wife (1st) of Albon Bulford, and (2d) of Phineas Nash Foster (born at Montpelier, Vermont, in 1796). (2) Lydia, who in 1822 was married at Groton, Connecticut, to A. Smith of Aurelius New York.

(iii) *Jehoia Pitt Johnson* was born at Groton in 1767, and was about six years old when he came to Wilkes-Barré with the other members of his father's family. In 1789, at the age of twenty-two years, he was "Collector of Rates" for the district of Wilkes-Barré. In 1799 he was one of the poormasters of the town, and prior to 1801 he held the office of Town Clerk of Wilkes-Barré for a year or more. In 1802, '03 and '04, and probably in other years about that period, he was Collector of State and County Taxes in the district of Wilkes-Barré. In 1802, and perhaps later, he was engaged in a small way in general mercantile business in Wilkes-Barré. In June of the year mentioned he advertised for sale an "assortment of crockery-ware"—perhaps the output of his brother-in-law's pottery. About 1810 or '11 Jehoia P. Johnson removed from his house at the north-east corner of Union and River Streets (which had been conveyed to him by his father, and where he had continued to live after the latter's death) to Public Lot No. 1, which, also, had been conveyed to him by his father, in April, 1796. Upon that lot, by the side of Laurel Run, within the present bounds of the borough of Parsons, he built in 1817 a small grist-mill, which he operated until 1825—one Holgate being the miller. Later it was leased to and operated by other persons, as explained in a subsequent chapter.

Jehoia P. Johnson was married January 19, 1804, by Lawrence Myers, Esq., a Justice of the Peace, to Hannah (born 1782), daughter of Robert and Sarah Frazer.

Robert Frazer, or Frazier, was admitted a proprietor in Wilkes-Barré early in 1772, and was one of those to whom the lands of the town were distributed in April of that year. (See page 727.) Lot No. 10 in the town-plot, which fell to his share at that time, had been allotted in 1771 to John Frazier (see page 713), who, it is believed, was in some way related to Robert. June 25, 1770, Robert Frazer had entered into an agreement with one Thomas Hill to settle in his behalf on "a proprietor's right in Wyoming." Late in 1772 or early in 1773 Robert Frazer sold out his proprietary interest in Wilkes-Barré to George Bissell, Sr., and shortly thereafter located on a tract of land "pitched" on the west side of the Susquehanna, near the township of Plymouth, in satisfaction of Thomas Hill's "right." January 11, 1775, Zebulon Butler, a member of the committee appointed by The Susquehanna Company to collect taxes, received four and a-half dollars from Robert Frazer "on the right of Thomas Hill, Esq." In 1787, before the Confirming Commissioners, Obadiah Gore, Esq., testified under oath "that Robert Frazer, abovenamed, was in possession of and dwelt upon the tract of land above claimed about the year 1773, and continued thereon till the year 1777, when he enlisted under the deponent in the late war." (See page 70 of the original minutes of the Confirming Commissioners, referred to on page 29, *ante*.) At Wilkes-Barré, May 30, 1788, Col. Timothy Pickering wrote to his former business partner Samuel Hodgdon, in Philadelphia, as follows: "Mr. Frazier, who will deliver you this, belongs here. He is a tall, straight Scotsman, an old

During the Summer and early Autumn of 1772 the number of settlers at Wyoming was largely increased by almost daily arrivals of men, women and children from New England. The affairs of the settlement still continued to be managed by the Committee of Settlers appointed by The Susquehanna Company; but, naturally, it was impossible that the Committee could please everybody in the performance of its duties, and some of the Committee's acts gave very serious offense to certain of the proprietors of Hanover Township. Complaints were made to the officials and leading men of The Susquehanna Company in Connecticut, and for a time there was a good deal of feeling manifested by the parties to the dissension. The trouble began in the Summer of 1771 (see page 716), and Capt. Lazarus Stewart, who was no longer a member of the Committee of Settlers, was so active and outspoken in his opposition to many of its acts that he incurred the enmity of the individual who had succeeded him as a member of the Committee—a certain E. P., an elderly gentleman from Connecticut, who then held one of the important offices in the settlement.

One day in the Summer of 1772, during this condition of affairs, a half-drunken "tramp" Indian, who was known to have been a hanger-on

soldier, and I believe an honest man, who might be intrusted with such a sum [of money, which Colonel Pickering desired to have sent to him], if in gold; for as he is on foot silver would be inconvenient." (See the "Pickering Papers"—LVIII: 22—referred to on page 29, ante.) Robert Frazer died in or near Plymouth Township in 1790, being survived by his wife.

Jehoiada P. Johnson died at his home at Laurel Run in Wilkes-Barré Township January 8, 1830, and his wife died August 23, 1855. They were the parents of the following-named children, all born in Wilkes-Barré: (i) *Zipporah*, born in January, 1805; died September 18, 1806. (ii) *Ovid Frazer*, born March 25, 1807; died February 10, 1854. (iii) *Mary Giddings*, born November 3, 1809; married to Charles Reel of Wilkes-Barré; died November 12, 1880. (iv) *Jehoiada*, born January 20, 1812; married to Priscilla Scovel; died at Laurel Run December 31, 1871. (v) *William Pitt*, born March 14, 1814; married to Eliza Roderick; died at Dallas, Pennsylvania, January 26, 1893. (vi) *Miles*, born March 16, 1816; married in 1847 to Philomena Burlingame of Wisconsin; died at Lathrop, California, October 6, 1889. (vii) *Christiana*, born about 1817; died in infancy. (viii) *Priestley R.*, born December 20, 1819; married to Sarah Monega; died at Wilkes-Barré, July 5, 1878. (ix) *Wesley*, born December 20, 1819; died October 27, 1892. (x) *Sarah Ann*, born March 18, 1824; married to Henry Colt Wilson of Wilkes-Barré; died at Columbus, Ohio, April 20, 1903. (xi) *Diantha*, born September 22, 1826; died November 4, 1874, unmarried.

(ii) *Ovid Frazer Johnson* was admitted to the Bar of Luzerne County April 6, 1831, and two years later—having in the meantime practised his profession at Wilkes-Barré—he located at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, "where he soon took a leading position, both as a lawyer and as a political writer." Upon the inauguration of David R. Porter as Governor of Pennsylvania in January, 1839, he appointed Ovid F. Johnson (then in the thirty-second year of his life) Attorney General of the Commonwealth. He was the youngest man ever appointed to this office. In *The Republican Farmer and Democratic Journal* (Wilkes-Barré) of January 23, 1839, the following editorial from the pen of Samuel F. Collings was printed: "The appointment [of Ovid F. Johnson] is a compliment to Luzerne that we had not anticipated, and which is consequently the more gratifying. An abler man could scarcely have been found for the station in the State. Mr. Johnson is a self-made man, still young in years, and his appointment is another glorious commentary upon the happy influence of our institutions in developing and distinguishing great talents, however obscure the source of their origin." Upon Governor Porter's re-election to office he re-appointed Mr. Johnson Attorney General, and the latter served in the office until January, 1845. Ovid F. Johnson was married at Harrisburg July 28, 1835, to Jane (born in January, 1813), daughter of James and Martha (Hamilton) Alricks. Mr. Johnson died at Washington, D. C., February 10, 1854, and was survived by his wife, three daughters and one son. Mrs. Jane (Alricks) Johnson died at Harrisburg, December 21, 1901.

(ix) *Wesley Johnson* was born with his twin brother, *Priestley R.*, on the Johnson estate at Laurel Run December 20, 1819. He was educated at the Wilkes-Barré Academy. In 1841 he entered the office of his brother, Ovid F., as a student of law, and in 1845 was admitted to the Bar of Philadelphia. In April, 1846, he was admitted to the Bar of Luzerne County. Shortly afterwards he removed to Texas and practised law at Galveston for awhile. In 1849 he settled at Marquette, Wisconsin, where he was elected Clerk of the Circuit and County Courts. In 1853 he returned to Wilkes-Barré, where he spent his remaining years. For a number of years preceding his death he filled, by election, the office of Alderman of the Fourth Ward of Wilkes-Barré. February 24, 1873, he became a member of Lodge No. 61, F. and A. M. Wesley Johnson was a man of quiet and unassuming manners, and of a gentle and kindly disposition, and was steadfast and loyal in his friendships. "Possessed of an inquiring and analytical mind and a retentive memory he had a large fund of information on a range of subjects. His powers of observation were good, and he had a literary taste that enabled him to write the most graceful articles descriptive of travel or other matters which interested him. All the local papers printed articles from his pen."

Wesley Johnson was married (1st) at Marquette, Wisconsin, May 12, 1852, to Cynthia Henrietta (born in Vermont March 13, 1827), daughter of David Sands and Mary (Tuttle) Green. Mrs. Cynthia H. (Green) Johnson died at Wilkes-Barré August 30, 1855, and the next year Wesley Johnson was married (2d) to Frances H. (born at Wilkes-Barré in 1815), daughter of Seth and Rebecca (Yarington) Wilson and widow of Frederick McAlpine of Wilkes-Barré. She died April 21, 1888, at Wilkes-Barré. Wesley Johnson died at his residence on West Union Street, Wilkes-Barré, October 27, 1892, and was buried in Hollenback Cemetery with the honors of Free Masonry. He was survived by his son—the only child of his first wife who grew to maturity—*Dr. Frederick Charles Johnson*, whose name is frequently mentioned in these pages. He was born at Marquette, Wisconsin, March 2, 1853, and was educated at Ripon College, Wisconsin, and the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania—being graduated at the latter institution with the degree of M. D. in 1883. For the greater part of the time since then he has been engaged in journalism, and is now, and for some time has been, the principal owner of the *Wilkes-Barré Record*. He is married and has three children.

of Capt. Amos Ogden when the latter was in Wyoming, made his appearance in Wilkes-Barré. A friend of Captain Stewart accidentally learned that the Indian was the bearer of a written message from Captain Ogden to E. P. This, in itself, seemed suspicious, and the curiosity of Captain Stewart's friend being aroused he managed, by some hocus-pocus, to possess himself of the letter. It was in the handwriting of Captain Ogden, but was so worded and written as to make it appear as the composition of an illiterate man—which Captain Ogden was not. The letter was as follows:

"SIR.—I received your Letters concerning them fellows but we was one Day too late or we should took them very handy. They left Larners* just before. Pray give us notis when Bill† goes; there is fifty pound more bid for him, and if you shall be out of the way let Peregreen send an Indian and I will pay him well for his trouble. Pray be as Private as Death, for they will not let you know nothing if they once get the Least hint. I think if we could get Laz‡ or Bill you will get shut of the rest very handy. Besides seven or eight Hundred Pounds would be a pretty show these hard times. If you could gitt some of the Gentry out as far as Lackewanner I will, when them people comes there, be there on the sd Time where the old orchard§ [is]—and let the Lads fetch him or more of them, if possible, and I [will] soon shew [them] *Irish beef* sells well among us; these from your Sincere Friend and very Humble servant—you know whoo—

[Signed] "JOH SA—"

"P. S. I saw Lyons.¶ When he comes up let him bring hog-back Laz^{rus} to me, or more—as we shall be fixt handy close."

This letter was placed in the hands of Capt. Zebulon Butler, and when he went to Connecticut shortly afterwards he carried it with him and turned it over to the Standing Committee of The Susquehanna Company, accompanying it with an account of the circumstances under which it had been obtained, and with other information bearing on the case. Very soon thereafter Mr. E. P., at Wyoming, received from the Committee a communication reading as follows¶:

"Windham Sept^r 14th 1772.

"SIR: We have received intelligence several ways (and which we fear is too well founded) that you have been laying a plan to deliver Lazarus and William Stewart upon the Proclamation against them, of which they have been advised, and which must expose you in the highest degree to their resentment, and may possibly endanger your person.

"We are extremely sorry to hear you have given the least encouragement to an attempt of that kind, as they (the Stewarts) have placed their confidence in ye Susquehanna Company & risked their lives in what they have done for them. It would be ungenerous to the last degree to deliver them up to the resentment of our adversaries, however they may have conducted themselves in some particular instances. Captain Butler is sincerely concerned for the event, and has informed us of nothing but what we think he was obliged to do for your security, as well as the interest of ye Company.

"You cannot but be sensible how much the Company must be exposed by any unhappy variance among the settlers there, and therefore we must advise you to *come down and see your friends here for a few months*, while matters may be settled on a more sure footing, and the present jealousies of the Stewarts may subside. You know how far you have acted in the affair, and we cannot doubt of the intelligence we have received—and of which Captain Butler can acquaint you. We should be very glad if you will come down here and convince us to the contrary, as we fear the consequences may be bad. If you do not, [we] hope Prudence will direct you—and are your real friends, &c.

[Signed]

"ELIPHT DYER,
"NATHL WALES, JUR } Comtee"
"SAML GRAY,

In response to this letter Mr. E. P. went down to Connecticut early in October to see his friends, and remained there some time. Captain Stewart having learned of the plot against him, left Wyoming, by the

* On the "Pennamites' Path," beyond the Pocono Mountains, in what is now Pocono Township, Monroe County. See "Map of North-eastern Pennsylvania," in Chapter XXIII.

† WILLIAM STEWART, one of the Hanoverians, and a cousin of Lazarus Stewart.

‡ Capt. LAZARUS STEWART.

§ At Capouse Meadows, afterwards Providence.

¶ ASA LYON. In January, 1772, he was admitted to a settling right in Plymouth. In 1774 he was located at Wapwallopen.

¶ From an original copy made at the time, and now in the possession of the present writer.

advice of his friends, in company with his cousin Lazarus Stewart, Jr., and they did not return until the middle of October; by which time the jealousies and animosities that had been rife were in a state of subsidence.

At a meeting of the Susquehanna Purchase proprietors held at Wilkes-Barré September 26, 1772, it was resolved to send Obadiah Gore, Jr., as "the agent of the Company," to the General Assembly of Connecticut at its session in New Haven beginning the second Thursday of October, to present a memorial which, it was arranged, should be prepared forthwith.

In an original list* of the settlers at Wyoming in September, 1772, prepared by the Committee of Settlers at that time, we find the following names which do not appear in any of the lists for the preceding months of the same year.

Anguish, Jacob	Comstock, John—23d.	Marcy, Ebenezer
Alexander, Robert	Comstock, Wm.—29th.	McIntyre, Henry—22d.
—Home 2d.	Gore, George	Porter, Justice
Brokaw, George	Gaylord, Ambrose—11th.	Parker, Jonathan
Bullard, Josiah	Harding, Oliver	Pettebone, Stephen—19th.
Bush, Henry	Hill, Tho ^s —14th.	Pensil, Henry
Cole, Leonard	Home 16th for 6 days.	Swift, Heman—11th.
Cooper, Haggai	Judd, Enoch	Thomas, Elias
Cary, Joseph	Karr, Samuel	—Home 22 ^d for 4 weeks.
Cady, Simeon—9th.		Weeks, Philip—4th.

The following minutes are to be found on page 1,047 of "The Town Book of Wilkes Barre," previously mentioned :

"Att a meeting of the Propriators & setlers legally warned and held in wilksbarre oct. 2d 1772, Capt. Butler was chosen Moderator for ye work of ye Day.

"*Voted*, That Cap^t Gore, Cap. Butler, Maj^r Peirce be and they are hereby appointed a Comtee to provide a place or House for ye Rev^d Mr. Jacob Johnson to Live in this winter, &c.

"*Voted*, by this company, to continue their meetings once a fortnite on mondays at two of ye clock in ye afternoon.

"*Voted*, That Mr. Perkins of Kingstown, Mr. Carey of Lackawanna,† Mr. Goss for Plymouth, Mr. Daniel Gore, Wilksbarre, Mr. William Stewart for Hanover, are appt^d a Comtee to draw subscriptions, & see what they can git signed by ye adjourned meeting, for ye making a rode from Dilleware River to Pittstown."

The memorial ordered to be prepared at the town-meeting held September 26th was drawn up on October 3d. The original is now preserved in the State Library at Hartford, Connecticut, having been taken by Obadiah Gore, Jr., from Wilkes-Barré to New Haven and duly presented to the General Assembly. (See the opposite page.) The body of the document is in the handwriting of Obadiah Gore, Jr.; the signatures of Zebulon Butler, Ezekiel Peirce, Stephen Fuller, Obadiah Gore, Jr., and William Gallup were written by those men respectively, while the remaining signatures were written, some by Obadiah Gore, Jr., and others by Ezekiel Peirce. The document reads as follows :

"To the Honourable the General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut To be Holden at Newhaven on the second Thursday in October A. D. 1772.

"The Memorial of us the subscribers Inhabitants of Wyoming on Susquehannah and within the Colony of Connecticut Humbly Sheweth that we being Destitute of the advantages of Civil Authority which lays us under many Disadvantages by Reason of our setlers being very numerous and consequently some unruly Persons among us who commit Disorders to the great Disturbance of the Inhabitants—which to Prevent we Pray your Honours to take into your wise consideration our unhappy and Distress'^d condition and either Incorporate us into a County and appoint us Proper Authority ; or annex us to some one of the Counties or in some other way grant us Relief as your Honours in your wisdom shall Think Proper—(we would Humbly suggest that some thing of this

* In the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

† About that time renamed Pittstown, or Pittston, Township.

kind would not only tend to suppress vice and Immoralities among us but Promote virtue and be a means to spread the gospel through these western parts) and your Memorialists as in Duty bound shall ever Pray.

"Dated in Wilksbarre on Susquehannah October ye 3^d 1772.

beginning on Susquehannah and within the Colony of
 independent Humbly sheweth that we being Deprived
 of the advantages of Civil Authority which lays us under
 many Disadvantages by reason of Our Settlers being very
 Numerous and consequently some Notably Persons among
 us who Commit Disorders to the Great Disturbance of the
 Inhabitants - - Which is Ground we Pray your
 Honours to take into your wise Consideration our
 unhappy and Distressed Condition and Either incorporate
 us into a County and appoint us Proper Authority;
 or annex us to some one of the Counties or in some
 Other way Grant us Relief as your Honours in your
 Wisdom Shall Think Proper - (we would Humbly
 Suggest that some thing of this kind would next only
 tend to suppress vice and Immoralities among us
 but Promote virtue and be a means to spread the Gospel
 through these western parts) and your Memorialists as
 in Duty bound Shall ever Pray - -
 Dated in Wilksbarre on Susquehannah October 3^d 1772
 John Abbot Richard Brockway Zebulon Butler
 Isaac Addams Isaac Bennet Ezekiel Peirce
 Isaac Allen Jos. Bennet Stephen Fuller
 Christopher Avery Solomon Bennet Obadiah Gore, Jr.
 Jacob Anguish W^m Buck William Gallup
 Daniel Allen Gideon Baldwin James Atherton
 Philip Abbott James Bidlack Asel Atherton
 Caleb Bates David Brown James Atherton, Jr.
 Philip Buck James Atherton
 Ezra Belding James Atherton

Photo-reproduction of a portion of the first page of the aforementioned memorial.

"Zebulon Butler,
 Ezekiel Peirce,
 Stephen Fuller,
 Obadiah Gore, Jr.,
 William Gallup,
 James Atherton,
 Asel Atherton,
 James Atherton, Jr.,
 Isaac Allen,
 John Abbot,
 Isaac Addams,
 Christopher Avery,
 Jacob Anguish,
 Daniel Allen,
 Philip Abbott,
 Caleb Bates,
 Richard Brockway,

Isaac Bennet,
 Thomas Bennet,
 Solomon Bennet,
 William Buck,
 Gideon Baldwin,
 James Bidlack,
 David Brown,
 Philip Buck,
 Ezra Belding,
 Gideon Bingham,
 Henry Barney,
 Josiah Bullard,
 Henry Bush,
 Elisha Blackman,
 Amos Beach,
 Aboliab Buck,
 Joshua Bennet,

John Baker,
 Coonrad Baker,
 John Bray,
 Jeremiah Blanchard,
 John Cary,
 Haggai Cooper,
 Ebenezer Crandel,
 John Comstock,
 Eleazar Carey,
 Benjamin Clark,
 Leonard Cole,
 Joseph Carey,
 William Comstock,
 Barnabas Cary,
 Jonth Churchill,
 Thomas Cooper,
 Simeon Cady,

Frederick Curtis,
 Jenks Corey,
 Nathan Chapman,
 Nathan Denison,
 Jonth Downing,
 William Davidson,
 Jonth Dean,
 Nathan Dart,
 Stephen Durell,
 John Dorrance,
 John Dougherty,
 John David,
 Shubael Drake,
 Douglass Davidson,
 Anderson Dana,
 Robert Dixson,
 Simeon Draper,
 Frederick Eveland,
 John Ewing,
 Thomas Ells,
 Benjamin Follett, Jr.,
 Levi Farnum,
 Elisha Fish,
 Joseph Fish,
 Jabez Fish,
 John Franklin,
 Stephen Fuller, Jr.,
 Jacob Feezler,
 Benjamin Follett,
 Peregreen Gardner,
 Joseph Gallup,
 Philip Goss,
 Solomon Goss,
 James Green,
 Ambrose Gaylord,
 Stephen Gardner,
 Joseph Gaylord,
 Nathaniel Goss,
 Obadiah Gore,
 George Gore,
 Silas Gore,
 Giles Gaylord,
 Daniel Gore,
 Asa Gore,
 Justus Gaylord,
 James Hedsall,
 Cyprian Hibbard,
 William Hibbard,
 Lemuel Harding,
 Peter Harris,
 Thomas Heath,
 William Hopkins,
 James Hopkins,
 Robert Hopkins,
 Timothy Hopkins, Jr.,
 Timothy Hopkins,
 Francis Hopkins,
 Peter Harrington,
 Samuel Hotchkiss,
 Benjamin Harvey,
 Benjamin Harvey, Jr.,
 Elisha Harvey,
 Abraham Harding,
 James Hedsall, Jr.,

Ebenezer Hibbard,
 Andrew Hickman,
 Oliver Harding,
 Jordan Hopson,
 Augustin Hunt,
 Zerrubabel Jearom,
 Solomon Johnson,
 John Jenkins,
 John Jameson,
 Stephen Jenkins,
 John Jenkins, Jr.,
 Edward Johnson,
 Enoch Judd,
 Stephen Jordan,
 Timothy Keyes,
 George Kentnor,
 Samuel Karr,
 Stephen Lee,
 Asa Lyon,
 Edward Lester,
 Peter Matthews,
 David Marvin, Jr.,
 Uriah Marvin,
 Matthew Marvin,
 Seth Marvin,
 David Marvin,
 Ebenezer Marcy,
 Nicholas Manvil,
 John Murphy,
 Henry MacIntyre,
 Thomas McClure,
 Ephraim McCoy,
 James Nisbitt,
 Samuel Nisbitt,
 Phineas Nash,
 Henry Pensil,
 John Pensil,
 John Perkins,
 John Perkins, Jr.,
 Francis Phillips,
 Isaiah Pasky,
 Timothy Peirce,
 Phineas Peirce,
 Abel Peirce,
 Timothy Pearce, Jr.,
 Thomas Porter,
 Noah Pettibone, Jr.,
 Stephen Pettibone,
 Justice Porter,
 William Parke, Jr.,
 Nicholas Phillips,
 Jonathan Parker,
 David Pixley,
 William Parke,
 Eli Pixley,
 Ashbel Roberson,
 William Reynolds,
 Stephen Root,
 Elias Roberts,
 Thomas Roberson,
 Christopher Reynolds,
 Daniel Ross,
 Michael Rude,

Timothy Rose,
 Thomas Stoddard,
 Abel Smith,
 Timothy Smith,
 James Smith,
 Oliver Smith, Jr.,
 Oliver Smith,
 Joseph Sprague,
 Benjamin Stevens,
 Elijah Silsberry,
 John Sawyer,
 Samuel Slater,
 John Staples,
 Samuel Staples,
 Shadrack Sill,
 Jabez Sill,
 Thomas Sill,
 Michael Sealey,
 William Stewart,
 John Swift,
 Heman Swift,
 Elisha Swift,
 Andrew Spaulding,
 John Stephens,
 Joseph Slocum,
 Jonathan Steele,
 Samuel Storey,
 Daniel Scott,
 Asa Stevens,
 Parshall Terry, Jr.,
 Solomon Tracy,
 Isaac Tripp,
 Jonathan Terry,
 Parshall Terry,
 Joshua Tuttle,
 David Smith Tammage,
 Elias Thomas,
 Moses Utter,
 Asa Upson,
 Isaac Underwood,
 Aaron Wilder,
 Elisha Wilcox,
 Thomas Walworth,
 Jesse Weeks,
 Thomas Weeks,
 Bartholomew Weeks,
 Philip Weeks,
 William White,
 Reuben Webb,
 Caleb Worden,
 John Williams,
 Richard West,
 William Warner,
 Zopher Williams,
 Henry Windecker,
 Philip Wintermute,
 John White,
 Eason Wilcox,
 Asaph Whittlesey,
 Robert Young,
 William Young,
 John Young, Jr.,
 Abel Yarrington."

[Total, 241.]

On page 1,048 of "The Town Book of Wilkes Barre" we find the following minutes of a town-meeting held at Fort Wyoming October 5, 1772.

"Voted, That Esqr Tripp, John Jenkins, Philip Goss, John Perkins, Capt. Bates, Daniel Gore, William Stewart are apptd comtee men to mark out ye rode from Dillaware River to Pittstown. Capt. Butler is apptd to receive in ye money & grain that each man

has signed to ye subscriptions for ye makeing ye rode from Dilleware River to Pittstown, & pay out ye same by orders from ye Comtee appointed to do said work.

"Voted, That ye Comtee appointed to mark out ye rode from Dilleware River to Pittstown are appointed as a Comtee to see sd rode made and completed.

"Voted, That if any proprietor or settler now on sd land, or shall be received in as a settler, that shall refuse or neglect to do his duty in guarding & scouting when warned thereto, shall be punished according to ye laws of ye Colony of Connecticut.

"Voted, That Mr. Jabez Sills is appointed to be sealer of weights & measures for ye time being for this company, &c."

The following is a verbatim copy of the original draft of the minutes of a town-meeting now in the collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

"Att a propriators meeting Legally warned and Held in Wilksbarre october 19th 1772—

"voted that Capt. Butler was chosen moderator for ye work of ye day &c.

"voted—that Esqr Tripp is appointed to oversee those persons that shall from time to time be sent out from ye severall towns to work on ye Rode from Dillaware River to this place and see that ye work be Done according to the Directions of ye Comtee that was sent out to mark out sd Rode, &c.

"voted—that Mr. Blackman is appointed for ye town of wilksbarre to git out ye men out to work on ye Rode to Dillaware, &c.

"voted—that m^r Dixon is appointed for ye town of Kingstown to git ye men out to work on ye Rode to Dillaware, &c.

"voted by this Company that Capt. Lazarus Stewart & m^r will^m Stewart and their associates are Deserving of the town of Hannover Agreeable to ye votes passed at their General meeting of ye Propriators of ye Susquehannah company Held at windham January 9th 1771.

"voted—that every man of the setlers Belonging to the settling towns in ye Susquehannah Purchase shall do their Duty Both guarding & scouting according to ye votes of sd setlers, and if any man Refuse or Neglect to do sd Duty they shall be subject to lose their Rights according to ye votes of ye Propriators at their meeting at windham January 1769, except they give satisfaction to the Comtee of setlers within twenty-four Hours after sd Neglect, &c.

"whereas it was voted at a General meeting of ye Propriators Held at wilksbarre June 29th 1772 that ye Propriators Belonging to ye township of Plymouth shall by themselves within 40 Days provide a sufficient Block House to keep their guard by themselves and remove themselves into ye same for their Defence and ye Rest ye setlers on sd Land or forfitt there settling rights &c.; and whereas the time is Now expired and ye House is not yet Built &c. it is Now voted that they shall Have forty Days from this time to Build their House to guard &c. according to the former vote &c.—except their removeing in to ye same to live, But Do their Duty there."



In the Spring of 1772 a tolerable road had been constructed from Wilkes-Barré to Pittstown. It started at the head of what was later called Main Street in the town-plot of Wilkes-Barré, and ran in a north-easterly direction nearly a straight course to the settlement below the mouth of the Lackawanna River. In the Fall of 1772 the Wyoming settlers, pursuant to the

several resolutions adopted at the town-meetings, very generally turned out to build the projected road from Pittstown to the Delaware. It was laid out nearly, if not exactly, along the line of the old path, or trail, known as the "Upper Road to the Delaware" (see page 646) and running up along the Lackawanna to Capouse Meadows, thence due east to Shohola, and thence south-east to what is now known as Dingman's Ferry.

The course of the road from Wilkes-Barré to the Delaware is plainly indicated on the "Map of North-eastern Pennsylvania" in Chapter XXIII. By hard work this road was made passable for carts, wagons and sledges by the end of the year 1772—but it was a pretty rough road.*

At New Haven, Connecticut, under date of October 20, 1772, Nathaniel Wales, Jr. (see note on page 639), wrote to Capt. Zebulon Butler at Wilkes-Barré as follows:

* * "Mr. Gore has been very faithful, but we think our Assembly don't look with so good a complexion as we could wish, and can have no hopes of favor at this time, as we are waiting for advice from home.† Have also been corresponding with Govr Penn by way of Capt. Trumbull. We think it not best at this time to stir the hornets' nest, but keep as still as possible and creep into possession as fast as we can. * * * I doubt not but you will personally endeavor to promote harmony, and it seems to me there might be so many persons of consideration among you that you can curb the few unruly ones, if any there be. * * In the meantime let us try to keep all things still here, and at Pennsylvania and among yourselves, *and crowd in settlers with all our might*, so as to get good foot-hold.

"I hope if Mr. [Jacob] Johnson comes among you he will be a great peacemaker. He is a good man. * * Should love to God and to one another prevail among you, I should not be afraid of what man could do. I wish that every one had a just sense of the importance of having God for our friend, our Guide & Protector, and with one heart seek His favor. In such a case how would that wilderness rejoice! It would doubtless soon blossom like a rose.

"Your safety depends on your virtue, and I hope every one will, to his utmost, inculcate principles of virtue & goodness, love & harmony. It appears to me there is a fine opportunity for all to preach among you; and believe me, Sir, there is much seems to devolve on *you*, and that you have a fine opportunity of doing good, and I sincerely wish you a heart to improve it. The cause is glorious, the work is pleasing and delightful, and the reward is certain!"

The following is a verbatim copy of the minutes of a town-meeting recorded in the handwriting of Maj. Ezekiel Peirce on page 1,069 (see photo-reproduction on the opposite page) of "The Town Book of Wilkes Barre," mentioned on page 27, Volume I.

"Att a meeting of ye Proprietors & settlers Belonging to ye Susquehannah Purchase Legally warned and Held In wilksbarre Novbr 18th 1772—

"Capt Butler was chosen moderator for ye work of ye Day.

"*Voted*—that those Persons that Lives In Pittstown shall Do the Duty there; and those that Lives Below Frederick Eveland's in Plymouth is to Do their Duty their; and those that Belongs to Hanover to Do their Duty in ye Block house where Capt Stewart Now Lives‡; and those that Belongs to & Lives in ye town of Kingstown to come and Do their Duty in ye fort at wilksbarre untill they Fortifie and Gaurd by themselves at Kingstown; But those that Belongs to Kingstown shall be Brought over ye River upon free cost if they come at ye time appointed; if Not, then to pay their Ferige [ferriage]. And for ye gaurd that comes to gaurd at ye fort at Wilksbarre to bring over ye gaurd that comes to gaurd that Day on free cost; and for ye twelve men to come from Kingstown and above Evelands when their turns comes all in one Day to gaurd, &c.

"*Voted*—that each town to keep gaurd according to ye List now made out untill further orders for ye future.

"*Voted*—that those persons that have neglected to do their duty in gaurding for ye time past shall make it up by working on ye gaurd house one day each for one day's neglect, and that within ten days from this time, and to be notified by Mr. Stowel what day to work, &c.

"*Voted*—that Mr. Christopher Avery is appointed to collect in those species that ye propr^s & settlers have signed to ye support of ye Rev^d Mr. Jacob Johnson ye year ensuing.

"*Voted*—that Mr. Swift of Kingstown, Mr. Asa Stevens for Wilksbarre, Mr. Parker for Pittstown, Mr. Marvin for Plymouth is appt^d Comtee men to git men to work on ye rode from Dillaware River to this place, and to set out next Wednesday to work on ye rode, &c.

"*Voted*—that every man that holds a setling right in either of these setling towns shall provide himself a good firelock & ammunition sufficient according to ye laws of ye Colony of Connecticut: that shall be excepted [accepted] of by ye Comtee of settlers, & that by ye first Monday of December next, and then to appear compleat in their arms at ye fort in Wilksbarre at 12 of ye clock on s^d Day, fitt for viewing, as ye Law Directs, &c.

"*Voted*—that Thomas Bennet's setling right is forfeited to this Company by his neglect in not doing his Duty in gaurding, &c. §

* See page 636, sixth paragraph.

† England.

‡ See page 644.

§ His right was restored to him by a vote passed at a town-meeting held December 7, 1772.

"Voted—that Silas Gore is not intitled to a setling Right of Land in ye town of Wilksbarre & Nantecook, but in wilksbarre.

"Voted—that Mr. Jesse Weeks is intitled to ye Right of Land in ye township Nantecook that was reserved for Silas Gore in sd Nantecook—sd Gore chose his right in Wilks Barre, &c.

"Voted—that ye Revd Mr. Jacob Johnson shall be intitled to a setling right in some one of ye setling towns, &c."

1069

Att a meeting of y^e Proprietors & Sellers Belonging
to y^e Susquehanna Purchase Legally warned and
held in wilksbarre Nov^r 18th 1772 ———
Capt. Butler was Chosen moderator for y^e work
of y^e Day ———

Voted—that those persons that Lives in Nittstown —
shall Do the Duty there and those that Lives —
Below Frederick Spelman in Rhymoth is to Do
their Duty their: and those that Belongs to
Hanover to Do their Duty in y^e Bloch house
where Cap^t Stewart Now Lives: and those
that Belongs to & Lives in y^e town of
Kingstown to Come and Do their Duty in
y^e fort at wilksbarre untill they Prootifie
and Gave by themselves at Kingstown: But
those that Belongs to Kingstown shall be Brought
over y^e River upon freecost if they Come at y^e
time appointed: if not then to pay their Fares

Photo-reproduction of a portion of page 1,069 of "The Town Book of Wilkes Barre."

At a town-meeting held December 7, 1772, the following resolutions, among other matters, were adopted.

"That there shall be a tax granted upon each settling-right on the East Branch of the Susquehanna Purchase in order to make and finish a road from Delaware River to this place. That those persons that shall go out to work on ye road from Delaware River to ye westernmost part of ye Great Swamp* shall have three shillings per day, lawful money, for ye time they work to ye acceptance of ye overseers; and from ye Great Swamp this way, shall have one shilling and six pence per day, and no more.

"Voted, To allow Esquire Tripp five shillings, lawful money, per day to go out to work on ye road from Delaware River to ye westernmost part of ye Great Swamp, & to oversee those that go out to work—to see that ye work be well done. Mr. Nathan Denison is appointed overseer from ye westernmost part of ye Great Swamp this way, to this place, & is to have three shillings per day. The following collectors of taxes, to be raised on each right, were appointed: Asa Stevens for Wilksbarre, Capt. Follett for Kingstown, 'Deacon' Hopkins for Plymouth, William Stewart for Hanover, Lemuel Harding for Pittstown, Solomon Johnson for Providence.

"Voted, That Lieut. Buck, Christopher Avery, William Warner, Peregreen Gardner and Asa Stevens be appointed a Comtee to say how old a person shall be to hold a settling right—and make report at the next meeting.

* See page 329, Vol. I.

"*Voted*, That Asa Stevens, Daniel Gore and Abel Peirce are appointed to Inspect into all ye Houses that sell or retail strong drink, that no person or Persons shall at any time Hereafter sell or Lett any Indian or Indians have any strong Drink on forfeiture of his or their setting Right or Rights, & also forfeitt ye whole of ye Remainder of their Liquor to this Company; and that ye Comtee above [is] appointed to take care of sd liquor Immediately.

"*Voted*, That their shall be a Comtee of five men to appoint Houses of Publick entertainment, but not to appoint more than two persons *within this Fort*. Capt Follet, Asa Stevens, Mr. Avery, Esq^r Tripp and Mr. Dana is appointed a Comtee for ye abovesd work.

"*Voted*, That ye Comtee in each of ye respective towns shall view ye arms and ammunition belonging to each town, and for ye Comtee in each town to make their returns to ye Comtee of settlers when called upon by ye Comtee [of Settlers]."

At a town-meeting of the proprietors of Wilkes-Barré held December 11, 1772, at which Capt. Stephen Fuller served as Moderator, it was "*Voted* to give and grant unto ye Revd Mr. Jacob Johnson, and his heirs and assigns forever, in case he settle in this town as a gospel minister, fifty acres of land." In pursuance of this vote the town conveyed to Mr. Johnson, May 31, 1773, the "50-acre Lot" mentioned on page 656, *ante*—reserving, however, out of the same, four acres at the south-easterly corner for a public burial-ground. (See Chapter XLIX.) In lieu of this reservation the town voted to Mr. Johnson (about that time, and not in 1776 or '77 as has been heretofore stated) "the island known by the name of Wilkesbarre Island" and described on page 51, Volume I. The "50-acre Lot" was in the 3d Division of the Wilkes-Barré lands, and adjoined the town-plot on the north-east—being bounded on one side by the river, on another side by North Street, and on a third side by the extension of Main Street north, or the Wilkes-Barré-Pittston road. (See, in Chapter XXVI, a photo-reproduction of a certified draft of a part of this lot.) Within the original bounds of the "50-acre Lot" are now located the Memorial Presbyterian Church, the Irish Catholic and the German Catholic cemeteries, the works of the Wilkes-Barré Gas Company, the Luzerne County Prison, Reichard & Weaver's Brewery, and numerous private residences.

At a general meeting of the Wyoming settlers held at Fort Wyoming December 18, 1772, with Capt. Stephen Fuller as Moderator, the following business was transacted*:

* * "It was then put to a vote wheather or no this Company will except of ye Report of ye Comtee that was apptd to say how old a Person should be to hold a settling right in ye Susquehannah Purchase. Voted in ye *negative*.

"*Voted*, That for ye futer their shall be but one Gaurd kept from this time untill ye first monday in March next, and that there shall be but 8 men to gaurd ye 24 hours this Winter season; & for those of our brethren that live over ye river & ye upper end of Plymouth as far as Evelands, to come over & gaurd in ye Block-house, & to be brought over and carried over back again on free cost, provided they come between sunset and daylight out; and *whenever Kingstown shall build a gaurd-house*, to gaurd in by themselves, somewhere in ye centre of ye Inhabitants; and for ye town of Wilksbarre to finish ye block-house to gaurd in on their own cost, &c.

"*Voted*, That no person or persons, now belonging to the Susquehannah Purchase, from this 18th day of this Instant Decembr^r untill ye 1st day of May next shall sell to any person or Forrinor or stranger any Indian corn, Rye or Wheat to carry down the River out of ye limits of this Purchase, on ye forfeiture of ye whole of such grain, and such other fine & penalty as this Company shall see cause to inflict. Nor no settler or prop^r belonging to sd Purchase shall sell or carry down ye River out of ye sd Purchase any sort of graine, on ye forfeiture of ye whole of such grain and pay a fine of 10sh. per bushel for every bushel so sold or carried from this place as abovesd—which forfeitures shall be & belong, the one-half to ye Inspectors hereafter apptd & the other half to this Company, &c.

* See page 1,074 of "The Town Book of Wilkes Barre."

† The proprietor-settlers of Kingstown were, at this time, chiefly located near the upper end of the township, within the bounds of the present borough of Forty Fort.

"Voted, That Christor Avery, Capt. Benj. Follet & Deacon Timothy Hopkins are appt^d to inspect all such persons that shall sell or carry off or down s^d River any sort of grayn, untill y^e 1st-day of May next, & make their complaint to y^e Comtee of settlers."

At a general meeting of the Wyoming settlers held at Wilkes-Barré December 28, 1772, the following business was transacted* :

"Voted and determined by this Company—That the Comtee of Settlers be hereby enabled to give out warrants, signed by them as Comtee of Settlers, directed to y^e several Collectors already appt^d or who shall be appt^d, to collect by distress all & every such rate or rates already granted or that shall hereafter be made or granted.

"Whereas, at an adjourned meeting of y^e proprietors & settlers at Wilksbarre June 30th 1772, it was then voted that if any controversy arising between any two of this community, that it should be determined by three judicious freeholders, &c.; and now, in addition to the above vote it is now voted that when judgment of arbitrators is passed in any matter of dispute, that then a return of s^d arbitrators shall be made to y^e Comtee of settlers, & they are hereby empowered to grant an execution, agreeable to y^e judgment of s^d arbitrators, to collect & distrain y^e same; s^d execution shall be levied by a constable agreeable to y^e laws of this Colony.

"The Constables chosen for each town are as follows: Daniel Gore for Wilksbarre, Nathan Denison for Kingstown, Thomas Heath for Plymouth, Ebenezer Marcy for Pittstown, Timothy Keyes for Providence, John Franklin for Hanover. Nathan Denison refused to accept, & Abel Peirce was chosen in his stead.

"Voted and Determined by this Company, That if any person or persons shall at any time hereafter cut or make destruction of timber upon or near the River Susquehanna, whereby y^e Prop^{rs} of y^e Purchase suffers any loss or damage, that then y^e whole of s^d timber or saw-mill logs shall be forfeited to y^e Prop^{rs} in the Susquehanna Purchase; & the Comtee of settlers are hereby impowered to make seisure of all such timber or logs that is brought down y^e River suspected of being cut on y^e Prop^{rs} land; and if those persons that shall at any time bring down y^e River any such timber are not able to give a satisfying account that s^d timber was not cut on the Prop^{rs} or common land, it shall be liable to be seized & sold for y^e use & benefit of y^e s^d Prop^{rs} * * *

"Voted, That no person or persons, settlers or forriners, coming into this place shall at any time hereafter sell or give to any Indian or Indians any spirituous lickquors, on y^e forfeiture of all such lickors & y^e whole of all their goods & chattels, rights and effects, that they shall have on this Purchase; & also be voted out of this Compy, unless upon some extraordinary occasion, as sickness, &c.; without liberty first had & obtained of y^e Comtee of settlers, or leave from y^e Comtee that is appt^d to inspect into their affairs, &c."

In a "List of Settlers at Wyoming in December, 1772"—prepared by the Committee of Settlers—are the following names not found in any of the lists for the preceding months of the same year—excepting the list of names appended to the memorial of October 3d, printed on page 751.

Adams, Daniel	Gardner, John—19th.	Pensil, John—Jr.
Ayers, Wm.—5th.	Hyde, John	Permit, John
Bidlack, Shubael	Harrington, Abijah	Sill, Elisha
Bancroft, John	Harrington, Peter—Jr.	Satterly, Benedict
Chase, Solomon	Hurd, John	Sweetland, Luke†
—Went home 10th.	Hurd, Culver	Swift, John
Cooper, George	Hurd, Joshua—Out 1st.	Simons, Elijah—Capt.
Clark, Isaac—30th.	Hurlbut, William	Sprague, Josiah
Cook, Reuben	Kelly, Dennis	Tracy, Elisha
Draper, Simeon—Maj.	Lomis, Elijah—26th.	Tammage, David Smith
—Home 19 th for family.	Mount, Moses	Young, John—Jr.

Miner, in giving an account of affairs in Wyoming Valley in the Winter of 1772-73, states in his "History of Wyoming," page 141, the following :

"The month of February, 1773, had so nearly exhausted the provisions of the Wilkesbarre settlement that five persons were selected to go to the Delaware, near Stroudsburg, for supplies. Mr. John Carey, * * then a lad of sixteen, volunteered as one of the party. The distance was fifty miles through the wilderness; numerous streams,

* See "The Town Book of Wilkes Barre," page 1,076.

† On page 1,079 of "The Town Book of Wilkes Barre" the following receipt is recorded: "Wilks Barre in Connecticut July 16th Day 1772. Then Received of LUKE SWETLAND of Kent in sd. Colony Forty Dollars to Entitle him to one full Right or share in y^e Susquehannah Purchase of Land—according to a vote of y^e Susquehannah Compy. appointing me to sell y^e same. also two Dollars as a tax granted by sd. Compy. on sd. Right. I say Received by me for y^e use of sd. Compy.

[Signed] "JOHN JENKINS, Comtee. for selling Rights."
"Recd. y^e above Certificate to record June y^e 21st. 1773, & recorded per
[Signed] "EZEKIEL PEIRCE, Clerk."

including the deep and rapid Lehigh, were to be crossed. Had these been frozen over so as to be passable, their toils would have been sensibly mitigated; but the ice had formed on each side, many feet from the shore, leaving in the center a deep, rushing flood. Stripping naked, tying their clothes and sacks on their heads and shoulders, cutting a way through the ice from the shore to the stream, and from the stream to the opposite shore, they waded through, dressed themselves, and found warmth in marching rapidly. Arriving at the good old Scotchman's,* and sending in to make known their errand, Mr. McDowell came out, rubbing his hands in great glee, bade them welcome, but in his Scotch dialect—broad as his benevolence—told them he had a house thronged with company, on the occasion of his daughter's wedding. Among the guests were magistrates and others, whose enmity was to be dreaded if they knew a party of Yankees were within reach; but he gave directions that they should warm themselves noiselessly at an out-house, then take shelter in the barn, where comfortable blankets were spread on the mow, a most royal supper sent them, with spirits and wine; their sacks were filled with flour, and their pockets with provisions. The four men took each an hundred pounds, young Carey seventy-five, and welcome was their return to their half-famished friends at Wilkesbarre.

"Never was an opening Spring, or the coming of the shad, looked for with more anxiety or hailed with more cordial delight. The fishing season, of course, dissipated all fears, and the dim eye was soon exchanged for the glance of joy and the sparkle of pleasure, and the dry, sunken cheek of want assumed the plump appearance of health and plenty. The Spring, too, was attended with sickness. Several deaths took place. Captain Butler buried a son named Zebulon; and soon after his wife followed her boy to the grave. Both were interred on the hill,† near where the upper street [North Street] of the borough is cut through the rocks as it passes from Main Street to the canal basin."

At a town-meeting held at "Wilksbarre February 16, 1773," with Captain Butler acting as Moderator, the following business was transacted‡ :

"Voted by this Company to continue ye Rev^d Mr. Jacob Johnson in ye work of ye Gospel ministry amongst us.

"Voted by this company to appoint a Comtee to draw a plan in order to suppress vice and immorality that abounds so much amongst us, and lay ye same before ye next meeting. Mr. [Elisha] Swift, Capt. [Obadiah] Gore, Deacon [Timothy] Hopkins, Capt. [Zebulon] Butler and Capt. [Stephen] Fuller is appointed to draw ye plan.

"Voted by this Compy that each town [is] to warn a town-meeting, and for each town to appoint a Comtee of two men from each town to confer with ye Rev^d Mr. Jacob Johnson concerning his preaching ye Gospel amongst us & How his time shall be divided amongst us; and to confer with Mr. Johnson upon ye premises and lay ye same before ye next meeting."

The next town-meeting was held March 1, 1773, when the following matters were disposed of§ :

"Voted, That Lieut. [Joseph] Gaylord, Mr. Parshall Terry, Capt. [Caleb] Bates, William Stewart, Isaac Tripp, Esq., are appointed as Comtee men to joyn with ye other Comtee men that was appt^d ye last meeting in order to draw a plan to suppress vice & immorality.

"Voted, to continue guarding & scouting as formerly for ye future.

"Voted, That if any of ye Propts & settlers now on ye land shall refuse or neglect to pay in their taxes in defraying charges in making roads, building bridges, &c., ye several Collectors are ordered to levy their warrants upon their lands, where other Estate can't be found, & post ye same in order for sale in twenty days after such warrant is levied, & sell ye same to ye highest bidder as ye law directs. * * *

"Voted, That those persons that are settlers in the Susquehanna Purchase that shall die a natural death, or lose his life any other way, his right or rights shall lie eight months without being manned, and not forfeited to ye Company."

At a town-meeting held March 22, 1773—Elisha Swift being Moderator—it was voted "to continue guarding and scouting as formerly." Also, a committee was appointed "to collect in all those bonds given to ye use of those settlers that took & regained possession" in 1771 of the lands in the Susquehanna Purchase. Eight days later another town-meeting was held at Wilkes-Barre, when the following business was transacted|| :

* JOHN McDOWEL, mentioned on pages 730 and 736, *ante*.

† In the burial lot mentioned on page 756, but more fully described in Chapter XLIX.

‡ See page 1,087 of "The Town Book of Wilkes Barre."

§ See *ibid.*, p. 1,088.

|| See "The Town Book of Wilkes Barre," pages 1,094 and 1,097.

"Voted, That Captain Butler, Captain Fuller and Major Peirce be and are by this Company appointed as a Comtee to receive all ye Bonds given by a number of persons for settling rights for ye use of those persons that took & regained ye possession of our land at Wyoming in August, 1771. * * It is the intention and meaning of all parties upon ye executing of their bonds that ye same is not to be collected until the title of ye Susq^h lands is confirmed to ye s^d proprs; if never confirmed, never to be paid, &c.

"Voted, That Frederick Eveland is appointed to collect the road tax in Plymouth in ye room of Deacon [Timothy] Hopkins, deceased.

"Voted, That the Comtee of Settlers be desired to send to the several towns, or to their Comtees, requiring them to call all the inhabitants in each of ye s^d towns to meet on Thursday next [April 1, 1773], at five a clock in ye afternoon on s^d day, in some convenient place in s^d town, & that they then choose one person in each of s^d towns as an officer to muster them & see that all are equipped according to law with fire-arms and ammunition; and that they choose two Sergeants and a Clerk; & that the s^d chief officer is hereby commanded & directed to call ye s^d inhabitants together once in fourteen days, for ye future, until this Compy orders otherwise; & that in case of an alarm, *on ye appearance of an enemy*, he is directed to call ye s^d inhabitants together & stand for ye defence of the s^d towns & settlement without any further orders—always obeying all orders he or they shall receive from ye Comtee of Settlers from time to time."

Under the date of April 2, 1773, William Maclay*, Esq., wrote from Sunbury to James Tilghman, Esq., Secretary of the Pennsylvania Land Office, as follows†:

"If Hell is justly considered as the rendivous of Rascals, we cannot entertain a doubt of WYOMING being the Place! Burn'd Hands, cut Ears, &c., are considered as the certain certificates of superior merit; we have certain Accounts of their having had several meetings lately to chuse a Sovereign & settle the State, &c., for it seems they have not now any Dependence on the Government of Connecticut. The time of *the Descent on the West Branch*, Fort Augusta, &c., is now fixed for May next; I have no Doubt but the Desperate Tempers of these People will hurry them into some tragical affair, which will at least rouse our Government, when it may be too late to repair the mischief done by them. At the same time I am told there are some among them who would willingly become quiet subjects, and are afraid to own their sentiments."

At a town-meeting held at Wilkes-Barré, six days after the foregoing letter was written, Capt. Timothy Smith‡ was appointed to attend the meeting of The Susquehanna Company to be held at Hartford, Connecticut, April 27, 1773, "to lay before ye meeting at home ye Report that is now read before this company." The caption of

* WILLIAM MACLAY (mentioned on pages 724 and 725) was born at New Garden, Chester County, Pennsylvania, July 20, 1737, the son of Charles and Eleanor (*Query*) Maclay. Charles Maclay had immigrated to America in 1734, and he lived in Chester County until 1740 and then removed to Cumberland County. In 1758 William Maclay accompanied General Forbes on his expedition into western Pennsylvania, as a Lieutenant in the "First Battalion" commanded by Lieut. Col. Hugh Mercer. (See note "§", page 361, Vol. I.) In 1763 Lieutenant Maclay accompanied Gen. Henry Bouquet's expedition to Fort Pitt. In April, 1760, Lieutenant Maclay having studied law was admitted to the Bar of York County, Pennsylvania, but he never practised his profession. He soon devoted his attention to land-surveying, and later, assisted by his younger brother, Samuel Maclay (who served in the Revolutionary War as a Lieutenant Colonel, and from 1803 to 1808 was a United States Senator from Pennsylvania), surveyed the lands on the West Branch of the Susquehanna which had been granted to the officers who had served in the Pennsylvania battalions during the French and Indian War. William Maclay himself acquired a considerable body of these lands.

At the beginning of the Revolutionary War William Maclay was active in raising and equipping troops for the Continental service, and, marching to "the front" with the Pennsylvania Associators, he participated in the battles of Trenton and Princeton. Later in the war he served in the Commissary Department. In 1781 he was elected a member of the Provincial Assembly. In September, 1783, the General Assembly of Pennsylvania appointed commissioners to, among other things, "ascertain where the northern boundary of the State will fall." William Maclay, James Wilkinson and William Montgomery were the commissioners appointed. William Montgomery resigned, and Joseph Montgomery was appointed in his place August 17, 1784. The commissioners never accomplished much, and were relieved from duty in the Spring of 1785. The same year Maclay was appointed one of the Deputy Surveyors to survey the lands of the Commonwealth acquired by the last purchase from the Indians—which was in 1784. In 1789 William Maclay was elected with Robert Morris to represent Pennsylvania in the United States Senate, and he drew the short term, ending March 3, 1791. He was a leader of the Opposition during the Administration of President Washington, and "the records show," states Meginness in his "History of the West Branch Valley," "that he [Maclay] was the actual founder of the Democratic party." He regarded Alexander Hamilton as totally corrupt. At the expiration of his term Senator Maclay retired to his farm near the present city of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. In 1795 he was a Representative in the Pennsylvania Legislature; in 1796 he was a Presidential Elector for Thomas Jefferson; from 1801 to 1803 he was an Associate Judge of the Dauphin County Courts, and in 1803 and '04 he served again as a Representative in the Legislature. He wrote "Sketches of Debate in the First Senate of the United States, 1789-'91." He was married April 11, 1769, to Mary McClure, daughter of John Harris, the founder of Harrisburg, and they became the parents of three sons and six daughters. William Maclay died at Harrisburg April 16, 1804.

† See Meginness' "History of the West Branch Valley," edition of 1889, page 396.

‡ Mentioned on page 718, *ante*. Upon the organization of the male inhabitants of Kingston Township into a train-band, or militia company—in pursuance of the vote passed at the town-meeting held March 30, 1773, as previously noted—Timothy Smith, then in the thirty-third year of his life, had been elected Captain.

the "report" thus referred to (the original document is MS. No. 25 in the collection mentioned in paragraph "(3)", page 29, Vol. I) is worded as follows: "Petition of John Durkee, Zebⁿ Butler, Silas Parke, Ezekiel Peirce, Obadiah Gore, Jr., Stephen Fuller and Christopher Avery, and their associates whose names are hereto annexed," and it is dated at "Wilksbarre April 3, 1773." The petition recites the purchase of the Susquehanna lands from the Indians in 1754; the attempts of the New Englanders to settle the lands in 1762, '63, '69, &c., and then sets forth that there are "about 2,500 [*sic*] persons [on the lands] who are at this time under the greatest difficulty, distress, confusion and inconvenience imaginable, *for want of being incorporated*, and officers civil and military appointed among us [them]—not only for our [their] defence, security and *protection against the vile incroachments of our neighbours the Pennsilvanians*, but to keep up good order and regularity among ourselves." In conclusion it is prayed that a county may be erected and organized. Appended to the document are the names of 315 men—nearly all written by the same hand.

The New England settlers at Wyoming, and the chief men of The Susquehanna Company in Connecticut, had sought persistently, from the very beginning of their settlements on the Susquehanna, to obtain from the General Assembly of Connecticut not only a formal recognition of the existence of the infant colony, but the establishment therein of some authoritative form of government under the Connecticut Charter. In the Spring of 1773 it had been determined by the settlers that, inasmuch as they were rapidly increasing in number, and "peace prevailed and prosperity was enjoyed," they would make another earnest effort to secure the accomplishment of their political desires. Hence the memorial, or petition, just referred to.

With this memorial in hand Capt. Timothy Smith set out from his home in Kingston Township April 13, 1773, bound for Connecticut, where he arrived in time to attend the meeting of The Susquehanna Company held at Hartford on April 22d. This meeting was largely attended, and many important affairs were disposed of, as is shown by the following extracts from the original minutes.

"*Whereas* there are many memorials and Complaints now exhibited to this meeting, of interesting Consequence to the settlers, and this Company is not furnished with proper Exhibits justly to determine the same, it is now thought best and

"*Voted*, to refer the Consideration of all the aforesaid Complaints and Memorials to the Consideration of this Company at their Adjourned Meeting in June next, and that there shall be a letter of advice wrote to the Settlers on said Susquehanna land, advising them of the time of the adjournment of this meeting, and that they endeavor to make an amicable Settlement of all their plaints and grievances, and that the settlers appoint a proper Committee to appear at said adjourned meeting and inform said meeting relative to said Complaints, that they may be heard and Equitably redressed, if not settled before.

"Upon the memorial of Elisha Williams, Thomas Baldwin and Silas Dean, a Committee of the Towns of New Wethersfield, Yalestown, Bethlehem, Judea, Charlestown and New Simsbury, on the *West Branch* of the Susquehanna River—in part of their general rights in said Purchase—praying that they may have a township granted to them on the said West Branch, * * to settle on compact together, in order to secure said West Branch—*Voted*, That the proprietors of said Townships shall have one Township of land laid out on the West Branch in some proper place (*for the security and defence of said West Branch*), six miles square; and that the proprietors of said Township shall forthwith settle in said Township to the number of 120 settlers, and hold and keep said Township *in opposition to any claim* but the claim of this Company; and that said township now granted shall be considered as one of the three townships formerly granted by this Company on the West Branch of said river, to be settled for the security and defence of our said Purchase; and that this so settling and defending and holding said township now granted shall be considered and allowed in lieu of the settlements on the above [three] townships, according to the votes of this Company, and to delay the settlement

on said township for the term of five years, or to settle sooner, if it can be done with safety to themselves and the Company.

"*Voted*, That Col. Elizur Talcott and Samuel Gray, Esq., as agents for this Company, prefer a memorial to the Honorable the General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut, to be held at Hartford in May next, representing the great difficulty that the settlers of the Susquehanna Purchase are under for want of civil government and authority, and praying that civil government may now be appointed for and among the settlers on the Susquehanna Purchase.

"*Whereas*, there is some difficulty with respect to the votes relative to the township of Hanover, and the number of settlers to be placed in said township, it is the understanding of this meeting that, by the votes of this Company, Capt. Lazarus Stewart and William Stewart and their associates should have the direction of filling up said town of Hanover, and that there shall not be less than thirty-six settlers in said town to hold the same; the regulations of said town to be nevertheless under the control of this Company, as the other towns are."

One of the written "complaints" referred to in the foregoing minutes is herewith printed for the first time. A copy of the original "complaint," or petition—without the names of the signers—was sent to Zebulon Butler after the meeting at Hartford, and from that copy the following has been taken—the spelling and punctuation of the original copy not being strictly adhered to, however.

"TO THE GENTLEMEN OF THE SUSQUEHANNA LAND CO.

"*Sirs*: As we are remote from ye Government to which we consider ourselves as belonging, and are destitute of ye advantages of civil authority, and being numerous, all of wh. we are sensible makes it the more a duty incumbent upon us to maintain & keep up good order and regularity among us. We are also sensible that divisions and animosities amongst our settlers is dangerous and hurtful to the increase and growth of our settlement, and would undoubtedly be a matter of grief and real concern in your minds for us.

"And now, Gentlemen, we must beg leave to inform you that it is too much ye case with us at present—and through care and concern lest these misunderstandings and divisions should arise to a still higher pitch, we have thought best & most prudent to appoint a comtee to draw up and lay before you ye cause & foundation of this great uneasiness, which is as follows:

"As ye votes of ye Susquehannah Company we receive and acknowledge to be our guide and direction and ye rule by which we are to be governed relative to our settlement. Now we think and are fully of ye opinion that ye Comtee of Settlers are under a mistake and have made a wrong construction of ye votes of ye Susquehannah Company relative to a man's forfeiting his right, for we suppose that a man's conducting disorderly and inconsistent with ye good of ye company, &c.—whereby his right is endangered—it must be laid before a meeting of ye settlers properly convened to hear & determine ye matters, or by a comtee chosen by ye Company to act in conjunction with ye Comtee of Settlers to determine ye same. Now this has always been ye method that we proceeded in until some time last May [1772]—so that there has been a comtee to act in conjunction with this present Comtee of Settlers at their first officiating in that business until ye time above sd. And then after that time ye Company's Comtee was neglected for reasons that we know not, and in that situation matters has gone on until this time, and we judge that a forfeiture of some rights has been required upon some very trifling causes or even no just grounds or color of misconduct.

"There has been one forfeiture—required while ye man was under embarrassments by ye Pennamites and could not be present with us. Another man was absent by leave for his family, but they [being] taken sick on the road and not able to move &c. he out stayed his furlough a short time, and his right is made a forfeit, &c. Another instance of a man's being absent after his family by leave from one of ye Comtee, and, before his license was out, his right is taken from him and given to another, &c. Such proceedings as this we think is counter to ye votes of ye Susquehanna Company and hurtful to our settlement, and if our rights is upon so loose a footing as this what are they worth? Our interest in lands and labour to be transferred over to another without any consideration at all, together with ye disappointment &c. It is hard to ye last degree! And they must unavoidably suffer unless they are restored.

"We think this highly alarming & of bad consequence, & what concerns ye whole settlement, &c., & we have at a meeting of settlers passed some votes counter to ye doings of ye Comtee and gave it as our opinion that these rights are not forfeited &c.—as by ye votes of sd meeting may appear. However, in vindication of these doings, it is alleged on ye Comtees side that they had some private instructions at home by which they venture to proceed in this sort. And now, Gentlemen, we sincerely request that you would more particularly explain your votes relative to these things, and inform us if it be your minds that ye Comtee shall act alone in these weightiest of matters, or whether others shall act also."

Immediately after the adjournment of The Susquehanna Company the following letter was written to Zebulon Butler by the Clerk of the Company.

"HARTFORD, APRIL 23^d 1773.

"Capt. BUTLER. Sir:—Yours of the 13th *inst.* was duly received and now lies before the meeting, to which has been presented a number of petitions respecting certain decisions on the forfeiture of settling rights, and other matters, in which the complainants think themselves aggrieved. Though the Company are affected with whatever appears likely to disturb the peace and harmony of the Settlement, yet they consider these complaints as the unhappy consequence of the present unsettled state of Government in the Settlement, rather than of the bad disposition of the settlers, or ill designs of any concerned.

"As the setting up, and fixing some certain mode, of Government, will effectually remove these difficulties and give the highest reputation to the increasing Settlement, it is the prime object the Company at present have in pursuit, and for various reasons they are induced to think a more favorable season than the present has not occurred since the beginning of the Settlement; accordingly an Agent is appointed once more to apply to the honorable Gen^l. Assembly for this purpose, and the meeting have adjourned until the 2^d Day of June next at this place, by which Time they will know the Result of their application, & at which time the Meeting will hear the several Petitions, and complaints now lying before them, if they are not previously adjusted and quieted.

"And as well for a fair and impartial hearing, & determining them, as for consulting the Interest of the Company, and Settlement, in several important matters, at that time, this Meeting do now recommend to the settlers to convene together, and appoint a Number, by way of Committee, to attend this Meeting at its said adjournment; and that they bring with them a state of the Number of settlers that are already on the Lands, and the situation & circumstances of the Settlement in general, so that the meeting at that Time may act with certainty respecting the matters before them, and come into such determination for the future well regulating the Settlement as may prevent the Difficulties & misunderstandings that begin to arise, from increasing. Meantime the meeting in the most pressing and affectionate manner recommend Peace and unanimity among the Settlers, without which the firmest Government on Earth will be unhappy, &, in their situation, will be instantly fatal.

"It will give the Company the highest Pleasure to find at their adjourned meeting that the complaints now before them are settled in a Friendly manner, but if a difference of Sentiment then subsists it is proper the Facts on both sides should be justly stated and well avouched, that an impartial decision may then be had.

"You are desired to read this Letter to the settlers, whom we wish the greatest peace & happiness.

"I am in behalf of self & the meeting convened, Sir, Your Most Obedt. & very Humble Servt.,

[Signed] "SAM^l GRAY, Clerk."

"P. S. The affair of Ross and Judd seems so particularly urgent, that the meeting cannot omit recommending an immediate compromise & settlement thereof by admitting Peren Ross to his first Right in Wilksbury, and Judd continued as he is, *viz.*, in the possession of the Right he purchased of Asa Stevens, and as voted to him by the settlers at Wyoming."

"To Capt. ZEBULON BUTLER and the rest of the Comtee of Settlers att Susqueh^a"

Under the date of April 29, 1773, Jeremiah Ross of New London, Connecticut, wrote from that town to Zebulon Butler at Wilkes-Barré, as follows:

"My son [Peren] informs me that yourself with the rest of the gentlemen committee has been very friendly and kind to him, for which I am gratefully oblidgd to you. I hope my son's conduct will be worthy of your regard. * * Sorry that you could not be at the meeting, for your character was very illy represented. The meeting is adjourned to the 2^d June. I hope you will endeavor to be there, for the Company is determined to have some better regulations than has been."

The following is an extract from page 1,106 of "The Town Book of Wilkes Barre":

"Att a meeting of proprietors & settlers on ye Susquehanna Purchase, legally warned & held in WILKSBARRE FORT May 3, 1773—Mr. Elisha Swift chosen Moderator.

"Voted, to continue guarding & scouting as formerly until June 1st.

"Obadiah Gore, Jr., is appointed agent for this Company to prefer a memorial to ye General Assembly to be held at Hartford May 12th.

"Voted, That those Persons that have made Disturbance this day at ye General meeting, legally warned, &c., are ordered to agree before ye adjourned meeting and to have ye whole of their trouble laid before this Company, and to be dealt with according to the votes of s^d Comp^y"

Three days later another town-meeting was held at the fort in Wilkes-Barré, when the following business was transacted :

"Voted, That Obadiah Gore, Jr., Timothy Smith & Capt. Caleb Bates is appointed Comtee men to attend an adjourned meeting of ye Susquehannah Company to be held at Hartford ye 2d day of June next, to lay ye state of ye whole affair of ye settlers on sd Purchase ; & ye circumstances of ye settlement in generall, &c.

"Voted, That John Staples, James Burt, Thomas Porter & John Burt shall make suitable satisfaction to this Compy for their misconduct at ye last meeting, or be dealt with according to ye votes of ye Susquehannah Company.

"Voted, That it is ye opinion of this meeting that Mr. William Reynolds* shall not disturb Mr. [Thomas] Heath in the possession of ye Right he is now on, until the affair is determined at their [the Company's] meeting at home, &c."

At a lawfully warned meeting of the settlers held at "Wilks Barre, May 25, 1773," with Isaac Tripp, Esq., as Moderator, and Christopher Avery as Clerk, *pro tem.*, the following matters were disposed of :

"Voted, That there be a constant guard kept at the fort in Wilks Barre of twelve men, and that they keep it day & night, & that they be relieved every twenty-four hours.

"Voted, That the fort be immediately repaired by the first guard that comes on duty.

"Voted, That Pittstown & the lower end of Plymouth—up as far as Mr. Frederick Eveland's—and the township of Hanover keep a good guard by themselves in their own towns.

"Voted, That Lieut. John Grant be apptd to oversee the guarding & scouting at Pittstown, & to give out the list of the names of the guard to the sergeants ; and to give orders about scouting as he shall think proper. That Capt. David Marvin† be appointed

* WILLIAM REYNOLDS, SR., mentioned in the note on page 628.

† DAVID MARVIN was born about 1710 at Norwalk, Fairfield County, Connecticut, the son of John Marvin. Matthew Marvin, Sr., was one of the earliest settlers at Hartford, Connecticut, where he was an original proprietor in 1635. His eldest son was Matthew, Jr., born about 1627, who married in Hartford and removed to Norwalk, where he died in 1712. John Marvin, born September 2, 1678, third son of Matthew, Jr., was a Representative in the General Assembly of Connecticut in 1734 and 1738. In 1752 he removed from Norwalk to Sharon, Connecticut, where he died February 9, 1774. He was twice married—(1st) to Mary Beers of Fairfield, and (2d) to Rachel, daughter of Matthias St. John—and had seven children by each wife. David, mentioned above, was one of these children.

David Marvin was married about 1733, and settled in New Canaan (an adjoining town to Norwalk), Fairfield County, Connecticut. A number of years later he removed with his wife and children to Goshen, Orange County, New York. He was one of the body of New Englanders who in 1762 and '63 attempted to establish a settlement at Mill Creek (see page 404, Vol. I), and was there at the time of the massacre in October, 1763. Prior to 1762 he had gained the title of "Captain"—by service in the militia of either Connecticut or New York. Accompanied by his sons Uriah and Samuel he returned to Wyoming with the body of settlers led by Major Durkee in the Spring of 1769, and they continued here during the Summer of that year. (See pages 498 and 510.) Captain Marvin and his sons Uriah and Matthew were members of the expedition commanded by Captain Butler which in July, 1771, marched to Wilkes-Barré and besieged and captured Fort Wyoming (see pages 691 and 694); and the original receipts of David and Uriah Marvin, given for the "bounty" of five dollars (see page 710) paid to each of them for their services on that occasion, are now in the possession of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. Captain Marvin settled in Plymouth Township, where he died in 1778, prior to June. He was the father of the following-named children :

(i) *Matthew Marvin*, who died prior to April 8, 1782, when Timothy Hopkins of Plymouth was appointed administrator of his estate.

(ii) *David Marvin*. He was baptized at Ridgefield, Fairfield County, Connecticut, August 5, 1739. He was married to Sarah ——. He was a member of the 24th Regiment, Connecticut Militia, and his name appears in the list of the men of that regiment in service under Colonel Butler at Wyoming in the Autumn of 1778. (See Chapter XVI.) David Marvin died before April, 1782, being survived by his wife and the following-named children : David, Nathan (who in 1800 was living in Orange County, New York) and Isaiah (who died prior to March, 1801, leaving a son Ira, a youth under age).

(iii) *Isaiah Marvin*. He was baptized at Ridgefield, Fairfield County, Connecticut, May 29, 1737. He left Wyoming after the battle of July 3, 1778, and never returned to the valley again. He was dead in 1801.

(iv) *Sarah Marvin*, who became the wife of Amariah Cleveland, and, with her husband, removed from Wyoming prior to July, 1778.

(v) *Hannah Marvin*. She was living in 1790, unmarried.

(vi) *Ruah Marvin*. She was baptized at Ridgefield, Connecticut, June 4, 1738. She became the wife of ——— Allison, or Ellison, and in 1800 was living at Goshen, New York.

(vii) *Mary Marvin*. She was baptized at New Canaan, Connecticut, November 16, 1735, and was, undoubtedly, the eldest child of Captain Marvin. She was living in 1790, unmarried.

(viii) *Samuel Marvin*. He settled in Plymouth Township, and, according to testimony produced before the Compromise Commissioners (see page 25, Vol. I), left Wyoming "immediately after the Indian battle [July 3, 1778] and returned in about three years, when he took out letters of administration on the estate of his father." In 1800-'02 Samuel Marvin was living in Northmoreland, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania.

(ix) *Esther Marvin*. She was married (1st) about 1770 to ——— Taylor, to whom she bore one child—Ebenezer Taylor (born about 1773). After the death of her husband Mrs. Esther (*Marvin*) Taylor became the wife of Ephraim McKay, or McCoy, of Plymouth, to whom she bore a daughter, Sarah, who, prior to March, 1797, became the wife of James Marvin. Mrs. Esther (*Marvin*) McKay died before 1801. Ephraim McCoy was a member of the 24th Regiment, Connecticut Militia, and his name appears in the muster-roll of the detachment commanded by Colonel Butler at Wyoming in the Autumn of 1778. (See Chapter XVI.) He was wounded while in the military service, and became a pensioner. He was one of the earliest settlers within the bounds of the present township of Dallas, and several references are made to him in the history of Dallas printed in the "Proceedings and Collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," VI : 146, &c.

(x) *Uriah Marvin*, born in Connecticut about 1742, and married at Plymouth, Pennsylvania, in 1774 to Phebe (born February 18, 1759), daughter of James and Phebe (*Harrison*) Nesbitt of Plymouth. Uriah Marvin died at Wilkes-Barré in 1779. For further references to him and his family see "The Harvey Book," page 296, *et seq.*

(xi) *Daniel Marvin*, who died prior to January, 1794, leaving several children.

in like manner for the lower end of Plymouth, and Seth Marvin* for the township of Wilks Barre; Capt. Obadiah Gore & Mr. Elisha Swift for the township of Kingstown & the upper end of Plymouth. Mr. Anderson Dana to warn the guard in the lower district in Wilks Barre, and Mr. Daniel Gore in the Upper District.

"Voted, That Kingstown & the upper end of Plymouth keep the guard at the fort in Wilks Barre two days, and Wilks Barre keep it three, and so continue until otherwise ordered.

"Voted, That there be a ferry-boat kept on both sides of the river against the fort in Wilks Barre; and that Mr. Partial Terry be apptd to keep that on the west side of the River, & that the fare be stated at 3 pence per man & horse, and 1½d. for a single man, in the Summer season; and 4d. for man & horse in the Winter season, and 2d. for a single man; and that the ferry-man be obliged to carry the guard across on free cost, and the people across on Sunday to meeting on free cost. Voted that Mr. Thomas Robinson is apptd in like manner to keep the ferry on the East side of the River."

The General Assembly of Connecticut met at Hartford May 12, 1773, for the Spring session. On the opening day Capt. Timothy Smith and Obadiah Gore, Jr., were in attendance to present—in pursuance of the instructions of the Wyoming settlers—the memorial mentioned on page 760, *ante*. Col. Elizur Talcott and Samuel Gray, Esq., were also present to represent The Susquehanna Company, and they presented a petition† in which the history of the Company and its efforts to settle the Wyoming lands was concisely set forth. The petition concluded with a prayer for the erection of the Wyoming region into a county of the Colony of Connecticut. One paragraph of this petition reads as follows:

"In the year 1769 said Company sent out a part of their number to settle. * * Many of them were, under pretence of authority from the Province of Pennsylvania, arrested, and their horses, cattle and other property taken from them to the amount of many hundred pounds, and their persons carried to Easton in said Province and there closely imprison'd and fetter'd with heavy iron fetters, in an inhuman manner, and fed with only bread and water till almost famish'd with hunger; and, upon the most illegal and unfair pretended trial, convicted of a pretended riot for attempting to settle their own lands; * * and were also fined, and large sums extorted from them, which they were obliged to pay before they could procure their enlargement and discharge from said gaol."

The Assembly was in session for a week or more, but, apparently, it took no action with respect to either the memorial or the petition abovementioned. In the meantime Timothy Smith had had printed in proper form a petition to the Assembly, asking that action might be taken in regard to the jurisdiction, title, etc., of the Susquehanna Purchase. Numerous copies of this petition he distributed in various parts of Connecticut among the shareholders of The Susquehanna Company and their friends, to be signed by them and forwarded to the Assembly. He busied himself chiefly in this manner until June 2d, when he returned to Hartford to be present at the important meeting of The Susquehanna Company begun there on that day. He, Obadiah Gore, Jr., Capt. Zebulon Butler, Capt. Caleb Bates and others from Wyoming were present; Maj. John Durkee was there from Norwich, while a large number of the members of the Company from various other localities attended the meeting—which continued over two or three days.

* SETH MARVIN was born in Lyme, New London County, Connecticut, July 12, 1733, eldest child of Capt. Matthew and Mary (*Beckwith*) Marvin. Capt. Matthew Marvin (who kept a tavern in Lyme) was a son of "Deacon" Samuel Marvin, who was the fourth child of Lieut. Reinold and Sarah (*Clark*) Marvin of Lyme. Both Capt. Matthew Marvin and his wife died of small-pox at Lyme on Christmas-day, 1760. Seth Marvin was Constable of the town of Lyme in 1759. He came to Wyoming in the Spring of 1772, but in the Autumn returned to Lyme. About March 1, 1773, he came again to Wyoming, bearing from Samuel Mather, Jr., of Lyme, to Capt. Zebulon Butler, a letter reading in part as follows: "Uncle Seth has served in ye character of Chief Judge [in the Court held by the Justices of the Peace of the town of Lyme] this winter to very good acceptance, & think you would do well to employ him that way among you." Seth Marvin continued in Wyoming Valley for a number of years, and his name is mentioned several times hereinafter.

† The original is now "No. 27" in the collection of documents in the State Library at Hartford, as described in paragraph "(8)", page 29, Vol. I.

Pearce, in referring to the condition of affairs at Wyoming in the year 1772, says ("Annals of Luzerne County," page 73): "During that year the people were so busily engaged *in preparing to live* that there was no time to think of a regular form of government. When difficulties arose in respect to land rights the dispute was decided by town committees. Those were halcyon days, for there was order without law, and peace without the Constable—that was the Golden Age of Wyoming. Ferries and mills were provided for the people, and finally, as soon as practicable, * * provisions were made for the permanent support of the gospel and of schools. * * At length, as the population increased and the interests of the community became in some degree conflicting, it was deemed necessary by The Susquehanna Company, on the 2d day of June, 1773, at Hartford, to adopt a code of laws for the government of the settlement." This code—denominated by its framers "Articles of Agreement"—is recorded in full in the original minute-book of The Susquehanna Company, and reads as follows:

"WHEREAS, we the subscribers, *inhabitants of Connecticut* in New England, in America, already settled and about to settle on certain lands on the river Susquehanna *in said Colony*, by us and our associates some time since purchased of the original natives by and with the Consent of the said Colony of Connecticut;

"AND WHEREAS, the same lands are claimed to be within the jurisdiction of the Province of Pennsylvania, and the Colony of Connecticut, choosing to proceed with caution and deliberation, have applied to counsel learned in the law, in Great Britain, for their advice therein, which at present the Colony have not received—by reason whereof we have as yet no established Civil Authority residing among us in said settlement; in consequence of which deficiency disorders may arise tending to disturb the peace and Harmony of the settlers, as well as the peace of our Sovereign Lord the King—which to remedy we have this day come into the following heads of ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT WITH EACH OTHER:

"*Firstly.* We do solemnly profess and declare true and sincere allegiance to His Majesty, King George III, and that no foreign Prince, person, prelate, potentate or State hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power or authority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, within the realm of England.

"*Secondly.* We do solemnly promise and engage that we will, so far as lieth in our power, behave ourselves peaceably, Soberly and orderly toward each other in particular and the world in general. Carefully observing and obeying *the laws of this Colony* as binding and of force with us, equally and in all respects as though we actually resided within any of the Counties of this Colony.

"*Thirdly.* For the due enforcing of such laws, as well as such other orders and regulations as shall from time to time be found to be necessary to be come into by said Settlers and Company, we will immediately, within each town already settled, and immediately after the settlement of those that may be hereafter settled, choose three able and Judicious men among such settlers, to take upon them, under the general directions of the Company, the direction of the settlement of each such town, and the well ordering and governing the same; to suppress vice of Every Kind, preserve the peace of God and the King therein. To whom each inhabitant shall pay such and the same Submission as is paid to the Civil authority in the several towns of this Colony. Such inhabitants shall also choose in each of their respective towns one person of trust to be their officer, who shall be vested with the same power and authority as a Constable by the laws of this Colony is, for preserving the peace and apprehending offenders of a Criminal or Civil nature.

"*Fourthly.* The Directors in each town shall, on the first Monday of each month—and oftener if need be—with such their peace officers meet together, as well to consult for the good regulating thereof, as well to hear and decide any differences that may arise, and to inflict proper fines or other punishment on offenders according to the general laws and rules of this Colony—so far as the peculiar Situation and Circumstances of such town and plantation will admit of. And, as the reformation of offenders is the principal object in view, always preferring Serious admonition and advice to them, and their making public Satisfaction by public acknowledgment of their fault, and doing such public service to the plantation as the Directors shall judge meet, to fines in money or corporal punishment—which, however, in extreme cases, such Directors shall inflict as said laws direct.

"*Fifthly.* The Directors of each individual town or plantation shall, once every quarter or three months, meet together to confer with each other on the state of each particular town in the Settlement, and to come into such resolutions concerning them as they

shall find for their best good ; and also to hear the complaints of any that may judge themselves aggrieved by the decisions of the Directors in the several towns, who shall have right to appeal to such quarterly meeting.

"*Sixthly.* No one convicted of sudden and violent breach of the peace, of swearing, drunkenness, stealing, gaming, fraud, idleness and the like, before the Directors of the particular town in which he lives, shall have liberty of appeal to such quarterly meeting from the sentence of such particular Directors, without first procuring good security (to the satisfaction of such Directors) for his orderly and sober behaviour until such meeting, and for his submitting to and complying with the sentence of such meeting. No one, in matters of private property, shall have liberty of appeal from such particular Directors to such quarterly general meeting of Directors where the controversy is not more than twenty shillings.

"*Seventhly.* Such quarterly meeting of the Directors shall appoint an officer stately to attend them as their Clerk, who shall carefully register their proceedings ; also an officer in the character of a General Peace Officer, or Sheriff, who shall also attend them, and to whom the inhabitants of the whole settlement shall submit, in the same manner as the inhabitants of any County within this Colony by law are obliged [to submit] to their respective High Sheriffs.

"*Eighthly.* All persons within such Settlement accused of the high-handed crimes of Adultery, Burglary and the like, shall be arraigned before such quarterly meeting, and, if convicted, shall be sentenced to banishment from such settlement and a confiscation of all their personal effects therein, to the use of the town where such offence is committed ; and should the still more heinous crime of Murder be committed—which God forbid—the offender shall be instantly arrested and delivered into the hands of the nearest Civil authority of Connecticut ; and should any person or persons be accused of Counterfeiting the bills or coins of any Province on this Continent, and be thereof convicted before such quarterly meeting, the Colony whose bills thereof are thus counterfeited shall have liberty to take such offender and punish him. He shall be instantly banished the Settlement, and his personal effects confiscated as aforesaid. And all persons convicted or accused of any heinous crime in any Province on this Continent, and shall fly from Justice, the inhabitants shall—as well Directors, peace officers and others—aid and assist their pursuers in apprehending them, that they may be duly punished in the Government where they have offended.

"*Ninthly.* There shall be no appeal from the doings of such quarterly meeting, or their decrees, to The Susquehanna Company in general, save when the property of land is disputed ; in which case the appellant shall first secure the appellee his costs, if he make his appeal good before the Company.

"*Tenthly.* The Directors of each town shall make out and exhibit to their first quarterly meeting a list of the rateable estates and polls of the inhabitants of each town, and such quarterly meeting shall have power to assess the inhabitants for defraying public expenses, and also to enforce the assessments made in each particular town, if need be.

"*Eleventhly.* The inhabitants of each town, to wit : all the males of twenty-one years and upwards, and proprietors in one of the said towns, shall annually meet on the first Monday in December and choose Directors for said town, with their peace officer, and other officers that shall be found necessary for the ensuing year, and the Directors that may now be chosen shall have authority until new ones are chosen, and no longer.

"*Twelfthly.* The law regulating the Militia of the Colony shall be particularly attended to by the Directors of the respective towns, and the general regulation thereof, as the particular circumstances of the people require, shall be in the power of such general quarterly meeting.

"*ALSO, WE DO SOLEMNLY DECLARE* these and such other regulations as we shall hereafter come into, by and with the advice and consent of The Susquehanna Company in full meeting assembled, to be of force and binding on us and each of us, our heirs and assigns, until the Colony of Connecticut *shall annex us to one of the counties of this Colony, or make us a distinct County*, or we obtain from the said Colony, or from His Gracious Majesty King George III—whose true and loyal subjects we are—powers of Government in some more permanent method.

"*AND IT IS FURTHER AGREED AND VOTED*, That the Directors in each of the towns now settled, and that shall be settled, shall forthwith procure a copy of the foregoing Agreement, which shall be entered at large in a book [provided] for that purpose, and all the male inhabitants of the age of twenty-one years shall personally subscribe the same with their own proper names or marks, and strictly abide by and fulfil the same ; and such inhabitants or settlers as are already come in to settle, or shall hereafter appear to come in as settlers, as shall neglect or refuse to subscribe to and abide by the foregoing agreement, shall not continue there, nor be admitted as settlers on said land.

"*Voted*, That the following persons be, and they are hereby, appointed Directors in the several towns hereafter mentioned, [to serve] until the first Monday in December next, with the powers and authority according to the foregoing Agreement, to wit : Maj. JOHN DURKEE, Capt. ZEBULON BUTLER and OBADIAH GORE, JR., in the town of Wilksbury ; PHINEAS NASH, Capt. DAVID MARVIN and JOSEPH GAYLORD in the town of Plymouth ; ISAAC TRIPP, Esq., TIMOTHY KEYES and GIDEON BALDWIN in the town of New

Providence; Capt. OBADIAH GORE, NATHAN DENISON and PARSHALL TERRY in the town of Kingstown; Capt. LAZARUS STEWART, WILLIAM STEWART and JOHN FRANKLIN in the town of Hanover; Capt. CALEB BATES, JAMES BROWN and LEMUEL HARDING in the town of Pittstown."

Having adopted the foregoing code of laws, for the temporary government of its settlements at Wyoming, The Susquehanna Company proceeded immediately to the transaction of considerable other business of importance. The original minutes, as transcribed by Samuel Gray, the Clerk, contain the following matters:

"*Voted*, That Major DURKEE, Capt. ZEBN BUTLER, OBADIAH GORE, JR., and NATHAN DENISON, or the major part of them that shall be present at Susquehanna, shall be a committee to direct the laying out of townships to such proprietors as shall apply for the same according to the votes of this Company; and that those proprietors that have not settled and paid up the taxes due on their rights to the Clerk of this Company, shall satisfy the committee now appointed that they are proprietors, and shall pay all taxes due on said rights.

"*Whereas*, there is one particular Gentleman* of this Colony (a proprietor in the Susquehanna Purchase) that has done Sundry Services for this Company, for which he has had no Compensation—*In testimony of our gratitude* to him we do hereby authorize ELIPHALET DYER, SAMUEL GRAY and JEDIDIAH ELDERKIN, Esqrs, a committee to give orders for locating and laying out to said gentleman a tract of land that will make a handsome & convenient Settlement—in some place in said Purchase that shall not be any damage in laying out towns on said Purchase (to be in part of said gentleman's proprietor's rights)—not exceeding 500 acres.

"*Whereas*, there is a controversy between Abel Yarrington, Ichabod Hopkins and William Hurlbut respecting a settling right in the township of Plymouth, which was on the 4th day of February last settled by the committee to said William Hurlbut. The parties appeared in this meeting and mutually agreed to submit the controversy to Maj. John Durkee, Capt. Benjamin Stevens and Mr. Noah Phelps, who undertook to hear the parties; and under their hands [they] report, that they had determined said right in said Plymouth to said William Hurlbut, and the said Yarrington and Hopkins to be otherwise provided for by this Company. It is now *Voted*, That the said William Hurlbut shall have said right in said township of Plymouth, on his continuing to do the duties due on said right according to the vote of this Company; and that the said Yarrington and Hopkins be further provided for by this Company.

"*Voted*, That Major Durkee, Captain Butler, Obadiah Gore, Jr., and Nathan Denison be a committee, with three more persons chosen by the settlers of the six towns† (to be a joint-committee), to regulate the settlement of said towns consistent with the former votes of this Company, and to redress those grievances that are agreed upon at this meeting, that are not particularly already provided with a committee.

"The following written report was submitted by a committee composed of Ebenezer Baldwin, Josiah Coles, Joseph Hurlbut, Gad Stanley and William Judd.

"*To the Gentlemen of The Susquehanna Company, in meeting convened:*

"We, your committee appointed to hear the complaints and grievances exhibited to this meeting and make report of the state of those grievances, beg leave to report: That we find that Stephen Rice has the legal and equitable title to the right in Plymouth that justly belonged to John Chase, who was killed at the retaking of the fort at Wyoming, &c., and that Captain Gore be made good by the Company elsewhere. We further find that Major Durkee, Messrs. Vine Elderkin, Ebenezer Gray, Jr., Andrew French and Capt. Ebenezer Backus have lost their rights—taken from them—and we are of opinion that they be provided [for] by the Company and each be made equal to a right in the township of Kingstown—computing the same according to the present value thereof; and that Capt. Zebulon Butler, Isaac Tripp, Esq., and Nathan Denison be, and they are hereby, appointed a Committee to determine the quantity of lands each of the above-named persons shall have as an equivalent to said right in Kingston.

"We find nothing different in the case of Nash than there was found by the former committee, *viz.* Doc. Wolcott, &c., but that Nash be considered and admitted upon the right of James Ray, and dealt with as sufferers heretofore have been dealt with. We further find that Thomas Heath was accepted as a settler in the township of Plymouth on the 6th day of March, 1772, and on the 16th of the same month Heath had a furlough to go after his family, who were then at Loyal Sock on the West Branch of the Susquehanna River, and to return as soon as he could; which Heath with the greatest distress and difficulty—on account of his poverty and the circumstances of his family and the season—was prevented from getting to Wyoming until the 23d of May following, which was as soon as was possible for him to get there; and in the absence of Heath the committee, on the 22d of May, 1772, declared Heath's right vacant (by mistake, as the

* The Hon. JONATHAN TRUMBULL, then Governor of Connecticut. See page 470, Vol. I.

† Wilkes-Barré, Kingstown, Plymouth, Hanover, Pittstown and New Providence.

committee now agree), which right was given to one Frasier, who was then absent; which right was by the committee declared vacant after eight months' absence, immediately upon which the committee put one [William] Reynolds upon Heath's original right by mere mistake, when they supposed they had put Heath on his original right; but it appears Reynolds' name is put thereto, and it is our opinion that said Heath be quieted in his original right.

"We also further report that Mr. William Stewart has lost that right given to him in Kingstown. It is our opinion that Mr. Stewart be considered by the Company on that account elsewhere. We also find that Caleb Bates ought to have his right in Pittstown; and upon his paying the forty dollars agreed with the Committee for, he be entitled to his right in Muncy Creek township, and not otherwise. We also further find that Comfort Shaw forfeited his right by absence, and he has been provided for by the Committee in one of the suffering towns, which is all he deserves, in our opinion. We also further find that Mathw Hollinbach was one of Capt. Stewart's associates, but had so neglected his Duty that Capt. Stewart and his associates judged him unworthy, and have refused to allow him a settling right in Hanover, and we find no reason to dissent from Capt. Stewart's doings. We also further find that the matters of Jeremiah Ross and Enoch Judd are so particularly circumstanced that Ross ought to be restored to his former right and Judd be established in the right he purchased of Stevens, and that all disputes relating thereto cease, and their titles be amply secured to them respectively. We further find Ezra Buell, Gershom Breed, Gershom Hewitt, Benjamin Hewitt, John Wooster, Gideon Lawrence, Ephraim Fellows and Joshua Whitney have been sufferers and are recommended to the favor of the Company, and [to be] provided for as they shall think fit; and that the matter of John Stevens, Eleazar Carey and Austin Hunt be continued to some future meeting."

"This report accepted.

"*Voted*, That James Forsythe shall be and he is hereby restored to his settling right in the township of Kingstown that belonged to Joseph Funk.

"*Whereas*, William Stewart is by this meeting voted out of his right in Kingstown, it is now voted that the Committee for Regulating the Settlement shall see that the said Stewart has equivalent thereto.

"*Voted*, That the Committee of Settlers at Wyoming, *viz.* : Capt. Zebulon Butler, Maj. John Durkee and Obadiah Gore, Jr., or either two of them, be directed to lay out to Capt. Judah Woodruff and his associates a township of land on the south side of the West Branch of the Susquehanna River opposite the mouth of Pine Creek, to extend up and down said West Branch, and to extend as far south upon the side of the mountain as land can be found fit for improvement—to contain the quantity of five miles square, including the Long Island, so called—under the same regulations as the other townships heretofore have been laid out."

Early in June, 1773, the Pennsylvania authorities of Northumberland County were informed that a large party of Yankees from Wyoming intended to again attempt to establish a settlement on the West Branch of the Susquehanna, and William Plunket—Judge, Doctor, Colonel, etc.—wrote from Sunbury to Messrs. James Tilghman and Joseph Shippen concerning the matter. On June 7th Dr. Plunket wrote to Governor Penn, saying: "This morning we are hurrying up to the place where the enclosed mentions they [the Yankees] intend to fortify, if possible to check them a little." June 11, 1773, Governor Penn wrote from Philadelphia to Dr. Plunket at Sunbury as follows:*

"I have considered the intelligence you communicated in your Letter to Messrs. Shippen and Tilghman, concerning the motions of the New England People, and am both concerned and offended at their daring attempts to disturb the Peace of the Province, and Possess themselves of the Property of our People. Should they proceed to your parts (as it seems Probable they will) I doubt not but you and the rest of the magistracy, with the Sheriff and other Peace officers, will exert yourselves in the execution of the Laws, in which you may be assured of all the Countenance, Protection and Support in my Power. So great a number of People appearing in arms is undoubtedly of itself a high and aggravated Breach of the Peace, and such as any Magistrate may take notice of, and cause the Partys to be arrested and bound to answer, and the Sheriff hath, upon occasions of this kind, a Power to raise the Posse of his County, to assist in the Execution of the King's Process. Should the suppression of these dangerous and riotous proceedings prove beyond the ordinary power of your County (which, however, I am in hopes they will not), I shall certainly apply to the Assembly for their assistance. I rely upon the spirited Magistracy and the People of the County upon this occasion, who will not fail to recommend themselves to the Government by shewing a disposition to support it against the *Lawless intrusions of these Insurgents*.

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," Fourth Series, III : 540.

"You will not fail to inform me of their further motions, and of your proceedings against their Hostile designs. Should a number of them be arrested—more than can be conveniently confin'd in your Gaol—I would have you send them under a proper Guard to Philadelphia."

On page 1,118 of "The Town Book of Wilkes Barre" we find the minutes of a town-meeting held at "Wilks Barre, June 21, 1773," and reading as follows:

"Captain Butler chosen Moderator.

"*Voted*, That Majr Peirce, Capt. Fuller and Mr. Seth Marvin are appt^d as Comtee men to assist in regulating the settlement of said towns consistent with ye former votes of this Compy, and to assist in redressing those grievances of those persons that are not provided for.

"*Voted*, That those persons that lives in Wilks Barre that holds settling rights in any town shall do their duty in Wilks Barre. Also in Kingstown in like manner, and in Plymouth in like manner, and also in Hanover in like manner. That those persons that lives in Exeter and lives in Pittstown that holds settling rights shall do their duty in Pittstown. That ye Comtee in each town shall see that ye guard and scouting shall be kept up for ye future in each town steadily every night, with four men and one sergeant, and make their return to ye Comtee in each town every day, and for ye Comtee to make their return of all ye delinquents at ye next meeting of settlers."

At a meeting of the settlers held June 28, 1773, Joseph Sluman, John Jenkins, Timothy Smith, Christopher Avery, Zebulon Butler, Nathan Denison and Stephen Fuller were appointed a committee "to draw up a plan in order to come into some better regulations for ye future, agreeable to ye plan already laid before this meeting." At a general meeting of the settlers held at "Wilks Barre July 8, 1773," Captain Butler was chosen Moderator, and the following business was transacted: *

"*Voted*, That this meeting do now accept of ye Report of ye Comtee, with ye alterations made therein, for ye well ordering and governing ye Proprietors and settlers on said Purchase.

"*Voted*, That the act for ye well ordering and governing ye Indians in this Colony, particularly that paragraph relating to ye selling, giving, bartering or trucking of spirituous liquors, as mentioned in page 96 of ye Colony law-book, be fully and to all intents & purposes put in force, as is mentioned in said Act.†

"*Voted*, That Timothy Smith is chosen by this Company to be their Sheriff.

"*Voted*, That Mr. Joseph Sluman is chosen by this Compy to be one of ye Directors to joyn with ye other Directors for ye business mentioned in ye Report of ye Comtee."

At a general meeting of proprietors and settlers held at Wilkes-Barré July 22, 1773, Capt. Zebulon Butler was "chosen to be ye Judge of the Probates for this company of settlers"; Capt. Obadiah Gore was chosen a Director in the stead of Joseph Sluman‡, "who refused to serve", and it was "*Voted*, That each town shall chuse one or more Listers, to take in a list of ye poles & rateable estate in each town, &c."

The circulation throughout Connecticut of petitions addressed to the General Assembly of the Colony in behalf of The Susquehanna Company, and the presentation to the Assembly of the Company's memorial, in the Spring of 1773, as previously related, attracted con-

* See page 1,123 of "The Town Book of Wilkes Barre."

† The Connecticut statute here referred to was worded as follows: "No person or persons whatsoever shall directly or indirectly sell, truck, barter, give, or deliver to any Indian any strong beer, ale, cyder, perry, wine, rum, brandy, or other strong or spirituous liquors, on pain of forfeiting the sum of 10 shillings for every pint so sold, trucked, bartered, given or delivered. * * * *Provided*, nevertheless, that nothing in this Act shall be construed to hinder or restrain any act of Charity for relieving any Indian in any case of sickness or necessity."

‡ JOSEPH SLUMAN, (JR.), was born at Lebanon, New London County, Connecticut, November 2, 1736, the only child of Joseph Sluman, Sr. (who died at Lebanon June 18, 1744), and his first wife Hannah (born September 18, 1717; married February 27, 1735; died November 7, 1736), fifth child of Capt. Joseph and Hannah (Higley) Trumbull of Lebanon, and younger sister of Gov. Jonathan Trumbull. (See page 470, Vol. I.) Joseph Sluman, Jr., was graduated a Bachelor of Arts at Harvard College in 1756, in the same class with his cousin Joseph Trumbull (previously mentioned), and in 1759 the degree of A. M. was conferred upon him by his Alma Mater. He was married about 1759 or '60, and settled at East Haddam, New London County, Connecticut. In the Summer of 1761 he was at Crown Point as clerk and agent for Jonathan Trumbull (his uncle), Hezekiah Huntington and others who were contractors of supplies for the Connecticut forces then in the field. (See first paragraph, page 281, Vol. I.) In 1763—as shown by

siderable attention from the general public not only in Connecticut, but elsewhere. Various comments on the Company and its claims were printed in the newspapers of Connecticut, New York and Pennsylvania, and in addition certain circulars and pamphlets were printed and distributed. One pamphlet, which seems to have been widely disseminated and read, and to have produced a good deal of comment, was entitled: "The Right of the Governor & Company, of the Colony of Connecticut, to Claim and Hold the Lands within the limits of their Charter, lying West of the Province of New York. Stated and considered, in a letter to J. H., Esquire. To which is added an account of the purchase from the Indians of part of those Lands by the Susquehannah and Delaware Companies, and their proceedings thereon. Hartford; Printed by Eben. Watson, near the Great Bridge, [April], 1773."

Naturally, as a result of this publicity in respect to the affairs of The Susquehanna Company, a new interest was aroused in those shareholders of the Company who, theretofore, either had neglected to have lands laid out to them in the Susquehanna Purchase in satisfaction of their "rights", or, having had lands allotted to them, had failed to "man" or improve the same. Many individuals of both these classes, as well as men outside the Company who desired to purchase "rights", now made their way to Wilkes-Barré, the hub, or center, of the Wyoming settlements. (In the various deeds, bonds, contracts and other legal documents executed here at that time, Wilkes-Barré was referred to as "on ye Susquehanna Purchase, in ye Colony of Connecticut, in New England.")

During the Spring and Summer of 1773 a large number of "rights" changed hands, and several new townships were laid out in conformity with the regulations of The Susquehanna Company. In March, 1773, the township of New Providence (see pages 467 and 726), which, some time before, had been ordered to be laid out at Capouse Meadows, was formally organized and allotted, in part, to its proprietors—some of whom were Christopher Avery, Timothy Keyes, John Murfee, Capt. Silas Park, Isaac Tripp, Esq., Henry Dow Tripp, Ezra Dean (by Asa Upson), Philip Wintermute, Solomon Johnson, John Staples, Jacob Anguish, Allen Whitman, Solomon Avery, John McDowel, Zebulon Butler (by Moses Roberts), Timothy Gaylord (by Ambrose Gaylord), Phineas Nash, Ichabod Hopkins (by James Hopkins), Stephen Jenkins (by Robert Comstock), Jabez Sill (on Wm. Leonard's right), Ebenezer Heberd (by Wm. Hawkins), Samuel Pelton and Paul Pelton. (See "Pennsylvania Archives", Second Series, XVIII : 772.)

Early in May, 1773, Capt. Prince Alden, John Comstock and Cyprian Lothrop, representing a number of proprietors, or shareholders,

the unpublished papers of Joseph Trumbull—Mr. Sluman was connected with some of the business enterprises of the Trumbulls, and made voyages to the West Indies and elsewhere. In June, 1768, Mr. Sluman wrote from Horton, Nova Scotia, to Joseph Trumbull, and April 17, 1769, wrote to him from Boston, stating that at the beginning of the month he had arrived there, "after spending almost a year in that disagreeable country, Nova Scotia." Continuing, he wrote: "I am now about making a voyage to Virginia."

Joseph Sluman came to Wyoming first in the Spring of 1773, apparently, and returned to his home in East Haddam in the latter part of August. He declined to serve in the office of Director to which he had been elected, because of his intention to return to Connecticut. During the ensuing three years he seems to have divided his time between East Haddam and Wilkes-Barré—coming and going as inclination or business led him—and his name is several times mentioned in the following pages. Miner, in his "History of Wyoming," says (page 159): "The name of Joseph Sluman occurs frequently in the old records. From his being often named on committees, and several times chosen Member of Assembly, it would appear that he was trusted and honoured; but *we cannot learn whence he came, what was his fate, or whether he left any family in Wyoming.* It is most probable that his generous spirit led him into the thickest of the terrible conflict that afterwards overwhelmed the valley, and that fortune, life and all remembrance of him were extinguished together."

Joseph Sluman died peacefully and quietly in 1776 at East Haddam, about eighteen miles south-west of Norwich, where Charles Miner was born four years later.

in the Susquehanna Purchase, located and laid out for them the township of "Newport," west of and adjoining Hanover, and about eight miles south-west of Wilkes-Barré. January 17, 1774, this township was formally granted by the Company to those proprietors who had applied for it.

May 12, 1773, Nathaniel Wales and Ebenezer Gray, Jr., a committee duly appointed, made report to "the Committee of Settlers on the Susquehanna River in Connecticut" that, "in consequence of the liberty granted" to them April 30th, they had laid out two townships—the first, "Salem" (on the west bank of the North Branch of the Susquehanna River, below the mouth of Shickshinny Creek, and about eight miles below the valley of Wyoming), and the second, "Westminster" (on the West Branch of the River, at the mouth of Buffalo Creek—mentioned on page 737, *ante*). On the same day, at Wilkes-Barré, Zebulon Butler, Ezekiel Peirce, Stephen Fuller and Obadiah Gore, Jr., of the Committee of Settlers, manifested and signified their "acceptance of the doings of N. Wales and E. Gray, Jr." Among the original proprietors of Salem were Robert Jameson, Nathan Beach and Jeremiah Ross. (For the location of Salem with relation to Wilkes-Barré, see the map facing page 468, Vol. I.)

Early in May the township of "Parkbury" was laid out within the bounds of The Delaware Company's Purchase (see page 293), and about the 20th of May the lands of the township were allotted to the proprietors thereof. Reference is here made to this matter for the reason that when, in 1774, the town of Westmoreland was erected, the settlement at Parkbury was included within its limits. Parkbury was located in what is now Palmyra Township, Pike County, Pennsylvania, and by May 21, 1773, a small stockaded fort and five houses had been built "on ye side of an hill facing toward ye north-west," about half a mile from Wallenpaupack Creek. There were at that time "about thirty men and lads and five women" in the settlement. Among the original drawers of lots in Parkbury were the following-named: Capt. Silas Park*, Abel N. Kimball, Benjamin Lothrop, Gilbert Denton, Daniel Denton, Ephraim Killam, Jephthah Killam, Jonathan Haskell, John Ainsley, Capt. Zebulon Parrish, Isaac Parrish, Stephen Parrish, Elijah Witter, Nathaniel Gates, David Gates, Ezekiel Yarrington, Hezekiah Bingham, John Hurlbut, John Pellet, William Pellet, Walter Kimball, Eliab Farnam, Uriah Chapman, Jacob Kimball, Zadock Killam and Obadiah Gore, Jr.

Contiguous to, or within a short distance from, Parkbury the town of "Huntington" was laid out (in the Delaware Purchase) early in May, 1773, and in the following August a drawing of lots by the proprietors took place. (See F. C. Johnson's *Historical Record*, I: 213, 214, and II: 78.)

At Windham, Connecticut, July 7, 1773, the Standing Committee of The Susquehanna Company, "in consideration of sundry beneficial Services done by Samuel Huntington of Norwich for said Company",

*Capt. SILAS PARK was, undoubtedly, the man for whom Parkbury was named. He was in Wyoming as early as June, 1769 (see pages 667 and 677), and was one of the original proprietors of New Providence. During and after May, 1773, he was located at Parkbury—at least until July, 1778, when, after the battle of Wyoming, all the settlers at Parkbury fled to New York and New Jersey. Miner says ("History of Wyoming," page 467) that Silas Park never returned to the settlement after the Revolution. He had two sons: Silas, a fier in Capt. Dethick Hewitt's company, who was killed in the battle of Wyoming, and Moses, who at a later period was a clergyman in New Jersey.

granted and conveyed to him "one whole Share in the Lands in said Susquehanna Purchase, in equal proportion with the other Proprietors." Samuel Huntington, who was the elder brother of the Rev. Enoch Huntington—the first of that name mentioned in the note on page 293—was, at the time the aforementioned grant was made, a member of the General Assembly of Connecticut. In 1774 he was appointed an Associate Judge of the Superior Court of Connecticut, and in 1775 was sent as a Delegate from Connecticut to the Continental Congress. From 1779 till 1781 he was President of Congress; in 1784 he was appointed Chief Justice of Connecticut; in the same year he was elected Lieutenant Governor of the State, and in 1786 was elected Governor—holding this office, by successive re-elections, until his death in January, 1796. February 13, 1796, Samuel and Fanny Huntington of Norwich, "devises and residuary legatees of His Excellency Samuel Huntington, Esq., late of Norwich," sold and transferred to Elisha Hyde and Elisha Tracy of Norwich the original right in the Susquehanna Purchase which had been donated as hereinbefore described.

Upon page 767 mention is made of the fact that at the meeting of The Susquehanna Company held June 2, 1773, directions were given "for locating and laying out" a tract of land for Gov. Jonathan Trumbull. In the latter part of July, 1773, Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., and David Trumbull, sons of Governor Trumbull (see page 471, Vol. I), arrived at Wilkes-Barré from Lebanon, Connecticut, bearing from the Governor a letter reading as follows: *

"LEBANON 19TH JULY, 1773.

"Sir—My two sons bring with them, The Vote of the Susquahannah Company, and the Order of the Committee to locate, Survey and lay out to me five hundred acres of Land within said Susquahannah purchase. They likewise bring with them a Certificate of my payment of all Taxes due on my Right to the present time. These are to ask your, and the rest of the Committee for directing the Settlement of the Lands, favour to assist in looking out and finding some good and convenient place to lay the five hundred acres; —I am also told that this grant doth not prevent my having my first proportion of a Settler's Right—that the same may be laid adjoining to this Grant, or otherwise as is judged best. This Favour and assistance will be very acceptable, and all Trouble and Expences satisfied. The copies of my two last letters from Mr. Agent Life† are enclosed, whereby it appears that the Opinion of Counsel of the first consequence is *fully in Favour of the Title of the Colony to the Lands lying Westward of the Province of New York*. Wishing you good order and Prosperity, I am with great Respect, Gentlemen,

"Your obedient

"Capt. Zebulon Butler, and the Rest
of the Comtee at Susquahannah.

"humble servant,
"JONTH TRUMBULL."

Relative to the business which brought Jonathan and David Trumbull to Wilkes-Barré we find the following recorded on pages 32 and 92 of Book "F" of the original records of The Susquehanna Company—referred to on page 28, Vol. I.

"Whereas the Committee of The Susquehanna Company, pursuant to a vote of the said Company, did authorize and empower Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., and David Trumbull, Esquires, to locate, survey and lay out to the Hon. Jon. Trumbull 500 acres of land within the Susquehanna Purchase; and whereas the said Jonathan Trumbull, Esq., is a proprietor of one whole share in said Purchase, and has not had any share laid out to him in any township already laid out; and whereas the said Company by their vote the 2d June, 1773, ordered and directed that Maj. John Durkee, Messrs. Vine Elderkin, Ebenezer Gray, Jr., Andrew French and Capt. Ebenezer Backus should, for the losses sustained, be provided for and each made equal to a right in the township of Kingston, according to the present value thereof; and that Capt. Zebulon Butler, Isaac Tripp, Esq., and Nathan Denison should be a committee to determine the quantity of land each of the

*The original letter is now in the possession of the present writer.

†THOMAS LIFE, Esq., a London solicitor of high character, established at Basinghall Street, who was the agent or attorney for Connecticut in England. In 1767, and earlier, he was solicitor for John Wilkes, during the latter's troublous times at home and abroad.

abovenamed should have, &c.; and whereas said five persons, by their agents, Capt. Z. Butler and Ebenezer Gray, Jr., have agreed with said Jonathan and David Trumbull, in behalf of the Hon. Jonathan Trumbull, that said 500 acres and said right as a proprietor, of 600 acres, and the rights to be laid to said five other persons, should be laid on the West Branch of the Susquehanna River, and should be held in common and undivided, according to the quantities of them granted and located. * * * We have, therefore, laid out 3,200 acres of land to the said Hon. Jonathan Trumbull and said five persons, sufferers, as aforesaid—viz.: 1,100 acres for Trumbull, and 425 acres for each of the others—at Warriour's Run.*.

"Dated—August 14, 1773.

[Signed] "JON. TRUMBULL, JR., } Agents for the
 "DAVID TRUMBULL, } Hon. Jon. Trumbull.
 "ZEB^N BUTLER, } Agents for Major
 "EBEN^R GRAY, JR., } Durkee and others."

"We the subscribers do hereby approve the above survey as described, &c. *Wilkes-barre, August 14, 1773.*

[Signed] "ZEB^N BUTLER, } Comtee for
 "OBADIAH GORE, JR., } laying out lands."
 "ISAAC TRIPP,

In February, 1796, David Trumbull, Executor of the will of former Governor Trumbull, deceased, gave to Ezekiel Hyde (then of Norwich, Connecticut, but later of Wilkes-Barré) a Power of Attorney authorizing him to examine as to the rights in the Susquehanna Purchase belonging to the estates of Jonathan and Joseph Trumbull, and to David Trumbull himself, and to locate said rights if the same had not already been done. March 1, 1796, Simon Spalding, John Jenkins and John Franklin, Commissioners of The Susquehanna Company, granted unto David Trumbull, the estates of Jonathan and Joseph Trumbull, Ezekiel Hyde and others a township five miles square (containing 16,000 acres of land), to be located on the East Branch of the Susquehanna, and to be named "Trumbull".

The present writer has been unable to find copies of the two letters from Thomas Life to Governor Trumbull, referred to in the latter's letter hereinbefore printed. The letters in question were written at London in April and May, 1773, and contained among other matters the opinions of the eminent counsel who had been employed to answer the queries propounded in behalf of the Colony of Connecticut relative to the Colony's claim to the lands westward of New York. (See pages 651 and 732.) Copies of these letters were sent by Governor Trumbull to Col. Elizur Talcott June 29, 1773. However, among the "Trumbull Papers" (referred to on page 29) there is an original letter from Thomas Life to Governor Trumbull, under the date of July 7, 1773, in which he states that March 19, 1773, he had written to the solicitor of the Penn family, at Bloomsbury Square, London, as follows:

"I find by letters from America that two Acts have been lately passed in the Province of Pennsylvania for erecting a part of the counties of Lancaster, Cumberland, Berks, Northampton and Bedford into a separate county; and the other for preventing riots, &c. It is very probable that the execution of these two laws—at least of the last of them, which makes it felony for twelve persons to assemble together—may create a great deal of bloodshed, and perhaps many persons may be condemned to death for keeping possession of land which they may have good reason to think themselves intitled to. *The Colony of Connecticut have had it under their consideration* for near two years past whether they should support the inhabitants of the country in question by claiming the same against the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania. It appears to me that *their determination will depend on the opinion of the several counsel of the first eminence* before whom I have laid the case, by the Colony's direction. * *

"Under the date of May 10, 1773, Mr. Penn's solicitor replied as follows: * *
 'I have consulted the Proprietors of Pennsylvania upon it, and I am directed by them to acquaint you that *your clients, the settlers in the Province of Pennsylvania*, have chosen to support themselves by an armed force, and have refused every overture (many of which were made to them) to bring the matter to a legal and constitutional decision, choosing, in opposition to all constitutional overtures, to rely upon their arms. The

* In the northern part of the present county of Northumberland.

Colony of Connecticut, too, once disavowed supporting or giving any encouragement to these unlawful Intruders. I am desired to acquaint you that the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania never will decline any legal and constitutional decision of the point in question.' I have wrote to Dr. [William Samuel] Johnson by this packet on this subject. Something must be done in this matter. You'll please therefore to send me proper authority from the Colony to act by petition to the King, or otherwise, as I shall be advised, for terminating the matters in dispute between Pennsylvania and the Colony of Connecticut on account of The Susquehanna Company."

At a town-meeting held at Wilkes-Barré August 23, 1773, with Jacob Sill acting as Moderator and Joseph Sluman as Clerk, the following was voted:

"That a call or invitation shall be given to the Rev. Jacob Johnson, late of Groton, in the Colony of Connecticut, who for some time past has been preaching in this place, to continue a settler with us as our gospel minister. That Mr. Johnson shall be paid £60 the year ensuing, on the present list,* and his salary shall rise annually, as our list rises, till it amounts to £100."

At a meeting of "the Proprietors of the settling towns on the East Branch of the Susquehanna River at the fort in Wilks Barra, September 14, 1773," Capt. Zebulon Butler was chosen Moderator, and Christopher Avery, Clerk. The following business was transacted: †

"*Voted*, That the Directors of the several towns be ordered to call on all the inhabitants within each of the towns to sign the agreement,‡ and to make returns of the names of all those that refuse or neglect to sign, to the Committee of Settlers, and that the same be done by the 1st October next.

"*Voted*, That Mr. John Jenkins be appointed a Director for the town of Exeter.

"*Voted*, That this Company will send a committee, or agents, two in number, to the General Assembly in October next.

"*Voted*, That Mr. Halstead, Augustin Hunt, Parshall Terry, Anderson Dana, Thomas Heath, John Grant, John Jenkins, Jr., Roasel Franklin, John Jameson and Philip Goss be a committee jointly and severally to examine the several persons supposed to be Pennamites who are taking possession of any place on The Susquehanna Company's land, or any persons that are now taking up land in the settling towns, and make report to the next meeting of this Company in October."

The meeting then adjourned till September 25th, at the same place, at which time—the Committee of Settlers having been desired to be present "to inspect the taking of the votes for Agents to attend the General Assembly at New Haven in October"—an election was held, and Joseph Sluman (then in Connecticut) and Capt. Timothy Smith were duly elected Agents. It was then voted:

"That Mr. Parshall Terry has kept the ferry on both sides of the river against the fort, during the pleasure of the Company of settlers, under the present regulations of the ferry by this Company. *Voted*, That Mr. Timothy Rose of Kingstown have liberty to keep a ferry opposite the Forty Fort, during the pleasure of this Company, and on the same regulations."

The above is the first mention made in the minutes of the town-meetings of the "Forty Fort," which stood in the upper end of Kingstown Township, at the bend of the river about two miles below Monocanock Island, and about two and a-third miles (in a bee-line) north of Fort Wyoming on the river bank in Wilkes-Barré. The Forty Fort—thus named, of course, because it stood in, and was erected by the proprietors of, the township originally known as the "Forty Township"—was a rudely-built stockaded fort, the erection of which was begun in the latter part of November, or early in December, 1772. Some chroniclers of Wyoming history have stated that this fort was built in 1769 by the "First Forty" (see page 472), while others—the majority—have fixed upon 1770 as the year of its erection. However, the two extracts from "The Town Book of Wilkes Barre" reproduced

*The tax-list, or rate-bill, of the settlement.

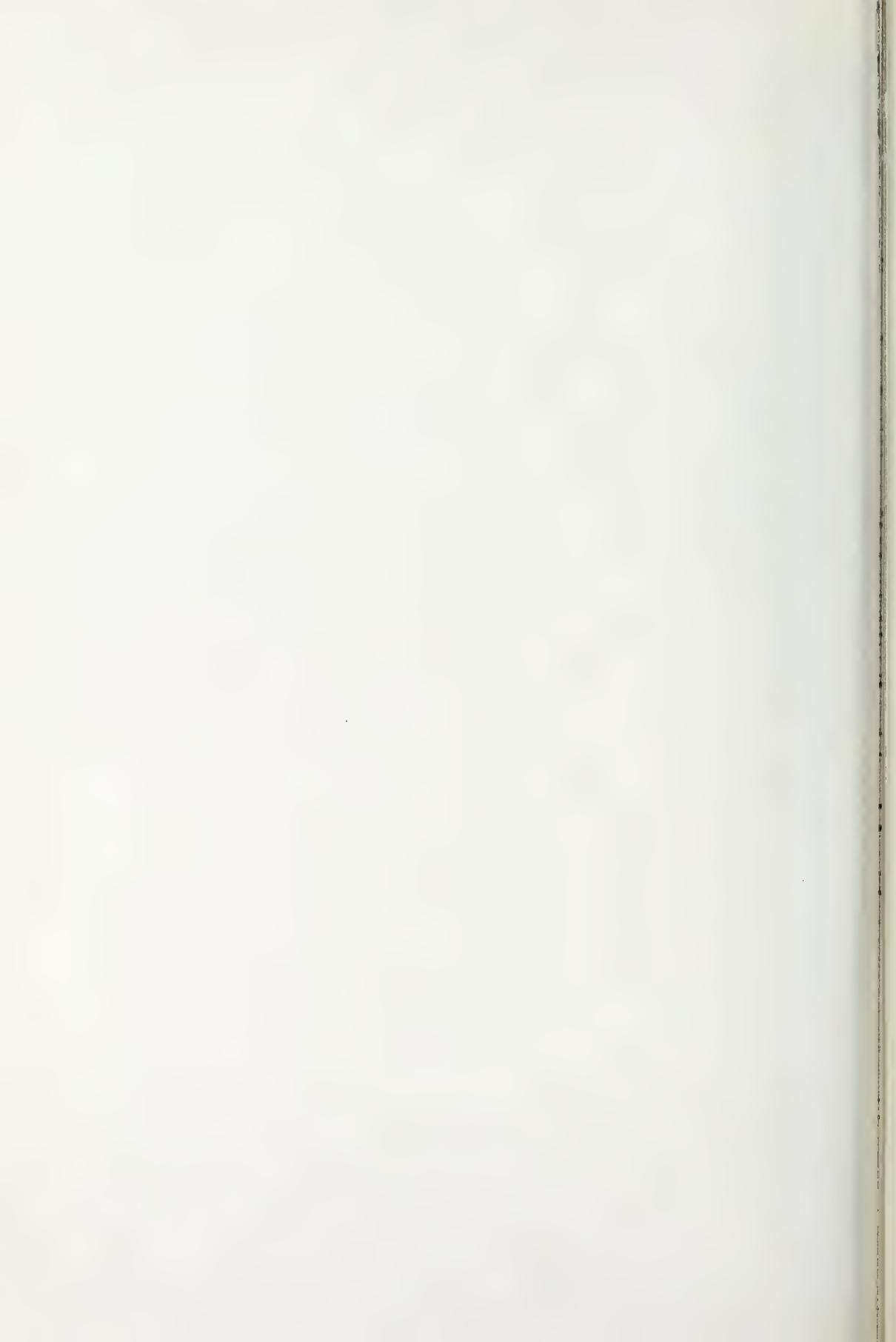
† See page 1,165 of "The Town Book of Wilkes Barre."

‡ See page 765.



VIEW UP THE SUSQUEHANNA FROM THE SITE OF FORTY FORT.

(From a photograph taken in June, 1903.)



on pages 735 and 755, taken in connection with other evidence, show, conclusively, that as late as November 18, 1772, there was no fortified structure in Kingston Township.

In September or October, 1773, the block-house at Mill Creek was abandoned, nearly all the settlers who had occupied quarters there having erected houses in Wilkes-Barré town-plot or elsewhere and moved into them.

At a general meeting of the proprietors of the settling towns held at "Wilksbarra" October 19, 1773, with Capt. Stephen Fuller as Moderator and Capt. Obadiah Gore, Sr., as Clerk, the following was adopted :

"Whereas, there is yet a number of inhabitants that has not yet signed our Articles of Agreement, and still neglect the same, it is now *Voted*, That the Directors of each town set up a notification to call upon all who has neglected or refused; and that if they do not sign by the next adjourned meeting they shall be esteemed as common enemies to our cause, and will be dealt with as such by this Company."

At an adjourned meeting of the settlers held at "Wilksbarre Fort" October 26, 1773, the following report was received and read, and the votes mentioned hereinafter were passed.

"A Report of the Comtee of Settlers at Wyoming to the company of settlers now convened—upon a complaint of a Comtee against ASA BROWN for being an enemy to our Company by publicly declaring himself such an one. We have heard the above evidence to the abovementioned complaint, and judge him to be guilty in manner and form as set forth in said complaint, and have considered he is an unwholesome inhabitant, and agreeably to the votes of The Susquehanna Company must not be suffered to continue amongst us. All which we recommend to your serious consideration.

[Signed] "ZEBN BUTLER, "OBADIAH GORE,
"STEPHEN FULLER, "NATHAN DENISON."

"*Voted*, That Mr. John Perkins' excuse for not signing our Articles of Agreement are insufficient.

"*Voted*, That Peter Harris shall have a hearing at the next meeting, respecting signing the Articles of Agreement.

"*Voted*, That Timothy Keyes be a Collector of the Road Tax in the room of Solomon Johnson."

The General Assembly of Connecticut convened, for its regular semi-annual session, at New Haven, October 14, 1773. Some time previously to that date Timothy Smith set out from his home in Kingston for Connecticut. Going to East Haddam he acquainted Joseph Sluman with the desires of the Wyoming settlers, and then the two men journeyed to New Haven. There they worked assiduously to bring about the establishment of a regular and permanent form of government for the persistent petitioners on the banks of the Susquehanna. The personal efforts of these Agents were supplemented by a number of petitions which came to the Assembly from various quarters in Connecticut signed by citizens of the Colony who were not connected with The Susquehanna Company, and who prayed that the Assembly would take action in regard to the jurisdiction, title, etc., of the Susquehanna lands. The Assembly continued in session until near the close of October, and before adjourning referred the case of the Susquehanna settlers to a joint-committee of both Houses of the Assembly, with directions to report thereon at an adjourned session of the Assembly to be held at Hartford in January, 1774. At the beginning of the same session the Assembly, having received a favorable opinion from "counsel of the first eminence in Great Britain, who had been consulted" on the Right and Title of the Governor and Company of the Colony of

*See page 773.

Connecticut to the lands within the limits of its Patent, lying westward of the Province of New York," passed the following resolutions, in pursuance of a report made by Dr. William Samuel Johnson and Roger Sherman, Esq., a committee of the Upper House.

"Resolved, That the Assembly, at this time, will assert, and in some proper way support, their claim to those lands contained within the limits and boundaries of their Charter which are westward of the Province of New York.

"Resolved, That a committee be appointed to treat with Governor Penn respecting an amicable agreement between the two Colonies concerning boundaries, either to settle by mutual agreement, or join in an application to His Majesty for commissioners to settle said line."

At New Haven, under the date of November 4, 1773, Joseph Sluman wrote to Zebulon Butler at Wilkes-Barré as follows:

"Was acquainted by Mr. Timothy Smith, the Monday evening following the sitting of the Assembly, that I was chose Agent to prefer a petition to said Assembly in behalf of the settlers at Susquehannah. * * The next morning proceeded to New Haven with Mr. Smith and found that the question relative to the lands westward of Delaware River belonging to the Colony had been taken up the week before, and that the Assembly had resolved to assert and support their right thereto. * * Upon our memorial or petition a committee was chosen from both Houses to erect a Jurisdiction. The report was to make a County, with every kind of officers necessary—both civil and military. The report was laid over to the second Wednesday of January, 1774—to which time the Assembly stands adjourned. * * Mr. Smith is waiting for this letter. * * His Honor, the Governor, in opening the Assembly, urgently pressed our distressed situation at the Susquehannah. * * I hold it best for me not to return to the Susquehannah until after January."

Under the date of November 8, 1773, Col. Elizur Talcott wrote from Glastonbury, Connecticut, to Zebulon Butler:

"You will have all the news of what our Assembly has done for us, by Mr. Timothy Smith, your agent for the settlers, who is better able to tell you than I am, for I left New Haven some time before he did."

News of the action of the Connecticut Assembly reached Philadelphia very shortly thereafter, and almost immediately considerable activity was manifested on the part of a large number of Pennsylvanians to whom the Provincial Land Office had previously issued land-warrants, under which the holders desired to have surveys of land made for them within the territory claimed by The Susquehanna Company. In the latter part of October and early in November, 1773, the following Pennsylvania surveys—among a large number—were made within the bounds of the Susquehanna Purchase, and within thirty miles of Wilkes-Barré. The "Manor of Dundee," containing 3,520 acres, surveyed by Charles Stewart, Deputy Surveyor, on Wyalusing Creek; 311 acres surveyed to John Fourman, on the south side of Nescopeck Creek; 327 acres to Edward Thatcher, on Nescopeck Creek; "Antigua," containing 322 acres, surveyed to Isaac Cox, Jr., on Nescopeck Creek, "two miles east of the Indian path leading from the mouth of Nescopeck Creek to Fort Allen" (see page 237, Vol. I); "Ballyrean," containing 335 acres, surveyed to John Maxwell Nesbitt on Nescopeck Creek, two and a-half miles eastward of the Indian path abovementioned; "Inniskilling," containing 352 acres, surveyed to Jonathan Nesbitt on Nescopeck Creek, three miles eastward of the Indian path abovementioned; "Venison Market," containing 327 acres, surveyed to John Emley "on and adjoining the Indian path from Nescopeck to Fort Allen," and 310 acres to Samuel Rogers on Nescopeck Creek, "about one mile west" of the abovementioned path.

At a meeting of the Wyoming inhabitants held at Wilkes-Barré December 8, 1773, with John Jenkins, Sr., presiding as Moderator and

Maj. Ezekiel Peirce acting as Clerk, the following business was transacted :

"*Voted*, That Mr. Sluman, Timothy Smith and John Jenkins be Agents to attend the General Assembly at Hartford in January, [1774].

"*Voted*, That Christopher Avery, Samuel Slaughter, Capt. [Lazarus] Stewart, Mr. Solomon Strong and Esquire [Isaac] Tripp be a committee to advise and consult with our Agents to draw up a plan, in order to transmit [it] by our Agents, to be laid before the General Assembly in January—the committee to meet in Kingstown, at the house of Thomas Bennet, Friday, December 18th, at 10 A. M.

"*Voted*, That Kingstown and Plymouth are willing to dismiss ye Rev. Mr. Johnson from his former agreement in dividing his labor in preaching ye gospel amongst us.*

"*Voted*, That this meeting is adjourned to Kingstown, at ye house of Mr. Elisha Swift, Wednesday, December 22d, at 10 A. M."

The settlers convened at Mr. Swift's on the 22d of December, but without transacting any business adjourned to meet on the 30th of the month at the house of Maj. Ezekiel Peirce, in Kingston. Having assembled at that time and place a town-meeting was organized and the following business was transacted :

"*Voted*, That our Agents be supplied with memorials from each town, to be laid before ye General Assembly at Hartford in January next, shewing their minds in regard to the county-town—what town they [would] have for their county-town.

"*Voted*, That the Agents appointed to attend the Assembly in January next, to act in behalf of this Company, be directed as followeth :

"1st—To give the thanks of this Company of settlers to ye Hon^{ble} the General Court for their Resolutions in October last, so much in favour of this company of settlers.

"2d—That they have full power and authority to draw up and sign a memorial to the General Court for and in behalf of this Company, praying for incorporate privileges, civil and military ; or to follow the matter upon the memorial now lying before the Court, or as they shall think best.

"3d—That they endeavour to obtain an Act passed by the General Court concerning ye doings of this Company's officers who have acted as such by appointment and agreement of this Company of settlers and ye Susquehanna Land Company of proprietors, so that those persons who have carried on any action to obtain a righteous demand might not in ye end be defeated.

"4th—That they make strict enquiry what has been done with ye memorials and petitions heretofore sent by this Company to the General Court, praying to be incorporated, &c., and find out what attendance has been given by our Agents heretofore appointed.

"5th—That they take lists with them of all ye proprietors at the settling towns, attested by ye Comtee of Settlers, and each town's lists by themselves, with ye copies of ye Susquehanna Land Company's votes granting those towns to ye settlers.

"6th—That they take the most effectual method to prevent any Acts being passed by ye General Court that in any way would strengthen the title of those who have taken up lands under pretention of ye title of Pennsylvania, and have located and laid out ye same in ye heart of ye Government of ye Colony of Connecticut.

"7th—That they lay a true state of ye Pennsylvania and Jersey people's conduct in laying out this Government's land, and at their filthy, wicked trade with ye Natives, &c., and of their robberies and thefts committed against this Company of settlers in time past.

"8th—That they take with them ye number of ye inhabitants of ye several settling-towns and plantations of ye settlements on the Susquehanna River, and make return thereof to the General Assembly of this Colony.

"9th—That they, as Agents of this Company, attend ye General Court in January next, from ye beginning to ye end of the same, taking advice of true friends to ye welfare of this Colony ; and that they faithfully follow the business of their agency, and strictly abide by their instructions.

"10th—*Voted*, That the Selectmen of each town take ye numbers of ye Inhabitants residing in each town on ye 1st day of January next, and lodge ye same in ye hands of the Clerk of this Company by the 3d day of January next."

Prior to its adjournment in October the General Assembly of Connecticut enacted—supplementary to its resolutions relative to the lands west of the Delaware—that the Hons. Matthew Griswold, Eliphalet Dyer, Roger Sherman, William Samuel Johnson, Samuel Holden Parsons, Silas Deane, William Williams and Jedidiah Strong (ranked

* This action was taken, undoubtedly, because at that time the Rev. Noah Wadhams was located in Plymouth, as previously mentioned, while in Kingston Mr. John Stafford, a Baptist licentiate from Dutchess County, New York, was sojourning as a missionary.

among the leading citizens of Connecticut, and nearly all of whom are previously mentioned herein) be "a committee with full power to assist his Honor Governor Trumbull in stating, and taking proper steps to pursue, the claim of the Colony to the Western lands, so called." Any three members of this Committee were authorized and directed to proceed as soon as convenient to Philadelphia to wait on Governor Penn, "with the resolutions of said Assembly and such letter or letters as his Honor Governor Trumbull, with the advice of said Committee," should write to Governor Penn; "and with power to treat * * * respecting an amicable agreement between this [Connecticut] Colony and the aforesaid Proprietaries concerning the boundaries of this Colony and the Province of Pennsylvania;" and also to treat with Governor Penn "with respect to the peace of the inhabitants of said lands, and to agree upon such measures as shall tend to preserve good order and prevent mutual violence and contention while the boundaries between this Colony and the said Province remain undetermined."

The committee created by the aforementioned Act met with Governor Trumbull at Norwich November 19, 1773, and after a full discussion of the subject in hand Governor Trumbull appointed and commissioned—under his "hand and the public seal of the Colony of Connecticut"—Col. Eliphalet Dyer,* William Samuel Johnson,† LL. D., and Jedidiah Strong,‡ Esq., "to attend upon and treat with" Governor Penn. Some three weeks later these Commissioners set out for Philadelphia, where they arrived December 14th.

In September, 1773, Richard Penn had been succeeded in the office of Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania by John Penn, who had just returned from England.§ (See pages 694 and 716.) About December 12, 1773, Governor Penn received a petition|| from "the magistrates, Grand Jury, and other principal inhabitants of Northumberland County," to the effect that they had been seated on lands in Northumberland County, purchased from the Proprietaries; that about two years previously (to wit, in the Autumn of 1771) a number of them had been "ousted of their possessions at Wyoming, and cruelly stripped and

* See page 393.

† See pages 478, 651, 666 and 776.

‡ JEDIDIAH STRONG was born at Litchfield, Connecticut, November 7, 1738, sixth child of Supply Strong (originally of Hebron, Connecticut, and in 1723 one of the first settlers of Litchfield) and his second wife, Anne (Strong). Jedidiah Strong was graduated a Bachelor of Arts at Yale College in 1761, and three years later received the degree of A. M. He studied theology, and, October 4, 1768, was licensed to preach by the Hartford North Association of Ministers. However, he almost immediately turned his attention to law, and after a year of study was admitted (in 1764) to the Bar of Hartford County. He then located at Litchfield in the practise of his profession. From 1770 to 1783 he served as one of the Selectmen of Litchfield, and from 1773 to 1789 was Town Clerk. In October, 1771, he attended the General Assembly of Connecticut as one of the Representatives from Litchfield, and from then until 1789 he sat as a Representative in thirty regular sessions of the Assembly. At thirteen of these sessions he was Clerk of the Lower House. In 1774 he was chosen a Delegate to the Continental Congress, but declined the office. From 1780 to 1791 he was a Judge of the Litchfield County Court. During the Revolutionary War he was a Commissary of Supplies for the Continental Army. In 1788 he was a member of the State Convention which adopted the Constitution of the United States, and in 1789 and 1790 he was a member of the Governor's Council, or Upper House of the Assembly.

Jedidiah Strong was married (1st) April 17, 1774, to Ruth (born June 16, 1739), daughter of Maj. John Patterson of Farmington, Connecticut. She died October 3, 1777, leaving a daughter, and January 22, 1788, Judge Strong was married to Susannah, daughter of the Hon. George Wyllis (mentioned on page 282, Vol. I). She was about twelve years his junior, and in July, 1790, after two and a-half years of married life, she was compelled by his cruel behavior to apply for a divorce, which was granted by the Governor's Council, of which Judge Strong was then a member. "He was then cast out of all decent society," says Dexter in his Yale College Biographies. "He had already forfeited the esteem of his fellow-townsmen by his bad private character, although by hypocrisy and political intrigue he had been able up to this date to impose upon a wider public." He was a man of diminutive figure, limping gait and an unpleasant countenance, and is said to have succeeded in gaining his great ascendancy in his town and district by his arts as a pettifogger and a politician. In his latter years he sank rapidly into drunkenness and gross dissipation, and it was necessary to have a guardian appointed over him. His means became exhausted, and the town was obliged to assist in his support. He died August 21, 1802.

§ May 3, 1772, John Penn wrote from London to a friend in Philadelphia: "I am not so well pleased with England as to make me forget America, where, I do assure you, I had rather be than here, and hope to manage matters so as to be able to see it soon again and spend the rest of my days there."

|| See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," X: 111.

plundered of their effects * * * [by the New Englanders], who, not content with the acquisition of Wyoming and the parts adjacent, had attempted to extend their conquests." * * Continuing, the petitioners declared: "That the whole posse of the County is not sufficient to enforce the laws at Wyoming; and as the inhabitants have not hitherto been able to prevent the continuance of the Connecticut intruders in that part of the Province contrary to law, * * they fear their utmost efforts will not be sufficient to keep their possessions without the interposition and protection of the Legislature—which they implore."

On the very day that the Connecticut Commissioners arrived in Philadelphia to negotiate with Governor Penn, the latter sent to the Provincial Assembly a message reading as follows* :

"The distresses of the inhabitants of the County of Northumberland, expressed in their petition, which will be delivered to you by the Secretary, appear to be of a very alarming Nature, and justly to call for the particular attention of this Government.

"The *Insolent Outrages* of a set of Men who have long bid defiance to the Laws of the Country, and have afforded protection to Offenders of the most Heinous kind, ought not, certainly, in a well regulated Society, to be suffered to pass with Impunity; but when these men embody themselves, sally forth with arms in their Hands, and in a Warlike Manner attempt to dispossess the peaceable Inhabitants of the County lately laid out and Established by act of Assembly, within the known bounds of the Province, it is a procedure of so dangerous a Tendency as not only to threaten the Destruction of that Infant County, but strikes at the Peace of the whole Province.

"I think it therefore Incumbent on me, Gentlemen, to recommend this Matter to your most serious Consideration, and to request you will Fall upon such Measures as will Strengthen the Hands of the Government on this *Extraordinary and alarming Occasion*, repel the Violence of these lawless Intruders, and afford the Petitioners that Immediate Protection and Relief which their Necessities and Situation Require."

On the morning of December 15th the Connecticut Commissioners formally notified Governor Penn of their arrival in Philadelphia, and requested an audience with him. In response to his invitation they repaired at noon the same day to his house in Chestnut Street, where they were received by the Governor and the following members of his Council: Richard Peters, Benjamin Chew, James Tilghman and Edward Shippen, Jr.—all of whom are previously mentioned herein. The negotiations between the Commissioners and Governor Penn continued for nine days, and were conducted chiefly in writing—"with much mutual complaisance, and with the most stately courtesy and excellent ability"; but they failed of results—which was what might have been expected. During the negotiations several expedients were proposed on both sides for preserving peace and good order among the inhabitants on the Susquehanna till the matters in dispute between the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania and the Colony of Connecticut should receive a final determination before the King in Council. In a communication transmitted to the Governor on December 18th the Commissioners said :

"As the Colony [of Connecticut] has now taken up the matter, and expressly asserted their claim, that the like mischiefs may in future be prevented, and peace and good order preserved in that part of the country, we propose that, without prejudice to the rights of the Colony or the Proprietaries, a temporary line of jurisdiction be agreed upon, which neither party shall exceed, and within which each respectively may exercise such power and authorities as they judge proper. And as the settlements under the Proprietaries are chiefly upon the Western, and those under Connecticut principally upon the Eastern, Branch of the Susquehanna, we apprehend such temporary line may be so drawn as that Jurisdiction may be exercised by each over their respective settlers without much inconvenience. * * We cannot forbear observing to you that the primary possession of the people under Connecticut was taken at a time when the country was entirely a wilderness, under an Indian purchase approved of by the Colony and made

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," Fourth Series, III : 447.

under their title of pre-emption from the Crown, when there was no person upon the land—much less anybody holding under the Proprietaries—and of course could not be attended with any force or violence.”

On December 23d Governor Penn wrote to the Commissioners in part as follows :

“Gentlemen, you are in the prosecution of a claim which has long lain dormant, and surely that claim ought to be established by proper authority before you can, with any degree of propriety, think of extending your jurisdiction over a country which hath been legally possessed, and where the regular jurisdiction of another Government hath taken place, long before your Colony had concluded to prosecute their claim to it. As I cannot, for the reasons assigned, accede to the proposal of a temporary line of jurisdiction, so neither can I foresee any means that appear to me likely to effectuate Peace and Order—and to prevent for the future such violent Outrages as have been lately perpetrated in that Part of the Country where the People of Connecticut are now settled—but their *entirely evacuating the Lands in their Possession* until a legal Decision of our Controversy may be obtained.

“And when it is considered that this Possession was effected by armed Bodies of People, in an hostile Manner expelling from their lawful Possessions those who had purchased their Lands and settled them under the Sanction of this Government, and that this was done without any Warrant or Authority from the Colony of Connecticut—nay, long before that Colony had even avowed a Claim to those Lands—I cannot but think it highly reasonable that such a tortious and unjustifiable Possession should be relinquished by the Colony at a time when they are pursuing a Claim on the Principles of Right and in a legal Way. Indeed, I cannot conceive, from the Measures that have been adopted by the Colony of Connecticut since they have made their Claim, that they can wish to avail themselves of a Possession extorted by such lawless and violent Proceedings, or that they can imagine themselves under the least Obligation to support or abet a Sett of People who have been capable of acting in so outrageous and unjustifiable a Manner. I am, therefore, induced to hope, Gentlemen, that when this matter comes to be coolly considered by your Government—if their views are, like mine, directed to a speedy and peaceful Decision of this Dispute—they will use all possible Means to withdraw the People thus settled, in the most expeditious and effectual Manner.”

December 24th the Connecticut Commissioners replied to the foregoing communication in these words—in part :

* * * “We consider our Negotiations with you as at an End, and have only to console ourselves that, whatever happens, we have on our Part faithfully endeavored not only to terminate the Controversy with all possible Dispatch, but also to provide for the Quiet of the Country while the Dispute shall be depending. * * * We cannot but hope you will entertain in future more favorable sentiments of the Connecticut settlers and their former Proceedings than have been attempted to be impressed upon you by the Representatives of interested Individuals, willing to magnify past Services or procure future Favors. * * * We cannot omit to remind you that the established Jurisdiction under this Province [the erection of the county of Northumberland], of which you avail yourself, and to which you wish our People to submit, was erected, not only after the Possession above referred to, but after it was publicly known that the General Assembly of Connecticut had directed a State of their Claim to be drawn up and laid before learned counsel in England for their opinion, and was, perhaps, precipitated, to prevent if possible the probable consequences of that Measure.”

On Christmas-day the Connecticut Commissioners set out from Philadelphia for their homes, and early in January they prepared their report to the Governor and the Assembly. This was immediately printed in pamphlet form.*

It should be stated here that a large and respectable part of the inhabitants of Connecticut were opposed to having the Colony take any steps either with respect to the lands west of the Delaware or to the affairs or settlements of The Susquehanna Company. In some of the towns of the Colony resolutions were adopted, or instructions were prepared, by the Selectmen for the regulation of their Representatives in the Assembly. The following extracts are from a copy of one town's instructions, printed in *The Connecticut Journal* of December 3, 1773.

“We are informed that the General Assembly have sent to their Agents in England copies of all papers relating to the claim to lands under the purchase of The Susquehanna

* It is reprinted in full in “Connecticut Colonial Records,” XIV : 461, *et. seq.*

Company, * * and has resolved that they will take those lands under their care and jurisdiction, and defend our title thereto against the claim of Mr. Penn; * * * As we conceive measures are hastening fast, which may involve this Colony in an expensive controversy, * * which controversy will bring this Colony under a heavy load of expense, * * and [the lands] if obtained would be of no real advantage to this Colony, as it would drain 'us of our inhabitants, lessen the present value of our lands, &c. We therefore instruct you to use your utmost endeavours and influence to stop all further proceedings in the premises.'

January 13, 1774, the Pennsylvania Assembly, having taken into consideration the Governor's message of December 14th, accompanied by the petition of the inhabitants of Northumberland County (see page 778), together with a report of the negotiations between the Governor and Connecticut's Commissioners, adopted the following* :

"Resolved, That a number of persons emigrating from the Colony of Connecticut have, under a pretense of right to lands within the limits and boundaries of the royal grants to the Proprietaries of this Province, * * in a riotous and tumultuous manner taken possession of a tract of country within the said known limits and boundaries, and have held, and still retain, their said possession in an hostile manner, to the great disturbance of the peace of the Province.

"Resolved, That the said emigrants, together with a number of ill-disposed persons†—with whom they are confederated—have, in defiance of the laws of the country and executive powers of this Government, afforded protection to offenders of the most atrocious kind‡, and have, moreover, embodied themselves and, in an hostile manner, attempted to dispossess the peaceable inhabitants settled far within the limits of this Government.

"Resolved, That the Governor be earnestly requested to give special directions to all magistrates, sheriffs, and other officers * * * to be vigilant and active in the discharge of their duties. * *

"Resolved, That this House will concur with the Governor in every reasonable measure to strengthen the hands of the Government in preserving the peace and suppressing all riots and tumults.

"Ordered, That a committee be appointed to prepare and bring in a Bill for preventing tumults and riotous assemblies, and for the more speedy and effectual punishing of the rioters."

In transmitting to the Governor a report of the action taken by the House with respect to his message, etc., Joseph Galloway,§ the Speaker, "by order of the House" signed and sent the following communication|| :

* * "We have taken into serious consideration your message of the 14th ult. and the petition from the inhabitants of Northumberland County, with the papers respecting the claim of Connecticut; and as we esteem a due obedience to the laws, and the preservation of the public peace, to be of the first moment to the happiness and welfare of the people, we heartily concur in sentiments with your Honor. * * * Since we find, from repeated experience, that the mild laws of this Province have proved ineffectual to restrain *these lawless disturbers of the peace* within any bounds, we have thought it necessary to prepare and pass a Bill with more severe penalties, which we hope will in future deter

* See the *Pennsylvania Packet* (Philadelphia), January 17, 1774.

† The Wyoming settlers from New York, New Jersey and Eastern Pennsylvania.

‡ Capt. LAZARUS STEWART and some of the other Hanoverians are here referred to.

§ JOSEPH GALLOWAY—mentioned in the last paragraph on page 446—was born in Anne Arundel County, Maryland, in 1730. Having removed to Philadelphia he became eminent in his profession as a lawyer before he had reached the age of thirty years. He was married to Grace, daughter of Lawrence Growden, October 18, 1757, and from that year until the Revolution he was annually elected a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly. He was Speaker of the House in 1768 and 1774. The First Continental Congress met in September, 1774 (see page 602), and Joseph Galloway attended as one of the delegates from Pennsylvania. The appointment of these delegates had been made by the Assembly in the previous July, and, although many members of the House suspected at that time that Mr. Galloway was not sincerely attached to the American cause, while others looked upon him as a downright Tory seeking control of affairs, yet, because he was Speaker of the House, a lawyer, and a gentleman of great talents and considerable property, and because he had been an active opponent of the Proprietaries, and possessed the confidence of great numbers of the people, he was selected to sit in the Congress. During its sessions he submitted for its approval the "Albany Plan of Union," mentioned on page 266, Vol. I.

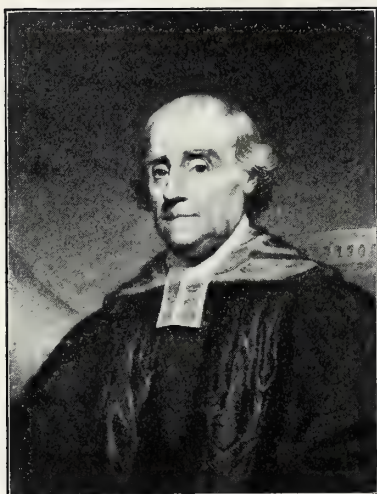
In December, 1776, when the fate of America seemed to be beyond question, and the attack on Trenton had not been made, Joseph Galloway deserted the cause of his country and went over to the enemy, whereupon his estate was confiscated by the State of Pennsylvania. He joined Lord Howe, and with the British forces entered Philadelphia, where he was made Superintendent of Police, for the city and its suburbs, and Collector of the Port. For five months he was the head of the civil government of the city, and resided at the south-east corner of Sixth and Market Streets. At the evacuation of Philadelphia in 1778 he went with the British, and in October following sailed for England, where his pen was constantly employed on subjects connected with the Revolutionary War. He never returned to America, but died in Hertfordshire, England, August 29, 1803.

|| See the *Pennsylvania Packet* (Philadelphia), January 24, 1774.

them from the execution of their unwarrantable designs, &c. * * We cannot avoid showing our just abhorrence of their conduct by most earnestly entreating your Honor to give special directions to the magistracy. * * From the papers communicated by the Secretary we are sorry to find the Government of Connecticut has given countenance to the lawless possession of these emigrants by resolving to prosecute a claim, not only to the lands they have lately seated themselves on, but to a great part of the Province. * * * To prevent the mischievous effects of this unkind and unneighborly disposition in the Government of Connecticut, we request that your Honor will pursue every effectual measure to call the claimants before His Majesty in Council, and to bring their claim to an immediate decision."

At Philadelphia, about the 10th of January, 1774, there came from the press of Joseph Crukshank a 12mo. pamphlet of 124 pages, which attracted considerable attention in certain circles. It was entitled: "An Examination of the Connecticut Claim to Lands in Pennsylvania. With an Appendix, containing Extracts and Copies taken from Original Papers."* This important publication did not bear the name of its author, but it was an open secret among the Pennsylvania land claimants, as well as among the members of the Pennsylvania Assembly—all of whom were furnished with copies of the pamphlet as soon as it had left the press—that the Rev. William Smith,† D. D., Provost of the

* The whole of this pamphlet is reprinted in "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, XVIII: 127.



REV. WILLIAM SMITH, D. D.

After a portrait painted by Gilbert Stuart.

† The Rev. WILLIAM SMITH, D. D. (mentioned on page 505, Vol. I, and 690, Vol. II), was born near Aberdeen, Scotland, September 7, 1727, son of Thomas and Elizabeth (Duncan) Smith and grandson of James Smith, a noted astronomer. He was graduated B. A. at the University of Aberdeen in March, 1747, and shortly thereafter became the master of a parochial school. In 1750 he was sent up to London, in pursuance of some plan for the better endowment of parochial schools. In May, 1751, he came to America as tutor to two sons of Governor Martin, who resided on Long Island, New York. In the latter part of 1753 Mr. Smith returned to England for the purpose of taking orders in the Established Church, and he was made a deacon in the palace at Fulham, by the Bishop of Lincoln, December 21, 1753. Two days later he was ordained a priest. Through a report made by him shortly after his return from America a society was organized in England for the education of the Germans in America. On his return to America in May, 1754, the Rev. Mr. Smith was inducted into the office of Provost, and the chair of Natural Philosophy, of the College and Academy of Philadelphia, on the recommendation of Benjamin Franklin and the Rev. Richard Peters (mentioned on page 262).

In 1749 Benjamin Franklin had drawn up and published a plan for an academy and a charitable school, which went into operation the following year; but, looking forward to a more improved state of society, Franklin declared this academy to be "intended as a foundation for posterity to erect into a college, or seminary of learning, more extensive and suitable to future circumstances." Franklin, it may be said, laid the foundation of the College of Philadelphia, but "William Smith erected and adorned this temple of science." The institution had been chartered in June, 1753, as "The Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia," but in May, 1755, it was re-chartered by the

Proprietaries as "The College, Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia," and it was vested with the power of conferring degrees.

It has with truth been remarked that "Dr. Smith grew gray in literature and the advancement of letters in Pennsylvania." In October, 1757, he began the publication of *The American Magazine, or Monthly Chronicle for the British Colonies*, which was abruptly terminated in October, 1758, in consequence of an arbitrary proceeding on the part of the Provincial Assembly of Pennsylvania. In 1757 and '58 Dr. Smith was also editing a German newspaper, as agent for the educational society established in England, as previously mentioned. Formal complaints having been made to the Assembly respecting the official conduct of William Moore, Esq., of Moore Hall, Chester County, Pennsylvania, President of the Court of Common Pleas of that County, the Assembly applied to Governor Denny to remove him from office. Justice Moore, in his vindication, presented "an humble address" to the Governor, which was expressed in terms which gave great offense to the Assembly—then composed largely of Quakers—and that august body resolved that "it was a libel." Dr. Smith translated the address into German and published it in his paper, and, refusing to make satisfactory acknowledgments to the Assembly for the constructive offense, he, as well as Justice Moore, became the object of Quaker resentment. The offensive address had been published both by Franklin and Bradford in their respective newspapers, but neither of them was molested. January 6, 1758, Justice Moore and Dr. Smith were thrown into the City Jail, where they were detained till the 11th of the next April. During that period the pupils of the College met daily in the jail and received their instruction from Provost Smith, so that the progress of the College might not be interfered with. Upon the reassembling of the House in September, 1758, Messrs. Moore and Smith were re-arrested and held until the Assembly adjourned in the following Winter. Without delay Dr. Smith then went to England, where he presented the case of himself and Justice

Moore to King George II and petitioned for redress. The arbitrary proceedings of the Quaker law-makers were fully exposed, and Dr. Smith was purged of libel.

March 27, 1759, while in England, Provost Smith received from Oxford University the honorary degree of D. D., on the recommendation of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of Durham, Salisbury, Oxford, and St. Asaph. About the same time he received a similar degree from Aberdeen University. Returning to America shortly afterwards, and taking up his duties at the College of Philadelphia, Dr. Smith presided in April, 1760, over the first convention of the American Church in Pennsylvania. In 1761, the Trustees of the College finding that the income of the institution was insufficient to defray the expenses—and having exhausted the sources in the Province from which money could be obtained—determined to make application to the mother country for assistance. With this view they proposed to Dr. Smith that he should proceed to England, where his personal endeavors might be useful in promoting their design. He cheerfully acquiesced, and, being provided with the proper credentials, left his family and embarked for England. The amount which he collected during that visit was more than £6,000 sterling. Concerning Dr. Smith's labors in behalf of the College of Philadelphia at that period Nicholas Murray Butler, LL.D., President of Columbia University, New York, made the following statement in an address delivered before the University of Pennsylvania June 18, 1902:

"The movement to found a college began in New York and in Philadelphia at about the same time. The motives were in each case substantially the same, and representative men in each Colony were interested. Actual instruction seems to have begun in the same year in the institutions that we now know as Columbia University and the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. [Samuel] Johnson, the distinguished scholar who became Columbia's first President [see page 478, Vol. I], had declined a little earlier a call to take the headship of the Academy in Philadelphia, partly on the ground that the distance from his home in Stratford, Connecticut, was too great. On the other hand, Dr. William Smith, who was the first Provost of the College of Philadelphia, had previously lived in New York and had been much concerned with the movement to found a college there.

"Both King's College, afterward Columbia, and the College of Philadelphia, afterward the University of Pennsylvania, sought support from legislative grants, from private gifts, and, as was the custom at the time, from public lotteries. But the funds obtained from these sources did not suffice, and early in 1762 both institutions—though apparently without consultation—dispatched accredited representatives to England to seek aid for the colonial colleges in the mother country. William Smith, Doctor of Divinity, was the agent of the 'College, Academy, and Charitable School of Philadelphia in the Province of Pennsylvania,' and James Jay, Doctor of Physics, was the agent of the 'College of the Province of New York, in the City of New York.' It is noteworthy that both gentlemen, the one a divine and the other a physician, with a business sagacity that we falsely suppose to be peculiar to the very modern captain of industry, hit upon the idea of community of interest. Instead of competing with each other, they agreed to make a joint appeal and to divide the proceeds equally. So it appears that early academic pooling was the forerunner of modern academic reciprocity and co-operation. That the plan worked well may be seen from Dr. Smith's subsequent statement that 'taking the cause of New York along with us, rather than acting in opposition, by which each of us has got double of what we could in that case have hoped for singly.'

"King George III issued a royal brief which was printed and sent in advance to the incumbent of every parish in England that the agents were to visit, in which the two institutions were referred to as two seminaries, distant about 100 miles from each other, begun in two of the most important and populous trading cities in his American dominions, nearly at the same time, and with the same view. The royal brief went on to say that the object in founding the two seminaries had been 'not so much to aim at high improvement in knowledge as to guard against total ignorance, to instill into the minds of youths just principles of religion, loyalty, and a love of our excellent constitution; to instruct them in such branches of knowledge and useful arts as are necessary to trade, agriculture, and a due improvement of our valuable Colonies, and to assist in raising up a succession of faithful instructors to be sent forth not only among our subjects there, but also among the Indians in alliance with us.' The original of this document is to be seen in the library of Lambeth Palace, indorsed by the Archbishop of Canterbury in his own hand—"Brief for New York and Philadelphia Colleges, 19 Aug., 1762."

In 1763 Dr. Smith paid another visit to England, where he was the guest of Thomas Penn (see page 386, Vol. I); during which time he received the degree of D. D. from Trinity College, Dublin, and also had private audiences with King George III—who had ascended the throne some three years previously. Dr. Smith's position in the Established Church, and his frequent visits to England and audiences with the King, made him the object of criticism by both Quakers and Presbyterians, and strong efforts were made to destroy his popularity with the Trustees of the College. He gained the ill-will of Benjamin Franklin, firstly, by opposing the latter's application to Oxford University for the degree of LL. D., and secondly, by advocating the claims of Ebenezer Kinnersly to the discovery of the principles of electricity—which discovery Professor Kinnersly claimed to have communicated to Benjamin Franklin, who had appropriated the same and failed to give due credit for the discovery.

Dr. Smith drew up the charter and fundamental rules for the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, was Secretary of the Society for many years, and was a member of the committee appointed by that body to observe the transit of Venus in June, 1769, and the eclipse of the sun in 1777. About 1764 or '65 Dr. Smith began to interest himself in land speculations in the unsettled parts of Pennsylvania. In 1767 he laid out the present town of Huntingdon upon a tract of land which he owned in what was then Cumberland, and is now Huntingdon, County. He named the town in honor of the Countess of Huntingdon, a lady of remarkable piety and liberality, who, at the solicitation of Dr. Smith during his sojourn in England in 1762, had made a handsome donation to the funds of the College of Philadelphia.

About 1771 or '72 Dr. Smith was sent by the Board of Trustees of the College to South Carolina to collect funds for the institution, and he succeeded in securing more than £1,000 sterling.

There are many strong evidences in William Barton's "Life of David Rittenhouse" (see page 792) of the interest which Dr. Smith took in the advancement of that self-taught philosopher, and Galt, in his "Life of Benjamin West" (see page 139, Vol. I), also makes honorable mention of Dr. Smith. He was the means of drawing West from obscurity, and he bestowed upon him, while yet a youth, instruction which corrected his taste and enlarged his imagination. Dr. Smith's writings were multifarious, for he lived during an eventful period and touched upon most of the important subjects which then agitated the public mind. His writings were generally popular, and his discourses from the pulpit unusually so. He delivered several military sermons, of which that preached in Christ Church, Philadelphia, June 23, 1775, at the request of the officers of Col. John Cadwalader's battalion (the 3d) of Volunteer Militia, occasioned an unusual sensation, both here and in England. In a few weeks it ran through several American editions, and the Chamberlain of London ordered 10,000 copies to be printed at his expense, in so cheap a form as to be sold at two pence each. The sermon was violently condemned by the Tories, and as liberally eulogized by the Whigs. Dr. Joseph Priestley praised it in *The Monthly Review* of August, 1775, and the venerable John Wesley, with one foot in the grave, attempted to reply to it, but in a manner which proved that his faculties had "fallen in the sear."

July 20, 1775—the occasion being the observance of the first "solemn day of fasting and prayer" recommended by the American Congress—Dr. Smith preached a sermon at All Saints' Church, Philadelphia, which caused much criticism, inasmuch as, in praying for the King, he used a modified form of his own composition instead of the words contained in the Book of Common Prayer.

June 18, 1774, Dr. Smith became a member of the Philadelphia Committee of Correspondence, and a month later he was a Deputy in the Provincial Convention of Pennsylvania. During the War for American Independence he delivered various patriotic addresses and sermons before the Pennsylvania Assembly and the Continental Congress, and to the American troops at Valley Forge and elsewhere.

College of Philadelphia, had prepared and published the document in refutation of the claim of Connecticut. Under the date of January 18, 1774, Dr. Smith sent a copy of the abovementioned pamphlet to Dr. William Samuel Johnson, at Stratford, Connecticut, and at the same time wrote to him as follows :

* * "The author [of the pamphlet] you may possibly guess. He says that he is not conscious of having strained a single point, or used a single argument which reason and candour will not justify. * * Whatever some people of little knowledge or influence may have told Colonel Dyer, you may depend that this Province, I may say even *unanimously*, is convinced that Connecticut has not any right to lands within our Charter, nor will it ever obtain any countenance from the Crown for the present intrusions. Some time is requisite to rouse and unite Pennsylvanians in one cause ; but when this is once done, *no People can be more firm or determined !*

"You may have heard that our Assembly were not unanimous in their Resolves. It is true that an alteration was contended for in one of them, lest it might be construed as engaging the Province to bear all the expence—but this being clearly neither intended nor desired, the Resolve passed as you see it, without amendment. In all things else there was a perfect agreement. No tongue was lifted even to suggest a possibility of a *right* on the part of your Colony, and last night an Address was sent to the Governor from the Assembly, without a dissenting voice, containing expressions even stronger than any in the Resolves. This I told you beforehand would be the case. How far your people will venture their Charter in the prosecution of this matter I cannot tell—but no giving way is now to be expected from us, for we think we stand on firm ground, and no delay will be made in bringing the matter before His Majesty. In the meantime it should be the wish and endeavour of every good man to prevent bloodshed ; and this can only be done by keeping back your people from further intrusions, if you are really in earnest to support and prosecute your claim."

In reply to the foregoing letter Dr. Johnson wrote from Stratford to Dr. Smith, in part as follows :

"I am extremely obliged for your favor of the 18th January and the pamphlet which accompanied it. * * From the very cursory reading I gave it I think it is well done, and states the Proprietary arguments in support of their title—or rather those in derogation of the Connecticut title—in a very advantageous point of light. * * * I shall not, I assure you, take up the gauntlet, unless it should be enjoined upon me. I have an infinity of affairs, of much more importance to me to attend to, which I cannot neglect. And of what good are these appeals to the people? The appeal must finally be to Cæsar—or to a greater than Cæsar !" * * *

November 27, 1779, a law was passed by the Legislature abrogating the Proprietary charters of the College of Philadelphia, and removing from office the Provost, Vice-Provost, professors and all others connected with the College; and it was provided that the institution and the corporation should thereafter be known as "The University of the State of Pennsylvania." In the office of Provost Dr. John Ewing, a native of Maryland, succeeded Dr. Smith, and the latter removed to the parish of Chester, Maryland, where he served as rector from 1780 till 1789, and as President of Washington College (founded by him) from 1782 till 1789. In June, 1783, he was elected Bishop of Maryland, but the convention of 1786 refused to sanction the election, and he was not consecrated. In 1789 he was restored to the office of Provost of the University, and he continued to exercise its duties until 1791, when he retired finally.

Dr. Smith was prominent as a Free Mason, having been a member of the Craft for some fifty years. June 24, 1755, he preached in Christ Church, Philadelphia, before a large number of the Brethren of the Craft—assembled in "Grand Communication," with Benjamin Franklin at their head—the first of his many Masonic sermons, which afterwards became historic. This sermon was an earnest exhortation to religion, brotherly love and public spirit. For some time—at least from 1778 till 1782—Dr. Smith was Grand Secretary of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. In December, 1778, Congress being in session in Philadelphia, General Washington visited that city, and on Monday, the 28th of December, St. John the Evangelist's Day was celebrated there by the Free Masons. Some 300 of them, properly clothed and wearing their jewels and regalia, assembled at the College of Philadelphia (on Fourth Street below Arch) and proceeded thence to Christ Church. Washington, as a member of the Craft, marched in the procession, near its head, supported by the Grand Master and Deputy Grand Master. At the church prayers were read by the Rev. William White (then the Rector of Christ Church, and afterwards Bishop of Pennsylvania), and a sermon was preached by Dr. Smith, which was subsequently published in pamphlet form, dedicated to Washington. (For a further reference to this sermon see Chapter XVIII.) Following the sermon nearly £400 were collected for the relief of the poor. After the service the procession returned to the College, "the musical bells belonging to the church, and the band of music attached to Colonel Procter's regiment, playing proper Masonic tunes." The "*Ahiman Rezon*" of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania having been abridged and digested by Dr. Smith, it was adopted by the Grand Lodge November 22, 1781, and in 1783 was published, containing a dedication to General Washington written and signed by Dr. Smith. In December, 1791, Dr. Smith and the officers of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania were appointed a committee to prepare and present an address to their "illustrious Brother, George Washington, President of the United States." This address was written by Dr. Smith, and, having been approved by the Grand Lodge, was formally presented to Washington.

The Rev. Dr. Smith was married June 3, 1758, at Moore Hall, to Rebecca, daughter of Justice William Moore, previously mentioned—an attachment having sprung up between the minister and the maid as a result of the repeated visits of the latter to the City Jail during the confinement of her father and Dr. Smith. William Moore Smith, born June 1, 1759, was the son of the Rev. William and Rebecca (Moore) Smith. He was graduated at the College of Philadelphia in 1775, and later practised law in that city. In 1796 and 1797 he was R. W. Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Pennsylvania. He died at Philadelphia March 12, 1821. The Rev. William Smith died there May 14, 1803. About the time of his death there was published at Philadelphia, in two 8vo. volumes, a collection of his sermons and addresses compiled and edited by himself.

About the time Dr. Johnson wrote to Dr. Smith, as aforementioned, the following extract, from a letter written by a gentleman in Philadelphia to a friend in Connecticut, was published in *The Connecticut Courant*.

"We have nothing more new among us except Dr. Smith's piece on the Connecticut Claim. This is considered by the Doctor himself, and the Government connections, as full and satisfactory on that side of the case, and no one among us can be so hardy as to attempt an answer. The Proprietaries' friends are not pleased to hear any objections or doubts hinted concerning their claim. There is great reason to believe that, during the sitting of our House of Assembly, those members who objected to the propriety of any legislative proceedings on a matter of private proprietary right, thought themselves unreasonably treated within, but more especially out of, doors. The fact is, the Doctor hurried his book, and even had some copies struck off incomplete, for the Members of the House, and they had them two or three days, and made their Resolves, before it was known abroad or the public had the 'Examination of the Case' before them. I believe the generality of our people think the Assembly were imprudent in taking up the matter; but the connection between our great men and great parties is too powerful to be withstood."

According to the Rev. Benjamin Trumbull's "History of Connecticut" (II : 479) the Rev. Dr. Smith's "Examination of the Connecticut Claim" was "officially spread in the Colony [of Connecticut]. The people were thrown into a great ferment. The malcontents were for turning out the gentlemen of the Upper House and forming a new Assembly." In *The Connecticut Courant* of January 18th "proposals" for printing and publishing a pamphlet by subscription were advertised in the following words :

"OBSERVATIONS on a pamphlet entitled '*The Right of the Governor & Company, of the Colony of Connecticut, to Claim and Hold the Lands lying West of the Province of New York*'*—with Critical Notes and Crotchical Remarks, dedicated to The Susquehanna Company. To which will be annexed some *modest observations* on the proprietors of the Susquehanna Purchase who are Members of the General Assembly sitting and voting in matters in which they are immediately concerned; in consequence of which a vote has been obtained to send certain queries to Old England, to the great lawyers there, and also Plenipotentiaries to Philadelphia to treat with Governor Penn relative to those matters—all at the cost and charge of this Colony.

"Price, 9d. to subscribers, with a great allowance to those who purchase numbers to give away; and also to Hawkers and Peddlers.

"Very necessary to be read in all families that pay taxes in this Colony.

"The author proposes the same shall be delivered to subscribers before 1st April next."

According to adjournment the General Assembly of Connecticut met at Hartford on Wednesday, January 12, 1774, and continued in session until Saturday, January 29th. Early in the session the report of Commissioners Dyer, Johnson and Strong, relative to their negotiations with Governor Penn, was presented, and the Assembly ordered that £171, 19s. 11d., lawful money, be paid to the Commissioners for their services and expenses. It was also voted that the salary of Thomas Life, Esq., the Colony's Agent in England, be increased from £50 to £100 per annum, and that he be empowered "to plead, pursue, answer and defend" in behalf of the Colony in all Courts and in all causes and matters relative to the title and claim of Connecticut to the lands granted in the Charter to the Colony from King Charles II. At the same time the Assembly authorized and instructed Governor Trumbull to transmit to Agent Life "all such papers, documents, intelligence, &c., relative to the lands claimed west of the Delaware, as the Governor and the Committee appointed by the Assembly† should be able to collect."

Next, the Assembly passed an Act authorizing and empowering the Governor to issue a proclamation forbidding "all and every person

* See page 770, *ante*, relative to this pamphlet.

† See page 778.

or persons whatsoever taking up, entering on, or settling any of the lands contained and included in the Charter from King Charles II to this Colony, lying westward of the Province of New York, without liberty first had and obtained from the General Assembly of the Colony." January 27, 1774, the Governor's proclamation was duly published in *The Connecticut Courant* and other newspapers.

Finally the Assembly passed the following:

"WHEREAS, the General Assembly of this Colony at their sessions in May, 1771, did resolve and declare that the lands west of the River Delaware, and in the latitude of that part of this Colony eastward of the Province of New York, are well contained within the boundaries and descriptions of the Charter of King Charles II to this Colony; *And Whereas* a large number of people are settled on part of those lands, at or near a place called Wyoming, under the claim of this Colony, and have made their humble application to this Assembly to take them under the protection and government of this Colony; *And Whereas* many persons of suspicious and bad characters, to escape from Justice and to carry on their villainous designs with impunity, do resort to said place to the great disquiet of the well-disposed people settled there, whereby publick Justice may be evaded and Iniquity encouraged.—

"For remedy thereof, *Be it enacted*: That the inhabitants dwelling within the bounds of this Colony, on the west side of the River Delaware, be and they are hereby made and constituted a distinct Town, with like powers and privileges as other Towns in this Colony by law have, within the following bounds and limits, viz.: Bounded east by said Delaware River, north by the north line of this Colony, west by a north and south line across the Colony at *fifteen miles distance west from a place on Susquehanna River called Wyoming*, and south by the south line of this Colony; which town is hereby annexed to the County of Litchfield, and shall be called by the name of WESTMORELAND.

"*Provided, nevertheless*, that no person dwelling in any other town in this Colony shall be liable to be sued before any Justice of the Peace in Said Town of Westmoreland, nor shall any person inhabiting within said Town of Westmoreland be sued or called from thence to answer in any civil action before a Justice of the Peace in any other Town; nor shall the Sheriff of the county of Litchfield, nor any of his deputies dwelling in any other town in this Colony, be compelled to receive any writs to be served in said Town of Westmoreland in any civil action.

"*Resolved*, That the committee appointed by this Assembly to assist his Honor Governor Trumbull in preparing the necessary exhibits and evidences to support the claim of the Colony to the western lands, be, and they are hereby, authorized to engage, procure and employ suitable persons to ascertain the latitudes and longitudes of the north and south lines of the Colony at such places as they shall find necessary and convenient.

"*Resolved by this Assembly*, That Roger Sherman and James Abraham Hillhouse, Esquires, and Mr. Thomas Howell be and they are hereby appointed a committee, upon application to them made to take into consideration the claims and settlements lately made by divers persons on the lands situate on or near the waters of the Susquehanna River within the limits and boundaries of the Charter to this Colony, and to endeavor to adjust and settle with such claimants and settlers what and how much of their respective claims they shall hold and be quieted in under the title of this Colony, and on what terms; * * * and that those people who have been settled within the limits of this Colony on the west side of the Delaware for *more than fifteen years* last past, be quieted in their respective settlements."

The last of the aforementioned resolutions related, of course, to those settlers who had not derived their titles or their "rights" from either The Susquehanna Company or The Delaware Company.

Having erected the town of Westmoreland, the Assembly appointed "Capt. Zebulon Butler and Mr. Nathan Denison* Justices of the Peace

*NATHAN DENISON was born in the Town of Windham, Windham County, Connecticut, September 17, 1740, according to the public records (Book "A," page 170) now preserved at Willimantic. He was the third child and second son of Nathan and Ann (Cary) Denison.

About 1681 William Denison and his wife Margaret, natives of England, immigrated to America with their three sons—Daniel, Edward and George—and settled at Roxbury, Massachusetts. William Denison, who early became Deacon of the Church there—whose first pastor was the Rev. John Eliot, "the Apostle to the Indians"—died at Roxbury January 25, 1653, aged sixty-seven years. George Denison (born in 1618), youngest son of William and Margaret, resided with his parents at Roxbury until his marriage in 1640 to Bridget, daughter of John Thompson, deceased, a native of Preston, Northamptonshire, England, whose widow Alice had come to America and settled in Roxbury. Bridget (Thompson) Denison died in the Summer of 1643, leaving two daughters, and almost immediately afterwards George Denison departed for England, where he joined the Parliament army under Oliver Cromwell. At the battle of Naseby, in Northamptonshire, June 14, 1645, when 7,500 Royalists under Charles I were defeated by 14,000 Parliamentarians under Fairfax and Cromwell, Capt. George Denison was severely wounded. While convalescing he formed the acquaintance of Anne Borodel, born in Corsica in 1615, the only daughter of Mr. John Borodel, an Irish gentleman of wealth. Captain Denison having persuaded Anne to marry



THE OLD NATHAN DENISON HOUSE MENTIONED ON PAGE 788.

From a photograph taken in 1902.

him, and to share his fortunes in the New World, they crossed the ocean early in 1646 and took up their residence at Roxbury, where, July 14, 1646, their first child, John, was born.

In 1651 Captain Denison removed with his family from Roxbury to the infant town of New London (founded by the Hon. John Winthrop, Jr., in June, 1646), on the western bank of the River Thames, near its mouth. December 30, 1652, a grant was made to Captain Denison of 200 acres on the east side of Mystic River, in what was known as the Pawcatuck Plantation, and in the Spring of 1654 he sold his property in New London town-plot and removed to the new settlement. At that time the Colonies of Connecticut and Massachusetts were each claiming jurisdiction in Pawcatuck. In June, 1658, the Pawcatuck settlers—two of whom were Capt. George Denison and Capt. John Gallup (mentioned in the note on page 629, *ante*)—signed "Articles of Association," wherein they did "promise, testify and declare to maintain and defend" with their "persons and estates the peace of the place, and to aid and assist one another according to law and rules of righteousness." The contention of the two Colonies relative to Pawcatuck was adverse to the prosperity and progress of the settlement, and in September, 1658, by the decision of a "Court of Commissioners" Pawcatuck was adjudged to Massachusetts. The privileges of a town were immediately conferred upon the inhabitants of the plantation, and with the new name of Southerton the town was annexed to Suffolk County, Massachusetts. Captain Denison was authorized to solemnize marriages, and the prudential affairs of the town were confided to him and three others.

The Charter of Connecticut granted by King Charles II in 1662 (see page 242, Vol. I) extended the jurisdiction of the Colony to the Pawcatuck River. The title of Connecticut to "Pawcatuck Plantation," or "Southerton," could not now be disputed, and in October, 1664, the General Court, or Assembly, of Connecticut passed an "Act of Oblivion" for all past offenses, implying a contempt of their authority, to all inhabitants of Mystic and Pawcatuck—"Captain Denison only except." His offense was more aggravated than that of the others, for he had continued to exercise his office as magistrate, commissioned by Massachusetts, after the Charter of 1662 was in operation and he had been warned by the Connecticut authorities to desist. In October, 1665, the name of Mystic was given to Southerton, but the General Court at its session in May, 1666, changed the name of the town to "Stonington," which it has ever since borne. At that same session the Court passed an "Act of Indemnity" to Captain Denison, "upon the same grounds as was formerly granted to other inhabitants of Stonington."

In February, 1676, during the progress of King Philip's, or the Narragansett, War, some 200 Connecticut volunteers, belonging mainly to New London, Stonington and Norwich, were formed into companies under Captain Denison, Capt. James Avery (see note on page 662, *ante*), and two other officers, "for the annoyance of the enemy." A number of Mohegan and Pequot Indians (see note, page 193, Vol. I) were engaged to be associated with them "for the sake of plunder and other considerations"—the Mohegans being under the command of *Owaneco*, the son and successor of the great sachem *Uncas*, the faithful ally of the English colonists. Early in March, 1676, the Council of War of Connecticut decreed that such soldiers as should go forth under the command of Captain Denison and the other officers previously referred to "shall have all such plunder as they shall seize, both of persons, or corn, or other estate." Some days later Captain Denison began a very successful incursion into the country of the Narragansetts, and in the course of sixteen days his command killed and captured nearly fifty of the hostile Indians, without the loss of a single soldier. This success was the more important because of the capture of the chief sachem of all the Narragansetts—*Canonchet*, son of *Miantonomoh* and inheritor of all his pride and of his insolence and hatred towards the English. Governor Hutchinson, the early historian of Massachusetts (see page 615, last paragraph), in referring to this campaign against the Indians, wrote: "The brave actions of the Connecticut volunteers have not been enough applauded. Denison's name ought to be perpetuated."

In May, 1676, George Denison was chosen by the General Court of Connecticut to be "Captain for New London County, and second to the Major [John Talcott], commander-in-chief of the army." Captain Denison was a Deputy from Stonington to the General Court in 1671, 1689, 1693 and 1694. It is said that he "had no equal in any of the Colonies for conducting a war against the Indians, excepting perhaps Maj. John Mason." He is further described as having been "the Myles Standish of the Stonington settlement." Miss Caulkins, in her "History of New London," says: "Our early history presents no character of bolder and more active spirit than Capt. George Denison; he reminds us of the border-men of Scotland. In emergencies he was always in demand, and he was almost constantly placed in important public positions."

Captain Denison's death occurred suddenly at Hartford, October 23, 1694, while he was in attendance at a session of the General Court. His widow died at Stonington September 26, 1712, aged ninety-seven years.

Capt. George and Anne (*Borodel*) Denison were the parents of three sons and four daughters, of whom George (born in 1653) was the fourth child. He was married to Mercy Gorham (born in 1659), daughter of Capt. John Gorham and his wife Desire Howland, daughter of John Howland of the *Mayflower* company of Pilgrims. George Denison, Jr., died December 27, 1711, and his wife Mercy died September 24, 1725. Their second child was Joseph Denison, who was born in 1683. He was married February 17, 1707, to Prudence (born in 1669), daughter of Dr. Joseph and Mary (*Avery*) Minor. Joseph Minor (baptized at Hingham, Massachusetts, August 25, 1644) was the fifth child of Lieut. Thomas and Grace (*Palmer*) Minor, who in 1645 removed to New London, Connecticut, from Hingham, and a few years later settled in Stonington. Joseph Minor was married to Mary Avery October 23, 1668. She died February 2, 1698. Joseph and Prudence (*Minor*) Denison lived and died in Stonington, the former dying February 18, 1725, and the latter May 26, 1726. Their fifth child was Nathan Denison, who was born at Stonington February 20, 1716. He was married April 1, 1736, to Ann (born in 1711), daughter of Eleazar Cary, or Carey, of Windham, Connecticut—in which town the newly-wedded pair settled. May 26, 1758, Nathan Denison enlisted as a private in the 1st Company (Eleazar Fitch, Captain, and Elijah Simons, Captain-Lieutenant), 3d Connecticut Regiment (commanded by Col. Eleazar Fitch), mentioned in the eighth paragraph, page 481, Vol. I. Other members of this company, who subsequently became settlers at Wyoming, were Oliver Durkee and Ebenezer Heberd. Nathan Denison was with his company throughout the campaign of 1758, and was honorably discharged from the service November 30, 1758. (See "Connecticut Historical Society Collections," X:54.)

Mrs. Ann (*Cary*) Denison died at Windham May 16, 1776, and Nathan Denison was married March 15, 1778, to Hannah Fuller of Windham. She died prior to 1800, in which year Nathan Denison removed to Kingstons, Wyoming Valley, to the home of his son, where he died March 10, 1808. Nathan and Ann (*Cary*) Denison were the parents of the following-named children (see public records at Willimantic, Connecticut—Book "A," page 170): (i) *Prudence*, born February 11, 1737. (ii) *Joseph*, born November 2, 1738. (iii) *Nathan*, born September 17, 1740. (iv) *Ann*, born November 19, 1742; married to Solomon Huntington. (v) *Eleazar*, born December 24, 1744; married to Susanna Elderkin. (vi) *Lydia*, born April 27, 1747; married to Joshua Elderkin. (vii) *Amos*, born May 31, 1749; died September 19, 1753.

(iii) NATHAN DENISON was, as previously mentioned, born in the town of Windham, where he made his home until his removal to Wyoming Valley. At Windham, December 5, 1768, Nathan Denison, Sr., purchased from John Webb a half-right in the Susquehanna Purchase. January 18, 1768, Mr. Denison conveyed this half-right to his son, Nathan Denison, Jr., and a few days later the latter set out from Windham for Wyoming as one of the "First Forty" settlers—as related on pages 472 and 473, Vol. I. In every chapter of Wyoming history from that time until the death of Nathan Denison, Jr., his name appears. In other words, the history of his life after the age of twenty-nine years is, in a large measure, a logical and chronological record of Wyoming events. Necessarily, therefore, his name is frequently mentioned in these pages in connection with interesting and important happenings. Hence an extended sketch of his life is deemed unnecessary here. In the present writer's "History of Lodge No. 61, F. and A. M.," published in 1897, it is stated (on page 497) that Col. Nathan Denison (Jr.) "did not come here until the

Spring of 1772." What the writer meant to state was that Colonel Denison did not come to Wyoming to stay until the Spring of 1772. This is correct. He was here in 1769, for a while in 1770, and again in January, 1771 (at the time Nathan Ogden was killed), after which he returned to Connecticut and remained there until the Spring of 1772.

When the lands of the "Forty"—later Kingston—Township were allotted in 1770, Nathan Denison received his share and began to make some improvements thereon. Some two years later he took up his residence on his Kingston lands and continued to reside there until his death—excepting that in 1786 and '87, and probably other years about that period, he spent considerable time in clearing up and improving lands which he owned in Springfield Township (now Wyalusing Township, Bradford County, Pennsylvania). On the western bank of Abraham's Creek—which flowed through a part of his land in Kingston Township—Colonel Denison erected in 1790 a commodious and substantial dwelling-house, in which he spent his remaining years and which is still standing. Originally it was painted red, but in 1857 it was repainted white. In later years various improvements were made to the building. It is now, and for some years has been, occupied by Mrs. Sarah Reilay, a granddaughter of Colonel Denison. The house is shown near the right side of the picture facing page 786. It may also be dimly seen through the trees at the left side of the upper picture on page 53, Vol. I. In the assessment lists of Kingston Township for the years 1799, 1800, 1801, and other years, the name and occupation of Colonel Denison appear—uncouthly but unmistakably stated by the Assessor—"Nathan Denison; Distillery and Juge." At a first glance the last word is taken to be "jugs," especially when one considers that jugs are the usual accompaniment of a distillery. At a second glance, however, it is apparent that, in the orthography of the Kingston Assessor, "juge" stood for "judge." As for the appearance of the word "distillery" opposite Colonel Denison's name, it may be stated that in Wyoming Valley in the early part of the nineteenth century nearly every well-to-do farmer maintained upon his premises a distillery, by the aid of which his surplus grain and certain other farm products were transmuted into whisky.

Colonel Denison represented Westmoreland (Wyoming) in the General Assembly of Connecticut at the following-mentioned sessions: October, 1776, May and October, 1778, January and May, 1779, and October, 1780. From October, 1776,

until June, 1783, he was Judge of the Court of Probate for the district of Westmoreland, by appointment of the General Assembly of Connecticut. In 1787, '88 and '89 he was a member of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, and in January, 1791, he was recommended to Governor Mifflin by Colonel Pickering and others for appointment to the office of County Lieutenant of Luzerne County, to succeed Zebulon Butler. August 17, 1791, upon the reorganization of the Courts of Luzerne County under the new Constitution of the State, Colonel Denison was appointed and commissioned one of the four Associate Judges of those Courts. This office he held until his death. Stone, in referring to Colonel Denison ("History of Wyoming," page 227) says: "He was a gentleman of highly respectable talents. * * He was regarded by all who served with or knew him as a brave and faithful officer. After the close of the war he held various important civil appointments under the authority of Pennsylvania, and died at a very advanced age—as eminent for his sweet and unaffected piety as he had ever been for his patriotism—honored, loved and wept by all." Miner says ("History of Wyoming," Appendix, page 18): "Judge Denison, though cheerful in the social circle, never laughed and seldom smiled. His looks were grave, but pleasing—not sad, but externally sedate. Such was the character of all his deportment. His judgment was sound, as his heart was pure; but there was nothing showy about him—no attempt at effect—but all reposed in him, because his integrity was undoubted, while his good sense and intelligence inspired unlimited confidence." As an evidence of the confidence in which he was held by his fellow-citizens it may be stated that in December, 1779, he presided as Moderator at the Westmoreland town-meeting held at Wilkes-Barré, at which time he was chosen Treasurer, one of the Selectmen and one of the School Committee of the town. He was already a Member of the Connecticut Assembly, a Justice of the Peace, and Judge of the Probate Court of Westmoreland. In 1839 a new township was erected out of Hanover Township, Luzerne County, and was named for Colonel Denison.

(Facsimile of Signature written in January, 1783.)

Nathan Denison was married at Wilkes-Barré in November, 1772, to Elizabeth (born at Lyme, Connecticut, November 22, 1750), eldest child of Jabez and Elizabeth (Noyes) Sill. (See a sketch of the Sill family hereinafter.) Miner says ("History of Wyoming," page 140): "The first marriage in Wyoming was that of Mr. Nathan, afterwards Colonel, Denison, and Miss Sill. The Rev. Jacob Johnson was the officiating minister, and the place where the knot was tied, and the nuptials celebrated, was a house * * at the lower corner of River Street, of the Wilkesbarre town-plot." This was the house of Jabez Sill, mentioned on page 729, *ante*. Colonel Denison died at his home in Kingston Township January 25, 1809, and his wife died there April 27, 1812. Their remains have lain in the old cemetery at Forty Fort for many years now—their resting place being marked by the tall shaft shown in the lower picture facing this page.

Col. Nathan and Elizabeth (Sill) Denison were the parents of the following-named children: (i) *Lazarus*, born in 1773; died March 15, 1841. See hereinafter. (ii) *Elizabeth*, born March 7, 1777; married May 28, 1800, to Elijah Shoemaker, as mentioned on page 468, Vol. I; died in 1831. (iii) *Mary*, born January 2, 1779; married November 25, 1802, to Thomas Patterson (see next page); died June 10, 1858. (iv) *Anna*, born February 22, 1783; married to Daniel Turner of Kingston, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, and had one child (George Denison Turner), born December 27, 1809, and died at Hope, New Jersey, April 21, 1897. Mrs. Anna (Denison) Turner died June 4, 1823. (v) *John*, born June 20, 1787, married to Laura Fellows, and settled in Licking County, Ohio; died July 27, 1840. (vi) *George*, born February 22, 1790; died August 20, 1831. See next page. (vii) *Sarah*, born in 1794; married (1st) to Thomas Ferrier; married (2d) to Stephen Abbott, as mentioned on page 723, *ante*; died in 1883.

(i) *Lazarus Denison* was born in Kingston Township, near Forty Fort, in 1773. Charles Miner, in a letter printed in the *Republican Farmer and Democratic Journal* of May 5, 1841, wrote: "Col. Lazarus Denison, if not the first white male child born in Wyoming, was certainly among the number. Upon this point there may be some diversity of opinion, but such was the statement of Mrs. Phoebe Young, one of the earliest settlers of the Valley, whose memory retained with astonishing accuracy almost every incident connected with its stirring history." Except when driven from Wyoming by the Indians and the British in 1778, and a few years later by the Pennamites, Lazarus Denison spent all his life—for the greater part of it engaged in agricultural pursuits—in Kingston Township. In 1810 and 1811 he held, by appointment of Governor Snyder, the offices of Register of Wills and Recorder of Deeds in and for Luzerne County. Prior to 1828 he held the rank of Colonel in the Pennsylvania Militia. Sunday, February 14, 1802, he was married at Kingston to Elizabeth (born in 1777), daughter of Benjamin Carpenter of Kingston, but formerly of Orange County, New York. Colonel Denison died at his home in Kingston January 24, 1841, and his wife died there in 1870. Lazarus and Elizabeth (Carpenter) Denison were the parents of the following-named children: (1) *Hiram*, born in 1803; was at one time a Colonel in the Pennsylvania Militia; died in Kingston August 27, 1868. (2) *Mary*, born in 1804; married November 6, 1832, to Chauncey A. Reynolds of Plymouth, Luzerne County (born December 31, 1803; died November 23, 1868); died in February, 1863. (3) *Wayman Dwight*, born April 21, 1806; died December 3, 1828. (4) *Nathan*, born in 1808; died in 1831. (5) *Benjamin Carpenter*, born in 1810; died in 1854. (6) *Elizabeth Sill*, born in 1812; married in 1848—as his second wife—to Judge William Hancock of



RESIDENCE OF THE LATE HON. CHARLES D. SHOEMAKER, FORTY FORT.

(See note on page 469, Vol. I.)

From a photograph taken in May, 1902.



OLD FORTY FORT CHURCH AND CEMETERY.

The tall monument in the middle-distance marks the grave of Col. Nathan Denison.

From a photograph taken in May, 1902.



Kingston Township (born December 18, 1799; died January 7, 1859); died in 1855. (7) *Sarah*, born March 13, 1814; married to Gilbert Reilay of Troy, New York (born in 1812; died in 1879). (8) *Charles*, born January 23, 1818; died June 27, 1867.

(iii) *Mary Denison*, second daughter of Col. Nathan and Elizabeth (*Sill*) Denison, was born in Kingston Township January 2, 1779, and was married November 25, 1802, to Thomas Patterson. He was born July 7, 1775, in the Parish of Leck, county of Donegal, Ireland, the son of Ezekiel and Elizabeth (*Smiley*) Patterson and the grandson of Archibald and Martha (*Colbert*) Patterson. Having taken part under the leadership of Theobald Wolfe Tone, in the "Rising of '98," fomented and managed by the "Society of United Irishmen" (an organization which had been formed about 1780 to assist Henry Grattan—the great Irish patriot and orator—in the carrying of his reforms, and which was got up and officered almost exclusively by Protestants—many of them young men of rank and influence), Thomas Patterson was forced to flee in disguise from Ireland and seek safety in the United States. He was accompanied by his brother Robert.

About the year 1800 Thomas Patterson located in Wyoming Valley. Later he acquired a tract of land in the township of Huntington, near the present village of Harveyville, and there he settled with his family—engaging in agricultural operations in the Summer-time and teaching school during the Winter seasons. For a number of years—probably ten, at least—he taught in the old Plymouth Academy. Colonel Wright, in his "Historical Sketches of Plymouth," says of Mr. Patterson: "He possessed a very good education; in all the English branches he was very proficient. He had much energy of character, and was a man of strict integrity and honor. * * * I attended his school when he commenced teaching in Plymouth. This was not far from 1817. He was then a man of near fifty, stout, broad-shouldered, and nearly six feet in height. He had a well-developed head, prominent features, a keen blue eye, heavy bushy eyebrows, and, when his countenance was lighted up, he exhibited evidence of great intellectual power." Thomas Patterson died at his home near Harveyville April 29, 1844, and his wife died there June 10, 1858. Thomas and Mary (*Denison*) Patterson were the parents of the following-named children—all of whom were, undoubtedly, born in Huntington Township. (i) *Nathan Patterson*, born September 5, 1803; married February 10, 1828, to Susan Letchworth; died May 18, 1882, at Summit Hill, Carbon County, Pennsylvania, where, and at Mauch Chunk, he had been engaged in business for many years. (ii) *Thomas Patterson*, born February 15, 1806; married February 12, 1833, to Ann M., daughter of Joseph E. Haff (of Lehman Township, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania), and settled at Mauch Chunk, Pennsylvania; died in Huntington Township, Pennsylvania, August 18, 1874. (iii) *Elizabeth Denison Patterson*, born March 17, 1803; married January 27, 1831, to Derrick Aten Bowman; died November 28, 1843. (iv) *Ezekiel Montgomery Patterson*, born May 6, 1810; married November 20, 1855, to Henrietta Deeth; lived for the greater part of his life in New Brunswick, New Jersey, of which city he was elected Mayor in May, 1860. He was a man of wealth and influence. He died at New Brunswick February 8, 1891. (v) *Mary Ann Patterson*, born January 22, 1812; married January 17, 1841, to John D. Thompson, M. D. (who died at Mauch Chunk, Pennsylvania, August 19, 1854). (vi) *Robert Sill Patterson*, born May 22, 1816; married September 27, 1857, to Minerva Trescott; died in Huntington Township March 28, 1871. (vii) *Sally Patterson*, born June 27, 1819; married September 22, 1847, to Richard Sharpe (born at Langham, Rutlandshire, England, April 10, 1813; died at Wilkes-Barré April 21, 1895), for many years a prominent and successful business man in Carbon County, and then in Luzerne County, Pennsylvania. Mrs. Sally (*Patterson*) Sharpe died June 14, 1905, at Princeton, New Jersey, where she was temporarily residing—her home being in Wilkes-Barré. (viii) *John Denison Patterson*, born December 23, 1821; married (1st) February 11, 1852, to Margaret Riley (who died June 30, 1853); married (2d) September 29, 1855, to Margaret Shotwell. John D. Patterson died June 6, 1903, at Easton, Pennsylvania, where for many years he had been prominently and successfully engaged in business.

(vi) *George Denison*, youngest son of Col. Nathan and Elizabeth (*Sill*) Denison, was born in Kingston Township February 22, 1790. He received his education in the primary schools near his home, and in the Wilkes-Barré Academy, where he was a student in 1808 and '09. In 1810 and '11 he was a clerk under his brother in the offices of Recorder of Deeds and Register of Wills of Luzerne County, and January 30, 1812, he was himself appointed by Governor Snyder to those offices for a term of three years. Having pursued, meanwhile, the required course of legal studies, he was admitted to the Bar of Luzerne County April 7, 1813. From 1811 to 1814 he was Clerk of the Town Council of the borough of Wilkes-Barré, and subsequently, for many years, a member of the Council—serving as President in 1823 and 1824.

In 1815 and again in 1816 he was elected one of the two Representatives from Luzerne County to the State Legislature. In 1818 he was elected to represent in the XVIIth Congress of the United States the district comprising Luzerne County. He entered upon his duties December 6, 1819, being the first resident of Luzerne County to sit in the National House of Representatives. In 1820 he was elected to serve a second term in Congress. During his first term he took a very prominent part in the debates on the admission of Missouri to Statehood—urging, with much force and eloquence, that slavery should be prohibited in the new State. Upon his retirement from Congress in March, 1823, Mr. Denison returned to the practise of his profession at Wilkes-Barré, and in the following January was appointed Deputy Attorney General for Luzerne County. In 1827 he was again elected as one of the Representatives from Luzerne County to the State Legislature, and in that office he was continued, by successive re-elections, until his death. From May, 1829, until May, 1830, he was Burgess of the borough of Wilkes-Barré. November 9, 1814, he became a member of Lodge No. 61, F. and A. M., and was Master of the Lodge in 1818 and 1819.

George Denison was married at Wilkes-Barré May 30, 1816, by the Rev. Samuel Phinney to Caroline (born in 1798), daughter of Ebenezer and Esther Ann (*Watson*) Bowman of Wilkes-Barré. (See a subsequent chapter for a sketch of the Bowman family.) George Denison died at Wilkes-Barré August 20, 1831, and his wife died here July 1, 1833. (For a more extended sketch of the life and services of George Denison see the present writer's "History of Lodge No. 61, F. and A. M.," published at Wilkes-Barré in 1897.) George and Caroline (*Bowman*) Denison were the parents of three sons and one daughter, of whom the following-named grew to maturity: *Mary W. Denison* (who died at Wilkes-Barré August 19, 1842, aged eighteen years); *George B. Denison* (born about 1820 and died March 12, 1843, while in his third year as a theological student at the Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary of Virginia, near Alexandria) and *Henry Mandeville Denison*. The latter was born July 29, 1822, in Kingston Township, where his parents were then temporarily living. He was graduated A. B. at Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in 1840, and the next year entered the Virginia Theological Seminary mentioned above. Here he was graduated in July, 1844, and shortly afterwards was ordained deacon by Bishop Mead. In 1845 he was temporarily in charge of the Protestant Episcopal Church at Greenville, and then at Pendleton, South Carolina. Thence he removed to Prince George County, Virginia; then to Bruton Parish, Williamsburg, Virginia, and afterwards to Brooklyn, New York, where he served as assistant minister to the Rev. Dr. Stone for about a year. In 1853 he resided again in Williamsburg, occupied with an agency of the Virginia Bible Society. In the latter part of 1853, or early in 1854, he became rector of St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church at Louisville, Kentucky; and during his incumbency there he was instrumental in founding St. Andrew's Church in that city. About March, 1857, he accepted the rectorship of St. Peter's Protestant Episcopal Church at Charleston, South Carolina, and removed thither.

As a bold, uncompromising preacher of the gospel, Henry M. Denison occupied a prominent position in the Protestant Episcopal Church. There was a dashing manliness about him which made men, and men of the world, listen to him. He was a man of superior intellectual ability, well-trained, accustomed

(Facsimile of signature written in June, 1823.)

for the County of Litchfield until the first day of June," 1774, and directed that they be commissioned accordingly. The following resolution was then passed:

"Resolved by this Assembly, That Zebulon Butler, Justice of the Peace for the County of Litchfield, be, and is hereby, authorized and directed to issue a Warrant as soon as may be to notify the inhabitants of the TOWN OF WESTMORELAND in said County to meet at such Time and place as he may appoint within said Town, to choose Town Officers and to do any other Business proper to be done at such meeting."

The town of Westmoreland, as erected by the Connecticut Assembly—in the manner just described—comprised the whole of the territory which had been purchased from the Indians by The Delaware Company (see page 293, Vol. I), but only a small part of that which had been purchased by The Susquehanna Company. This extensive and unique town* was by all odds the biggest town, territorially, possessed by any Province or Colony on the Continent. Its bounds are clearly shown on the map facing this page—the eastern boundary being the Delaware River, the western boundary being indicated by the line ~~oooooooooooooooooooo~~, running north and south fifteen miles west of Wilkes-Barré, and the northern and southern boundaries being the forty-second and forty-first parallels of latitude, respectively. Within these bounds were situated the settlements of Parkbury, or Lackaway,†

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Henry M. Denison was married in Charles City County, Virginia, July 16, 1850, to Alice, daughter of the Hon. John Tyler, tenth President of the United States, and his first wife, Letitia Christian. Mrs. Denison died at Louisville, Kentucky, June 8, 1854, and Mr. Denison—"not deserting, in a time of fearful pestilence, the flock entrusted to his charge"—died of yellow fever at Charleston September 28, 1853. Mr. and Mrs. Denison were the parents of one daughter, who, at the time of her father's death, was some four or five years of age.

(8) *Charles Denison*, youngest child of Col. Lazarus and Elizabeth (*Carpenter*) Denison, was born in Kingston Township January 23, 1818. He was graduated A. B. at Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in 1839, and then entered upon the study of law at Wilkes-Barré, where he was admitted to the Bar of Luzerne County August 13, 1840. In October, 1862, he was elected, as a Democrat, to represent in the XXXVIIIth Congress the district comprising the counties of Luzerne and Susquehanna. He was re-elected in 1864 and again in 1866. He became a member of Lodge No. 61, F. and A. M., January 30, 1855, and a member of Shekinah Royal Arch Chapter, No. 182, April 19, 1856. He was married May 7, 1845, to Ellen Elizabeth Huling of Lewistown, Pennsylvania. Mr. Denison died at his home on West Union Street, Wilkes-Barré, June 27, 1867, and his wife died in Wilkes-Barré June 20, 1882. They were the parents of one son and three daughters who grew to maturity. Upon the formal announcement in the Halls of Congress, July 10, 1867, of the death of Mr. Denison, eulogies on the deceased were delivered in the House by Representatives Randall, Miller, Getz and Van Trump, and in the Senate by Senators Charles R. Buckalew and Simon Cameron.

Relative to the death and funeral of Mr. Denison the following paragraphs were printed in *The Record of the Times*, Wilkes-Barré, July 3, 1867: "The funeral of the Hon. Charles Denison took place on Sunday afternoon last at three o'clock. His death, which took place on Thursday morning at about nine o'clock, caused the most profound regret, not only among his immediate neighbors and friends, but throughout this whole section, as the announcement of his demise spread amongst the people. His funeral was more numerous attended than any ever known in the Valley. The concourse of mourning friends at the house was immense, and hundreds turned away from the funeral procession unable to obtain conveyance to the burial-ground at Forty Fort, where his remains were conveyed, and where repose the ashes of his ancestors and connections. There were 134 conveyances in the funeral train, including coaches, band-wagons, and almost every available conveyance. The remains were followed to the grave by the Masonic Fraternity of this place and neighboring towns, and the solemn rites of the Order were performed at the last resting place of the beloved and distinguished Brother."

"Such an universal expression of regret and mourning was never exhibited at the demise of a citizen of this Valley, and it will perhaps be many a long year before Death claims from our midst one more beloved, revered and respected than he whose death it is our painful duty to chronicle."


* See note on page 248, Vol. I, relative to the Connecticut system of towns.

† Wallenpaupack Creek, the boundary, in part, between the present counties of Wayne and Pike, is a large branch of the Lackawaxen River. By the early settlers this creek was indiscriminately called the "Lackawack," "Lackaway" and "Lackawa." In 1778 settlers from Connecticut, under the auspices of The Delaware Company (previously mentioned), laid out two townships in what are now the counties of Wayne and Pike—one they called "Bozrah," and the other "Lackaway." The latter township lay along Wallenpaupack Creek, and within its bounds was the settlement called Parkbury (or Parksbury, as it was sometimes written); while the township of Bozrah lay farther north—the Lackawaxen River flowing through its southern half. In Egle's "History of Pennsylvania" (page 1,149) it is stated that "in 1774 [it should be 1773] the Connecticut adventurers laid out farms lying along the [Wallenpaupack] Creek for a distance of four miles and a-half, and extending back to the mountains a distance of one mile. These were allotted to the settlers, and, for the most part, are still owned by their descendants. In the following year [1775], about half of the settlers were arrested, at the instance of Governor Hamilton [*sic*], as 'Connecticut intruders.' On their way to Faston they entered into a written obligation with their captors, in consideration of being released, to resign all claims to the lands they were occupying, and in future to pay due obedience to the laws of Pennsylvania, and, if required, march for the defence of American liberty."



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MAP OF A PART OF PENNSYLVANIA AS IT IS TO-DAY.

- Showing (1) The bounds of The Susquehanna Company's Purchase — + — + — + — + — + — + — +.
- (2) The bounds of The Delaware Company's Purchase — D — D — D — D — D — D — D.
- (3) The original western boundary of the town of Westmoreland — ooooooooooooooooooooo.
- (4) The western boundary of the town of Westmoreland, as extended in May, 1775 — ~~~~~.
- (5) The western boundary of the town of Westmoreland as established in December, 1775 (see page 864) — w — w — w — w — w.
- (In October, 1776, this became the western boundary of the County of Westmoreland, then erected, as described on page 907.)
- (6) The Fort Stanwix Treaty Line (in part) — s — s — s — s — s — s — s.

Cushetunk and other points in what are now the counties of Wayne and Pike, as well as the settlements at and near Wyoming.

According to an official census of the inhabitants of Connecticut taken as of January 1, 1774,* by order of the General Assembly, we find that the Colony had a population of 191,392 whites and 6,464 blacks, or a total of 197,856 souls. Of the six counties of the Colony Litchfield was fifth in population—having 26,845 whites and 440 blacks, or a total of 27,285 souls. Including Westmoreland Litchfield comprised eighteen towns, or townships, and in respect of population Westmoreland stood *seventh*, with 1,922 whites and no blacks.

It seems scarcely believable that, within but little more than two years after the New Englanders had regained possession and control of the Wyoming region, they should have increased so largely in number. However, 736 of their number were children under ten years of age—as shown by the following table compiled from the detailed census report relative to Westmoreland.†

	UNDER 10 YEARS OF AGE.	BETWEEN 10 AND 20 YEARS.	BETWEEN 20 AND 70 YEARS.	ABOVE 70 YEARS.	TOTALS.
Males,	384				384
Females,	352				352
Males married,		11	313	9	333
Males single,		176	141	1	318
Females married,		17	262	7	286
Females single,		166	78	5	249
Totals,	736	370	794	22	1,922

January 31, 1774, Governor Trumbull wrote to Governor Penn, giving him official information concerning the steps which had been taken by Connecticut with relation to "the inhabitants dwelling within the bounds of the Colony on the west side of the River Delaware," and making this further statement ‡ :

"These Acts are made and passed by our Assembly for the protection and government of the inhabitants on the lands mentioned, to preserve Peace and good Order among them, to prevent hostilities, animosities and contentions among the people there, to promote public Justice, to discourage Vice and Iniquity, and to put a stop to Intruders entering on those lands."

Under the date of February 17, 1774, the Rev. Dr. Smith wrote from Philadelphia to Dr. William Samuel Johnson, at Stratford, as follows :

"I have received your Governor's proclamation forbidding *all* persons from sitting down on the controverted lands, without the leave of your Government. By this it would seem that even *our* people as well as *yours* must ask leave of Connecticut to settle on those lands. I was in hopes that your Assembly intended only to restrain the further emigrations of their own people; and in that case those who have already emigrated might possibly have continued, without much disturbance, until a decision of the controversy by His Majesty—which for the sake of the peace of America will certainly not be long delayed. * * * You say the Connecticut hive must swarm. So will it be with Pennsylvania in less than thirty years. Even by natural generation we have people enough to fill all this Province in that space of time, if no stranger more should ever come among us from Europe. Why then cannot you leave us to our own Laws and our own spot of country? America is wide enough. We do not wish your people to be without room. Let them, *as was their first plan*, apply to the Crown. We will wish you success, and the Crown, surely, on some reasonable terms, would give land to industrious American settlers who really want more room.

"I am glad you think the '*Examination of the Connecticut Claim*' drawn up with that temper which the discussion of such a public matter requires. * * * I

* See page 777, *ante*.

† See "Colonial Records of Connecticut," XIV : 490, and *The Connecticut Courant* of June 7, 1774.

‡ See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," X : 151.

have some lands pretty high on Delaware [River], which I purchased about ten years ago, and which I presume may fall where your people claim. I purpose to visit them early in June next, and shall bring with me an excellent instrument now fitting up by Mr. Rittenhouse,* for taking latitudes; and, as there need be no secrets in these matters, our friend Colonel Dyer himself, or any of his people I may chance to meet, shall be made to understand the use of the instrument. * * You might run across from Delaware to Susquehanna in two days by means of it, keeping certainly within half a mile of the beginning of any particular degree or minute, all the way."

A few weeks later Dr. Smith wrote again to Dr. Johnson, as follows:

"I propose to be at Bethlehem 22d May, and the day after to be up Delaware as far as Van Camp's and Gonzale's Mill. If any of your people, that have a tolerable mathematical skill, should be either at Bethlehem or up Delaware at that time, I shall *honestly* shew them and give them the use of the instrument for a limited time, as Mr. Rittenhouse cannot make another at present for my purpose; nor can we easily, by written directions, teach the use of it—which, however, is exceedingly easy and fully to be depended on by a little practice. * *

"Tho' you claim our lands, and *threaten* to take part of our country from us, yet, where *the advancement of science* is concerned, we have no War with you. I think all these exorbitant New England claims will at last unite all the rest of America against them, and hurt the general cause. Our prayer here is—Long may the mother country continue our *umpire*, to prevent our dipping our hands in each other's blood! No cool, disinterested man in Connecticut can ever dream that such a Charter and Constitution as yours will be suffered by the Crown to be extended beyond its old fixed limits. * * * Why, then, *risque* your own Constitution and disturb us? I cannot help repeating it—If you want room, why not ask for land of the Crown, *west of us*? Except on the Susquehanna, about Wyoming, the country you want from us is exceedingly broken * * a stony, broken, pine wilderness, with here and there some good intervale lands on the runs and rivulets."

In *The Connecticut Courant* of February 22, 1774, the following address to the public was printed:

"The transactions of the Susquehanna Company are become a matter very interesting in their consequences to this Colony. We have been repeatedly told the Colony should not be put to any expense on that account, and that they would by no means be meant to involve the Government in a controversy with Mr. Penn. At length it appears, notwithstanding their repeated assurances, that, by selling rights to some and giving to others, they have so increased their numbers that the General Assembly could not procure a vote of the House to exclude the members of The Susquehanna Company from sitting and voting in that very case in which they were immediately interested; by which means a vote has been obtained for the Government to take upon themselves the defence of our title to those lands, and have accordingly transmitted the state of the case, to gentlemen learned in the law in Great Britain, for the resolution of certain questions by them put; the answers to which queries, contained in less than twenty-five lines, has cost this Colony more than £100 sterling.

"Upon the receipt of said answers, commissioners have been sent to Philadelphia to treat with the Governor of that Province relative to those lands—the execution of which commission has, by the Assembly, been allowed at £171, 19s. 11d. Since which, that Honorable House, after *long* and *mature* deliberation, at the very close of the session—the greater part of the Assembly being returned to their homes (there being but sixty Members present)—formally incorporated the Susquehanna Purchase into a township by the name of WESTMORELAND. * * * We are told the greater part of the last session was spent on those matters relative to that purchase. The cost and expense of the adjourned Assembly, which we trust may be justly charged to the account current of The Susquehanna Company, I think may not be computed at a less sum than £600.

"To appease the present murmurs of the people, who dread the expense of a litigation with Mr. Penn (as they have the remembrance of the Mason case, which lasted about forty or fifty years, still fresh in their minds), they now throw out sugar-plums and tell us those lands will sell for immense sums—that our Treasury will be greatly enriched—that the Colony never need pay any more taxes; by which weak minds may be deceived. * * * *Wherefore*, many of the Freemen of this Colony are very desirous that the Selectmen of the respective towns in this Colony would early warn legal town-

* DAVID RITTENHOUSE (1732-1796), a native of Germantown, Pennsylvania, who, from about 1733 till 1770, resided at Norriton, Pennsylvania, and then removed to Philadelphia. In 1751 he built a workshop at Norriton and began to manufacture clocks and mathematical instruments. In 1767 he projected his famous orrery. He was appointed with the Rev. Dr. Smith and others to observe the transit of Venus in June, 1769. In 1774 he was appointed, with Samuel Holland, of New York, to determine the boundary-line between New York and Pennsylvania. He held during his life many public offices. He is credited with having introduced the use of spider lines in the focus of the transit instrument.

meetings, in order to elect one or two members in each town to meet at Middletown on the last Wednesday of March next, in order to consult on measures proper to be pursued to evade the evils which we apprehend will attend our present measures. * * *

[Signed] "MANY."

Under the date of February 24, 1774, Governor Penn wrote from Philadelphia to Governor Trumbull—in reply to the latter's communication of January 31st (see page 791)—in part as follows:

"I have received your letter informing me of the proceedings of your Government with respect to the Colony's claim of lands within the Province of Pennsylvania, and particularly of your having erected a Town within certain Boundaries, and annexed it to your County of Litchfield. In my turn, I must acquaint you that the jurisdiction of this Province hath been extended over this Town by Acts of our Assembly, and a very great Part of it hath been granted to the inhabitants of this Province, and paid for long before your Colony ever determined to set up their claim. Some of the people who purchased have settled their lands, and the others have a right to settle them; so that, however your proceedings may be intended to preserve Peace and Good Will, and to prevent Hostilities, Animositities and Contentions, I fear they will have a contrary Effect.

"In my opinion, a much more probable Method of promoting those valuable Ends would have been a forbearance to exercise Acts of Government in that part of the Province of Pennsylvania until your new Claim had been heard and adjudged to have any real foundation, by His Majesty in Council, before whom you say you are preparing to lay your case. I shall do everything in my power to avoid Contentions and Disorders among His Majesty's subjects. At the same time both my Duty and Interest will prompt me to assert the Rights of this Government and support its lawful Jurisdiction; and if any disagreeable consequences shall follow the Proceedings your Colony have adopted, I shall not look upon myself to be at all chargeable with them."

Four days later Governor Penn, by and with the advice of the Provincial Council, prepared a public proclamation which was duly published in the *Pennsylvania Packet* (Philadelphia) of March 7, 1774, and probably in other newspapers. It was also printed in the form of a broadside*, copies of which were widely distributed throughout the counties of Northampton and Northumberland. In this proclamation the Governor called attention to the various recent "resolves" of the Pennsylvania Assembly relative to the Connecticut-Pennsylvania imbroglio, and then set forth: "*Whereas*, I have received information that a certain Zebulon Butler, under pretence of authority from the Government of Connecticut, hath lately presumed to issue and disperse through the counties of Northampton and Northumberland a Summons, or Advertisement," reciting the Acts erecting the town of Westmoreland and appointing him (Butler) a Justice of the Peace, and requiring the inhabitants of the town to meet in Wyoming on a day mentioned; "Now I do strictly prohibit and forbid the inhabitants of the said counties to yield any obedience, or pay the least regard whatsoever, to the aforesaid Summons. * * And I do, in His Majesty's name, charge and command all persons whatsoever within the said counties to yield due submission and obedience to the laws of this Government." "This proclamation," says Chapman ("History of Wyoming," page 112), "appears to have been regarded with as little attention by the inhabitants of Wyoming as would have been a royal edict issued by the King of Spain."

Pursuant to the directions contained in the summons, or "warrant," issued by Zebulon Butler early in February, 1774, as authorized and directed by the General Assembly of Connecticut (see page 790), those settlers under The Susquehanna Company within the bounds of the newly-erected town of Westmoreland, who possessed the elective

* An original copy of this broadside is No. 137 of the "Penn Manuscripts," previously mentioned.

franchise,* assembled at Wilkes-Barré on Tuesday, March 1, 1774. The original minutes of that meeting read in part as follows:

"At a town meeting legally warned and held for Westmoreland, March ye 1st, 1774, for choosing town officers, &c., Zebulon Butler, Esq., was chosen Moderator for the work of the day. Maj. Ezekiel Peirce was chosen Town Clerk.

"*Voted*, That this meeting is adjourned until to-morrow morning at this place, at eight of the clock in ye forenoon.

"*March ye 2d, 1774*, this meeting is opened and held by adjournment.

"*Voted*, That ye town of Westmoreland be divided in the following manner into districts—that is to say, that ye town of Wilkesbarre be one entire district, and known as *Wilkesbarre District*; and that ye town of Hanover, and all the land south of Wilkesbarre and [bounded] west on the Susquehanna River and east on the Lehigh, be one district, by ye name of *Hanover District*. And that Plymouth, with all ye land west of Susquehanna River, south and west to the [Westmoreland] town line, be one district, by ye name of *Plymouth District*; and that Kingston, with ye land west to ye [Westmoreland] town line, be one district, by ye name of *Kingston District*; and that Pittston be one district, by ye name of *Pittston District*; and that Exeter, Providence, and all the

*At the period under consideration, as well as at an earlier period, the inhabitants of Connecticut who possessed the elective franchise were called *freemen*. Not all inhabitants were freemen, but all freemen were inhabitants. In 1774 the statute laws in force in Connecticut relative to inhabitants and freemen, and the election of town officers, were as follows: "*Whereas*, several persons of ungoverned conversation thrust themselves into the towns of this Colony, and by some under-hand way—as upon pretence of being hired servants, or of hiring lands or houses, or by purchasing the same—endeavor to become inhabitants in such towns. And *Whereas*, persons are sometimes entertained and set to work by those who live in the skirts and obscure places of said towns, out of the view and observation of the officers of the town—whereby much inconvenience doth arise, such persons often proving vicious, and chargeable and burthensome to the place where they come—which to prevent, it is enacted:

"That no person shall be received or admitted an inhabitant in any town in this Colony but such as are known to be of an honest conversation, and shall be accepted by the major part of the town; or by the Authority in, and Selectmen of, the town. That no stranger or transient person shall be allowed to reside and make his or her abode in any town in this Colony (apprentices under age and servants bought for time excepted) upon pretence of hiring or being hired, or of tenantry, or inmates, without the approbation of the Authority in, and the Selectmen of, such town.

"If any person or persons shall, contrary to the intent of this Act, entertain or hire any stranger or transient person, or let any house or land to such stranger or transient person—except he or they shall first give security, to the acceptance of the said Authority and Selectmen, that such town shall not be burthened and charged by him or them—he or they so entertaining or hiring or letting any house, &c., shall forfeit and pay to the Treasurer of the town ten shillings per week for every week he or they shall harbor, entertain, hire, etc.

"No transient person or inhabitant of any other Colony, who may come to reside in any town in this Colony, shall gain a legal settlement in such town by dwelling there, unless admitted by a major vote of the inhabitants of the town, or by the consent of the Civil Authority in, and the Selectmen of, said town; or unless said person shall be appointed to and execute some public office, or have been possessed in his own right, in fee, of real estate of the value of £100 in such town. * * * Any inhabitant of any town in the Colony may, for the better support of himself or family, have liberty to remove with his family into any other town in the Colony, and continue there without being liable to be removed, provided such person procure a certificate in writing, under the hands of the Civil Authority in, and the Selectmen of, the town from whence he removes, that he is a legal inhabitant in that town."

The law required that the Town Clerks should enroll the names of all freemen in their respective towns. "No person," declared the law, "shall be admitted freeman but in the open freeman's meeting of the town whereto he belongs, regularly assembled. All such inhabitants of this Colony as have reached the age of twenty-one years, and have the possession of freehold estate to the value of forty shillings per annum, or £40 personal estate in the General List of Estates in that year wherein they desire to be admitted freemen; and also are persons of a quiet and peaceable behavior, and civil conversation, may, if they desire it—on their procuring the Selectmen of the town wherein such persons inhabit, or the major part of them, to certify that the said persons are qualified as abovesaid—be admitted and made free of this Corporation, in case they take the oath provided by law for freemen. If any freeman of this Corporation shall walk scandalously, or commit any scandalous offence, it shall be in the power of the Superior Court * * * to disfranchise such freeman, who shall stand disfranchised till, by his good behavior, the said Court shall see cause to restore him to his franchisement."

From 1769 till 1776 the oath of a freeman was in the following form: "You, —, being by the Providence of God an inhabitant within this His Majesty's Colony of Connecticut, and now to be made free of the same, do swear by the ever-living God that you will be true and faithful to His Majesty King George III, and to his lawful successors; and to the Government of His Majesty's said Colony, as established by Charter. And whensoever you shall give your vote or suffrage touching any matter which concerns this Colony—being called thereunto—you will give it as in your conscience you shall judge may conduce to the best good of the same, without respect of persons or favor of any man. So help you God!" (In May, 1776, the foregoing form was changed by the elimination of all words relating to the King and his Government.) Having taken the oath the name of the newly-admitted freeman was duly enrolled in the list of freemen.

At the period written of the law of Connecticut relative to the election of town officers was as follows: "The settled and approved inhabitants of every town, qualified, and having estate as provided, shall have power to make such orders, rules and constitutions as may concern the welfare of their town.

* * * The settled and approved inhabitants shall, some time in December, annually, meet upon notice given by the Selectmen, and shall choose a convenient number (not exceeding seven) of their inhabitants—able, discreet, and of good conversation—to be Select- or Towns-men, to take care of and order the prudential affairs of their town; also, one Town Clerk, Town Treasurer, Constables, Surveyors of Highways, Fence Viewers, Listers (not exceeding nine), Collectors of Rates, Leather Sealers, Grand Jurors, Tything-men, Haywards, Chimney Viewers, Gaugers, Packers, Branders of Horses, Sealers of Weights and Measures, Key Keepers, and other ordinary town officers." The officers as above-mentioned having been duly chosen, the Selectmen were required to "forthwith see that those officers, of whom an oath" was by law required, should be summoned and sworn. Any person chosen to fill an office, and refusing to take the oath and serve (provided he were "able in person to serve"), was required to pay the sum of twenty-six shillings to the Town Treasurer. Any person not duly qualified, who should "presume to vote, act, deal, or intermeddle," contrary to the laws governing the election of officers, &c., was, upon conviction, required to pay fifteen shillings for each offense.

† Wilkes-Barré Township, as described on pages 516, 517 and 656.

lands west and north to ye [Westmoreland] town line, be one district, by ye name of *North District*; and that Lackaway settlement, and Blooming Grove, and Shohola be one district, to be called by ye name of *Lackaway District*; and that Cushetunk, and all ye settlements on Delaware [River], be one district, and joined to ye other districts and known by ye name of *East District*."

"Christopher Avery, Nathaniel Landon, Samuel Ransom, Isaac Tripp, Esq., Caleb Bates, Lazarus Stewart and Silas Park were chosen *Selectmen* for ye year ensuing. Isaac Tripp, Esq., refused to accept; John Jenkins was chosen Selectman in ye room of Esq. Tripp. Captain Stewart refused to accept; Roasel Franklin was chosen Selectman in ye room of Captain Stewart.

"Zebulon Butler, Esq., was chosen *Town Treasurer*.

"Asa Stevens, Timothy Smith, Jonathan Haskell, Asaph Whittlesey, Noah Adams, Phineas Clark and William Smith were chosen *Constables and Collectors of Rates*.

"Anderson Dana, Daniel Gore, Elisha Swift, Thomas Stoddart, Thomas Bennet, Peren Ross, Rufus Lawrence, Samuel Ransom, Jonathan Parker, Isaac Baldwin, Zavan Tracy, Elijah Witter, John Ainsley, William Hibbard, James Lasley, John De Witt, John Jenkins, Jr., Aaron Thomas, Anthony Chimer, Abraham Russ, Benjamin Van Campen and Benjamin Harvey were chosen *Surveyors of Highways*.

"John Abbott, William Warner, Ezekiel Peirce, William Buck, Nathan Denison, Esq., Thomas Stoddart, Frederick Eveland, John Baker, Charles Gaylord, Samuel Slaughter, Abraham Harding, Capt. Zebulon Parrish, John Jameson and John Gardner were chosen *Fence Viewers* for ye year ensuing.

"Anderson Dana, Daniel Gore, Elisha Swift, Eliphalet Follett, Peren Ross, Nathan Wade, Jeremiah Blanchard, Zavan Tracy, Uriah Chapman, Gideon Baldwin, Silas Gore, Moses Thomas, Emanuel Consawler, John Jenkins and Phineas Clark were chosen *Listers* for ye year ensuing.

"Elisha Swift, Ebenezer Heberd and Capt. Silas Park were chosen *Leather Sealers* for ye year ensuing.

"Jabez Sill, James Stark, William Buck, Elias Church, Phineas Nash, Thomas Heath, Barnabas Carey, Lemuel Harding, Hezekiah Bingham, John Franklin and Timothy Keyes were chosen *Grand Jurors* for ye year ensuing.

"Philip Weeks, Elihu Williams, Luke Swetland, Justus Gaylord, James Brown, Isaac Parrish and Timothy Hopkins were chosen *Tything-men*.

"Jabez Sill, Capt. Obadiah Gore, Capt. Silas Park and Capt. Lazarus Stewart were chosen *Sealers of Weights and Measures*.

"Daniel Gore, Jabez Fish, Timothy Peirce, Uriah Stevens, Thomas Heath, Jeremiah Blanchard, Jonathan Haskell and Cyrian Hibbard were chosen *Key Keepers*."

The following is a copy of a letter written from "Wilkesbarre (Westmoreland), March 3d, 1774," to the printer of *The New London Gazette*, and published in that paper :

"On Tuesday the 1st instant was a general meeting of the Town of Westmoreland, at which was a considerable concourse of people for the season. The meeting being opened with prayer, and a word suited to the occasion, Zebulon Butler, Esq., was unanimously chosen Moderator, Maj. Ezekiel Peirce, Town Clerk. The town being divided into proper Districts, was filled up with town officers, according as the law directs. The whole was conducted in good order, and with great dispatch. The Proclamation of Governor Trumbull* being read at the meeting, was gratefully acknowledged with the acclamation of three huzzas, &c.

"Every thing at present looks smiling upon us. The River is now broke up; boats, battoes, &c., passing and repassing. The thick covering of snow, which has been about three feet deep, is going off the ground apace. The weather very mild and moderate for the season. Though several have been sick (with fevers and pleurisies), only one, a child, has died—with the Rattles. Though the Winter has been remarkably severe for the country (which is commonly moderate even in the Winter), and though much corn and hay had been spent here by the inhabitants, and by many that have visited us, yet have I heard of no Indian corn being sold for more than 2s. per bushel, and some under—and even the best of corn. There has been ten couples married here—three last Summer, seven this Winter—and sundry others read off for Marriage. The country fills up fast; not only from divers places crowding in here, but also by increasing among ourselves."

Miner, referring to the erection of the town of Westmoreland, says ("History of Wyoming," page 153): "This most desirable event was hailed by the people with unbounded satisfaction. Venerating the law, they now felt that it pervaded the settlement with a holier sanction than their own mere agreement, or the resolutions of The Susquehanna Company, could impart. To all intents and purposes—in name

* See page 786.

as well as in fact—a portion of the ancient, high-standing Colony of Connecticut, eminent for order, learning and piety, the character of the parent was now felt to be officially imparted to this, her true, though distant, offspring. Moreover, the distinct legalization of what had before been done, and the pledge of protection for the future, implied in the extension of her laws to the settlement, were regarded as points attained of great importance. A sense of security existed; a feeling of confidence ensued, which gave force to contracts, encouraged industry and stimulated enterprise.”

Stone (in his “History of Wyoming”, page 184) says: “The laws of Connecticut were extended over the settlements; representatives from Westmoreland were admitted to sit in the General Assembly, and all necessary regulations for the due administration of the local affairs of the settlements were made. But Governor Penn and his Council beheld these movements with high displeasure.”





CHAPTER XII.

THE ACTION OF THE CONNECTICUT ASSEMBLY RELATIVE TO THE
"WESTERN LANDS" CAUSES DISSATISFACTION AND DISSENSION—
THE WESTERN LIMITS OF WESTMORELAND EXTENDED—THE
TWENTY-FOURTH REGIMENT, CONNECTICUT MILITIA, ORGAN-
IZED AND ESTABLISHED—EXPULSION OF THE YANKEES
FROM THE WEST BRANCH REGION BY THE PENNA-
MITES—THE PLUNKET EXPEDITION AGAINST WYO-
MING, AND THE BATTLE AT "RAMPART ROCKS."

"'Tis a rough land of earth and stone and tree,
Where breathes no castled lord or cabined slave;
Where thoughts and tongues and hands are bold and free,
And friends will find a welcome, foes a grave;
And where none kneel, save when to Heaven they pray,
Nor even then, unless in their own way."
—Fitz-Greene Halleck's "*Connecticut*."

A lawfully-warned meeting of The Susquehanna Company was held at Windham, March 9, 1774, Col. Elizur Talcott presiding as Moderator, and Samuel Gray serving as Clerk. Among the various matters of business attended to were the following:

"*Whereas*, The General Assembly, at their sessions in October last, required the several Companies and settlers, who have made purchases of the native right to any part of the western lands within the limits of the Charter, * * to lay the state of their purchase before the General Assembly, that, whenever the title to said lands is determined in favor of this Colony, such part of their respective purchases may be granted them as shall be a reasonable compensation for the cost, trouble and expense in purchasing and settling the same, as by this Assembly shall be thought fit and reasonable. * * *It is Voted*, That Jedidiah Elderkin, Nathaniel Wales, Jr., and Samuel Gray, of Windham, and Alexander Wolcott, of Windsor, Esquires, and Mr. Joseph Trumbull, of Norwich, be a Committee fully to state the Company's claim to that part of said lands purchased by said Company to the committee appointed by the General Assembly, or the General Assembly to be held at Hartford in May next.

"*And Whereas*, the expenses that may arise in disputing the Colony's title to the Western lands are objected by many against the Colony's prosecuting their title, * * *Voted*, that said Committee be, and they are hereby, directed to propose to the General Assembly, or their Committee, that this Company have now voted a tax of 24 shillings, lawful money, on each whole share, and 12 shillings on each half-share in this Company's Purchase, which will amount to £1,600 lawful money, * * to be paid over to the Colony's Treasurer by the first of January next, towards defraying the expenses already arisen, or that may hereafter arise, in the dispute with Mr. Penn concerning said lands, as an equitable consideration for the Crown title to the lands within the Company's Purchase. And in case any of the proprietors of this Company shall not punctually pay up the said sum of 24 shillings on their whole right, or 12 shillings on their half-right, by the first of January next, they shall forfeit their said rights or shares to

the Colony; except orphans, or such as may be absent beyond the sea—*Provided*, only, that the Colony prosecute their claims to their Western lands within the limits of their Charter, and grant the said Company the Crown title to the land within their Purchase. * * *

"*Whereas*, it is said that the names of sundry persons are inserted in the deed to said Company of the Indian title, *who have never claimed any interest therein, or paid any taxes granted thereon*, and who, though named in said deed, or enrolled in the records of said Company, have treated the same with neglect, and wholly failed to pay their taxes, and are now moving for liberty to pay their taxes and to have certificates granted so as to enable them to take up lands; and *Whereas*, on consideration of the case, it appears to this meeting that the taxes granted amount to but a small part of the expense which those proprietors have been at who have been active in presenting the claim of said Company to said lands; *Yet, nevertheless*, this meeting being desirous of promoting harmony among the proprietors, and willing that all who are now desirous should be benefited by their purchase, do therefore *Vote*: That whenever any persons named in said deed, or enrolled in said records, who have neglected to pay their taxes aforesaid, shall apply to the Clerk of said Company for a certificate, the same shall be granted on the following conditions, namely: That such persons so applying pay to the Treasurer of said Company all the taxes granted by said Company, and the lawful interest thereon, and also a further sum of £10 lawful money—excepting only orphans and those absent beyond seas. * * *

"*Whereas*, this Company formerly voted that those proprietors that should survey and take up townships on their rights in the Susquehanna Purchase should have twenty settlers settled in such towns within two years after the laying out of such towns; *and whereas*, the settlers have met with such opposition and hindrances that it has not been possible for said proprietors to settle in such towns within said term, and that great opposition still remains. *It is now Voted*, That the proprietors that have, or shall take and lay out, towns in said Purchase according to the votes of this Company, shall have three years from the time of taking up and surveying such towns. * *

"*Voted*, That twenty dollars be paid to Mr. [William] Speedy.

"*Voted*, That William Judd, Increase Moseley, Silas Dean, John Owen and Eliphalet Whittlesey be added to the Standing Committee.

"*Voted*, to print Doctor Stiles' piece."

"Doctor Stiles' piece," referred to in the last of the abovementioned votes of The Susquehanna Company, was an address "to the candid public," which had been written by the Rev. Ezra Stiles, D. D. (subsequently President of Yale College), in answer to the pseudonymous letter signed "Many" which had been published a short time previously. (See page 792.) In pursuance of the vote of The Susquehanna Company Dr. Stiles' address was printed in the form of a broadside by Timothy Green of New London early in March, 1774, and was immediately distributed throughout Connecticut. The address was carefully and well written, and answered in detail the many fallacious statements of "Many." It read in part as follows:

"In Hartford and New Haven papers is published a piece signed 'Many.' * * The measures adopted by the author of that piece to alarm the people and excite a spirit of dissension and discord, are in themselves so very extraordinary, and the facts referred to so totally void of the least colour of truth—as they stand in their connection—that a plain narrative of the true state of the matters he refers to may be necessary to undeceive the judicious Freemen of the Colony, and expose the latent designs of that author, who covers himself under fictitious names and characters, that his person as well as his falsehoods may not be exposed to the just resentment of an abused and injured people."

In *The Connecticut Courant* of March 15, 1774, there appeared a communication from Samuel Gray, Clerk of The Susquehanna Company, setting forth in detail the action taken by the Company on March 9th with respect to taxing the shareholders for the purpose of raising an amount of money to be paid to the Colony Treasurer. In the same issue of the *Courant* there was printed a letter from the Hon. Jared Ingersoll,* dated at Philadelphia, March 7, 1774. The writer asked the

*JARED INGERSOLL, mentioned on pages 395, 405, 488 and 585, was born in Milford, Connecticut, in 1722, the sixth child and third son of Jonathan and Sarah Ingersoll. He was graduated at Yale College in 1742, and shortly afterwards settled in New Haven. Having been admitted to the Bar he attained, within a dozen years, a prominent position as a lawyer. As early as 1757 he held the office of King's Attorney for New Haven County, and in May, 1758, was appointed by the General Assembly Agent for the Colony at the Court of Great Britain. He repaired to London, where he arrived in January, 1759, and continued there in the performance of his duties until May, 1760, when he resigned his office. He remained in England,

editors to insert his letter in the *Courant* as his "answer" to all that had been, or that might thereafter be, published in the New London and other newspapers respecting him and the part he had taken in the affairs of The Susquehanna Company. Continuing, Mr. Ingersoll said:

"When I went to England in 1758 a gentleman [the Hon. Daniel Edwards, mentioned on page 282], now deceased, furnished me with a copy of the Act of Assembly in favor of The Susquehanna Company, desiring that I would inform myself, in the best manner I could, of the sentiments of people in power, and others, in England upon the matter. [See page 395.] * * *

"The affairs of that Company have taken various turns since that time, through the whole of which I have never taken any part, or troubled myself with their concerns, until the last Summer, when, being at my former home in New Haven, I accidentally met with a pamphlet, wrote on the side of the Susquehanna claim, addressed to 'J. H., Esquire.*' In this performance I found mention made of ancient memorials respecting the history and title of the Colony, some of which were quite new to me. This put me upon searching more fully into the matter, the consequence of which was that I *became more convinced than ever* of the groundlessness of the Colony's claim to the western lands; and in order to preserve the train of my own ideas of the matter I committed them to writing. The materials and papers which I had thus collected I obtruded upon none; at the same time I showed them freely to every one who desired to see them, and one of the Susquehanna gentlemen took a complete copy of the piece which I wrote. * * * Dr. [William] Smith, Provost of the college here, came to me and requested a sight of them, informing me that he was writing upon the subject of the Susquehanna Claim. Other gentlemen applied to me for the same purpose. * * *

"After due consideration I concluded to deliver to Dr. Smith, to be published, the records and papers which were in the nature of proofs, as I had been able to collect them. * * I also gave him the manuscript which I had wrote on the subject, for him to make use of as he thought proper. * * * I am not in the secrets of the counsels of this Province, nor am I actuated by any lucrative or sinister views. I have believed the people were going wrong, therefore have I spoken. I have an interest in the Colony and have a right to speak; and I wish, since there is to be a dispute between the two Colonies, that the same may be carried on on both sides with a temper and spirit becoming men, who shall appear to act from principle and not from wild enthusiasm or party heat. * *

however, until the Summer of 1761, when he returned to Connecticut. In the Autumn of 1762 he was elected a member of the Council, or Upper House of the Assembly, of Connecticut. In October, 1764, he went to England on private business, and while there accepted the office of Stamp Distributor, or Agent, for Connecticut. He returned home in July, 1765.

In satisfaction for the humiliating treatment which he received at the hands of the "Sons of Liberty" (as previously related), Mr. Ingersoll was subsequently appointed by the Home Government Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty in the Middle Colonies, with a salary of £600 sterling per annum. His commission arrived from England in January, 1769, and as his duties required that he should reside in Philadelphia he removed thither with his family in April, 1771. The breaking out of the War of the Revolution put an end to his judicial employment, but he continued to reside in Philadelphia until September, 1777, when, on account of his sentiments and proclivities as a Loyalist, he incurred the displeasure of the Pennsylvania Government and was obliged to remove from the State. He returned to New Haven, where he lived until his death, August 25, 1781, at the age of fifty-nine years.

Jared Ingersoll was married August 1, 1743, at Branford, Connecticut, to Hannah, eldest child of the Hon. Joseph and Hannah (*Trowbridge*) Whiting of New Haven. She died October 8, 1779, aged sixty-six years, and Judge Ingersoll was married January 6, 1780, to Hannah, daughter of Capt. Samuel and Sarah Miles of New Haven. By his first wife Judge Ingersoll had four children, three of whom died in infancy. The fourth child—*Jared Ingersoll, Jr.*—was born at New Haven October 24, 1749, and was graduated at Yale College in the class of 1766. He studied law with his father, and in 1771 removed with his parents to Philadelphia, where he continued his legal studies under the direction of the Hon. Joseph Reed, and was admitted to the Bar April 26, 1773. In 1774 he went to London and thence to Paris, where he continued his legal studies. Returning to America late in 1778, after the removal of his parents to New Haven, he settled in Philadelphia, where he was re-admitted to the Bar in April, 1779. During the Revolution, although the son of a Loyalist, he zealously supported the cause of the Colonists. In 1780-'81 he was a Member of Congress from Pennsylvania, and in 1787 was a member of the convention which framed the Constitution of the United States. In 1790, upon the adoption of a new Constitution by Pennsylvania, he was appointed Attorney General of the State, and held the office until 1799. In the Autumn of 1811 Simon Snyder was re-elected Governor of Pennsylvania as a Democrat, defeating the Federal candidate by a large majority. "There was not at that time in Philadelphia," states John Binns in his "Recollections," "a Democratic lawyer known to the Governor. The latter dwelt with much and entire satisfaction on the high character of Jared Ingersoll, Esq., and expressed a determination to appoint him [Attorney General to succeed Richard Rush], if that gentleman would accept." He did accept, and was appointed to the office in December, 1811. In 1812 Mr. Ingersoll was the candidate of the Federal party for Vice President of the United States. Later he held the office of United States Attorney, and from 1820 until his death was President Judge of the District Court of Philadelphia. At the time of Judge Ingersoll's death (in 1822) it was declared that "no man had ever done more honor and service to the Bar of Philadelphia" than he.

Jared Ingersoll, Jr., was married in December, 1781, to Elizabeth Pettit of Philadelphia, who bore him four sons, three of whom survived him. The eldest of these three was Charles Jared Ingersoll. He was an earnest supporter of the War of 1812, and was one of the strongest advocates of American rights upon this continent. He was a Member of Congress from 1813 to 1815, and from 1841 till 1849. In 1815 he was appointed United States Attorney for the District of Pennsylvania. He was the historian of the War of 1812, and the author of numerous pamphlets, among which was the celebrated "Inchiquin The Jesuit's Letters."

Joseph R. Ingersoll, the third son of *Jared Ingersoll, Jr.*, attained high rank in the legal profession, and for a considerable number of years served as a Member of the United States House of Representatives. In 1852 he was appointed Minister to England.

*Mentioned on page 770 *ante*.

"There are certain people at this time who, if a word is said against dear Susquehanna, behave as if they thought an open attack was made upon their honor and their property, and impute all that is said to the worst motives. They can charge nothing of the kind upon me but what I may just as well charge upon them; with this difference, however, that they have confessedly a personal interest in the matter, while I have none. * * Shame on those, then, who, under feigned names in newspapers, attack those who venture to oppose them—not with arguments (this would be fair and right)—but with abuse, and even with intimidation. They do not consider that it is equally in the power of others to trace the conduct of the principal leaders and managers among The Susquehanna Company through all their negotiations for twenty years past; and with the help of a few groundless reports, ill-natured hints and wicked innuendoes, to explain their motives, their views and their conduct in a manner that would do them little honour. But I will not myself so far forget the rights of humanity as to follow the vile example."

The action taken by the Connecticut Assembly, the letter of Jared Ingersoll, that of the writer whose pseudonym was "Many," and various comments which were printed in the newspapers, relating to the lands west of the Delaware, produced considerable tumult and faction in the Colony. The Susquehanna Company had its opposers from the start, and they, as well as many other citizens who previously had taken no particular interest in the matter, now asserted that the claim of the Colony was unfounded. These malcontents readily adopted the suggestion of "Many" (see page 792), that a convention of delegates from the various towns of the Colony should be held at Middletown "to consult on measures to be pursued to evade the evils" which were apprehended. At the written request of more than 200 citizens of New Haven the Selectmen of that town ordered a town-meeting to be held at the State House in New Haven March 10, 1774. Upon that day the number of the inhabitants who assembled was so great that, owing to the smallness of the State House, the meeting was adjourned to the Brick Meeting-house. By "a very great majority" it was then and there voted, "that it is the opinion of this town that this Colony's extending their jurisdiction over those lands west of New York, on the Susquehanna River—and challenged by Mr. Penn—without first prosecuting their claim before His Majesty in Council, will be tedious, expensive, and of dangerous tendency." The meeting then appointed a committee to represent New Haven at the convention at Middletown. The following account of a town-meeting held at Fairfield, Connecticut, March 14, 1774, is taken from the *Pennsylvania Packet* of April 4, 1774.

"At a legal town-meeting held this day in this town, the question relating to the Colony's claim to the western lands, called Susquehanna, and the dangerous consequences that it is feared will follow from the Colony's undertaking to assert their claim thereto, and exercise jurisdiction and government there, as lately resolved, were considered, when G. S. Silliman* and Jonathan Sturges† were chosen a committee to repair to Middletown on the last Wednesday in this month, to meet and confer with the committees from the other towns in this Colony as to what measures it may be most prudent to adopt, to prevent those dangerous consequences. * * The meeting was the fullest that hath almost ever been known in this town on any occasion."

Stratford, and other towns in the central and south-western parts of Connecticut, held meetings similar to those held at New Haven and Fairfield, and on Wednesday, March 30, 1774, delegates from twenty-three Connecticut towns met in convention at Middletown. Upon the adjournment of this convention a full report of its proceedings, including a petition addressed to the General Assembly, was printed in the shape of a broadside, copies of which were freely disseminated throughout the Colony. An original copy is now in the possession of Mr. James

* GOLD SELLECK SILLIMAN, a graduate of Yale College in the class of 1752. He died in 1790.

† A graduate of Yale College in the class of 1759. In 1806 he received the degree of LL.D. He was a Member of the Continental and United States Congresses, and a Judge of the Superior Court of Connecticut. He died in 1819.

Terry of New Haven (previously mentioned), and it reads in part as follows:

"At a meeting of the Comtees of 23 towns in this Colony at Middletown March 30, 1774, appointed by their respective towns to confer together on the present *alarming situation* of this Colony, respecting the public measures lately pursued by the Honorable General Assembly respecting SASQUEHANNAH MATTERS, & to prepare a Petition and Remonstrance to be presented to the next General Assembly; * * Whereupon it was voted that the annexed petition and remonstrance be printed and dispersed through all the towns in this Colony, that the general sense of the Public may be fully had thereupon. * * *

"Your Honours' Remonstrants beg leave, with the freedom of ENGLISHMEN and the duty of subjects, to lay their grievances before your Honours, the principal of which—and from which, as from its source, all other grievances are derived—is, that the proprietors of The Sasquehannah Company (who claim the lands over which the Jurisdiction is extended) who were Members of the last Assembly and deeply interested in the questions discussed and determined, were suffered to, and did, sit and act in said Assembly in those very matters in which they were so deeply interested, and for which their partners—settled on said lands under their votes and for their benefit—were suitors to said Assembly. * * * We will not take up your Honours' time to prove their interest and partiality in the present case, since it is so apparent and notorious that not a Freeman in the Colony can be ignorant of it. * * *

"Your Remonstrants beg leave to say that it is not *men* but *measures* they regard. They have no personal dislike to the gentlemen who are members of that Company. They would think themselves warranted to complain in any case where men, the best of men, with the same interests and prejudices were admitted to debate and decide. * * Your Remonstrants beg leave to shew to your Honours that they conceive the extension of jurisdiction to those lands by the last Assembly was of dangerous—and, in their apprehension, may be of *fatal*—tendency. The title of the Colony to those lands is contested; should the same, on trial, be found effective, we conceive the Colony might justly be charged with usurping an unwarrantable jurisdiction and misusing and abusing their chartered powers and privileges—and thereby a pretence be furnished for depriving us of our dearest rights and privileges—at this time especially impolitic, when debates run high between the Parent State and her Colonies. Again, our humanity is shocked when we consider what bloody tragedies may ensue from the clashing of opposite jurisdictions, actually exercised, or attempted to be exercised, within the same limits.

"We apprehend that great numbers of subjects in this Colony, taught as they are from their youth to place the highest confidence in the Legislature, will be by the Acts of the last Assembly tempted to transport themselves and their effects, and settle on said lands pending the controversy about the title, and will waste their personal estate in improvements of said lands; and, in case the title of the Colony should finally fail, they would be reduced to abject wretchedness, despondence and poverty there, or fall back on this Colony, by thousands, in extreme penury, to waste the residue of their lives a burden to themselves and an expence and a dead weight upon the community—by which means the support of the poor, already a heavy burden, will become intolerable. * * * We pray your Honours to exclude the proprietors of The Sasquehannah Company from a voice on these matters, and reconsider the aforesaid votes and doings of the Assembly in October and January last; and, as we are willing to do justice to all men, let The Sasquehannah Company, by their counsel, be admitted to have a public and open hearing upon the aforesaid matters, which we esteem of the highest and last importance. In the meantime, we humbly hope that the inhabitants of the new-made TOWN of WESTMORELAND may be suspended from interfering in the voting—being represented—or otherwise transacting in the affairs of Government during such term as the title of the Colony to the same is in suspense and undecided."

At Lebanon, Connecticut, under the date of March 24, 1774, Governor Trumbull wrote to Governor Penn of Pennsylvania as follows:

"*Sir*: I received your letter of 24th of February last. It is with pleasure I observe that you will do everything in your power to avoid contentions and disorders among His Majesty's subjects. A great number of people, possessed of and settled on a part of the lands of the Colony of Connecticut, at or near a place called Wyoming, lying west of the Delaware, within the boundaries and descriptions of your Royal Charter, made their application to our Assembly for protection and government. In consequence thereof, the town of Westmoreland was made, constituted, and assigned to our County of Litchfield, thereby forbearing the exercise of our jurisdiction over a great number of others who have more recently entered under grants from the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, and claim other parts of the land belonging to Connecticut. It is not to be doubted that your power and influence may prevent the attempt of others to settle under your claim, and the disagreeable consequences which may follow the want on your part of a similar forbearance towards the people of Westmoreland until a legal and constitutional decision of the point may be obtained, which both you and Mr. Wilmot, Solicitor of the Proprietaries, have acquainted us they will never decline.

"It is the duty of our Governor and Company, in faithfulness to the trust reposed in them, to assert and support the rights of this Government, and its inhabitants. They do not look upon themselves chargeable with any fault for their exercise of jurisdiction over the people who inhabit land they have good reason to think themselves entitled to by legal purchase from the Aborigines, true proprietors thereof, and hold the unerring possession of under the right of preemption, for the benefit and within the limits of this Colony. I am to acquaint you that several gentlemen from hence, by virtue of an Act of Assembly, are employed and instructed to ascertain the latitudes of places beyond Delaware River. They design to set out the 18th of next month for that purpose.

"I am, Sir, with truth and regard, your obedient, humble servant,

[Signed] "JONATHAN TRUMBULL."

In *The Connecticut Courant* of April 5, 1774, the following burlesque advertisement was printed.

"A State race to be run for the Royal Plate (on which the arms of this Colony are engraved) by the young horse 'Westmoreland' against the old horse 'Charter,' at Hartford on the second Thursday of May next. It is said that very extraordinary bets are laid, and in such a manner that every Freeman in the Colony is interested in the event. 'Westmoreland' is a horse of great spirit and fierceness, and very long legged; it is thought he will run with great vehemence, and will be crowded hard by the jockies. 'Charter' has been an excellent horse in his day, more valued for his good carriage and elegance of form than largeness of size, and, when mounted by a good rider that understood his temper, hath performed well and scarce ever was distanced. However, he was forced into a race with the horse 'Purchase' last season, when not at all prepared, and having been rid hard the day before, and also obliged to carry the weight of numbers—which by no means should have been suffered—when the race was won he got worsted, which sunk his spirits very much and occasioned his legs to swell, and is not yet recovered so as to be quite fit for another race. However, his spirits recruit daily, and it is thought if he can have a good rider, and such a number of steady friends on the spot as to see that he has justice done him, he will perform as well as ever." * * *

In the same issue of the *Courant* as the foregoing the following article was printed:

"The affair of Susquehanna has of late been much the subject of conversation and scribbling, but many of the pieces have been stuffed with puns and ridicule to cast an odium on one side and the other. 'Tis well known that The Susquehanna Company have been unremittedly worrying and teasing the General Assembly for near twenty years past to give up the Government's right to the western lands into the hands of that Company. The Government have always told them, '*We have no right*, and will not pretend to give you any.' * * * Is it not well known that the Company consists of *two sorts of men*? The first sort, men of large fortunes, who, if the Colony obtains, intend to make tenants of the middling sort of people in this Colony, and they and their families live in affluence on the labors of their poorer brethren. The other sort, bankrupts and men of desperate fortunes who intend to go there to dwell and get small estates without paying anything for them, as they have no estates here to pay rates for, having spent them in riotous living and extravagant schemes. They say they have nothing to lose if the Company fails in the suit.

"Are not many of the Company the inhabitants of the Provinces of New York, Massachusetts and Rhode Island? * * * Strange that this Company should endeavor to control this whole Government. They say they can secure the voice of the *east* side of Connecticut River, and their friends on the *west* side in the several towns will so divide them as to make a majority. They will, by threatening printers, and threatening to remove Courts, affright many; and they have their emissaries in almost all our towns, who endeavour to flatter the Freemen they will remove the [Yale] College if they will help them in this scheme about Susquehanna. 'Tis said the College is already *promised to six towns in Hartford County*! * * * They take much pains to exclaim against Mr. [Jared] Ingersoll, and they fear him more than all Pennsylvania. And why? I answer, because he knows the futility of the claim better than almost any one else. He was their Agent in England, and saw and was told there was not the least shadow of probability of the Colony's obtaining the land. They declaim much against the Middletown meeting, * * * and the common cant of the friends to Susquehanna is, that *the people on the west side of the Connecticut River are fools and madmen!*" * * *

In the *Courant* of April 5, 1774, appeared also the first of a series of letters written by the Rev. Benjamin Trumbull*, A. M., of North

* BENJAMIN TRUMBULL was born at Hebron, Connecticut, December 19, 1735, son of Benjamin and grandson of Benoni Trumbull, who was a descendant of John Trumbull of Rowley, mentioned on page 470. Benjamin Trumbull was graduated at Yale College, A. B., in 1759, in the same class with Jonathan Sturges and the Rev. Enoch Huntington, hereinbefore mentioned. He studied theology with the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock, hereinbefore mentioned, and in 1760 was ordained pastor of the Church at North Haven, Connecticut. In 1762 he received the degree of A. M., and in 1796 the degree of D. D., from his Alma Mater. He was the author of a "A Complete History of Connecticut from 1630 till 1764," first published in two volumes, in 1797. He was also the author of a "General History of the United States of America." He died at North Haven, Connecticut, February 2, 1820.

Haven, Connecticut, in support of The Susquehanna Company, and the claim of Connecticut to the western lands. These letters, which ran through several numbers of the *Courant*, were written principally in reply to Jared Ingersoll's letter (see page 799), and the pamphlet (previously mentioned) and various newspaper articles published by the Rev. Dr. Smith. Subsequently, in 1774, these Trumbull letters were collected together by their author, and, after some revision and additions, were published by Thomas and Samuel Green of New Haven in a post 8vo pamphlet of 161 pages, entitled: "A Plea in Vindication of the Connecticut Title to the Contested Lands lying West of the Province of New York. Addressed to the Public. By Benjamin Trumbull, A. M."* In his introduction to these letters Mr. Trumbull wrote:

"A cause of equal magnitude and importance with that now depending between the Colony of Connecticut and the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, relative to the western lands, was, probably, never litigated in North America."

In a note printed in the pamphlet Mr. Trumbull stated:

"As Dr. Smith, in a late publication in *The Pennsylvania Gazette* and *New York Gazetteer*, has injuriously insinuated that the Governor of Connecticut was acting at the head of a party, and that there were great numbers in Connecticut opposite to the measures of the last Assembly, &c., I have thought it but an act of justice due to their Honors, and to the Colony in general, to say: The country for which we contend is part of the inheritance and birthright left us by our fathers. They encountered almost every danger, endured all manner of hardships, toiled and bled to obtain and transmit it, with the most ample immunities and privileges, to their posterity. Shall we give up the inheritance of our forefathers without a trial? By no means! Let us like men—like the descendants of ancestors so truly noble and heroic—arise and vindicate our title. Justice and faithfulness, not only to ourselves but to our posterity, no doubt require it.

"These, most certainly, have been the sentiments of the Honorable General Assembly. Upon the most mature deliberation, and after they had obtained the opinion of counsel of the first eminence in the Nation, in the Law Department, they, *in full House*, asserted their claim to the controverted lands, and, with a great degree of unanimity, appointed a committee of both Houses to make report of the measures, &c. They made a report, advising all the measures which have been since adopted by the Legislature. As they have so maturely taken up the matter, it is to be presumed that they will prosecute it to effect. Especially may this be effected, since the freemen of the Colony have given such a *public testimony of their approbation* of the measures which have been taken, by a re-election of the Governor and the honorable gentlemen of the Council Board—by far the greatest number of votes ever brought in for any Governor or Council in this Colony."

Mr. Trumbull subsequently stated (in his "History of Connecticut," II: 479) that when he wrote the aforementioned letters he was "wholly unconnected with The Susquehanna Company and uninterested in it," but that having "made a large collection of papers and documents relative to the Company," he wrote the letters "merely for quieting the people and maintaining the peace of the Colony." The Rev. Dr. Smith was not to be quieted, however, by the letters of Benjamin Trumbull, for almost immediately following the publication of the first letter he prepared a long and carefully-written article entitled "The Examiner, No. 1," which was printed anonymously in *The Pennsylvania Gazette*. It read in part as follows:

"When I first undertook to state and examine the late claim set up by the Colony of Connecticut to part of the Province of Pennsylvania, I determined to treat the subject with all that candor, gravity, and fairness of argument which seemed requisite. I am engaged in no scheme inimical to the people of Connecticut, or to their civil Constitution. If it be a Constitution that pleases them, and they will not disturb their neighbours with it, I am content they should enjoy it, although it be not such a one as I would have made my choice to live under. Nay! further, if they are straitened in their bounds, and want more land for their growing numbers (which I believe to be the case), I could even be pleased with their success in any application they may make for *ungranted lands*, to be settled by them under their own or some other civil Constitution.

*The original manuscript of this pamphlet is now owned by Mr. James Terry, of New Haven, previously mentioned.

"But if, instead of pursuing this method, they will violently invade our rights in Pennsylvania—who, in a few years, will be as much straitened for room as themselves—they must expect from us every species of opposition in our power. They must not be surprised if we endeavour to shew the weakness of their claim, and expose the rotten parts of that Charter which they want to stretch over us and so great a part of His Majesty's lands on this Continent! With this view the pamphlet intitled 'An Examination of the Connecticut Claim'* was drawn up, and I flattered myself that whatever abilities might be on the side of that party in Connecticut—who have instigated so unrighteous an encroachment upon a neighboring Province—would be called forth in answer to the pamphlet and in defence of their proceedings. But great was my astonishment to find that, although the Connecticut newspapers for months past have been filled with pieces written about their claim, yet they are so miserably defective in argument, as well as common English, that, in commiseration of the authors, I shall let them rest in obscurity, and confine myself to what is given as their *Masterpiece*, namely: certain papers published in *The Connecticut Journal* [*sic*] and subscribed 'Benjamin Trumbull.'

"I am the more willing to enter the lists with this gentleman because, being nephew to the Governor†—the *great patron of The Connecticut Susquehanna Company*—he may be presumed to have been fully possessed of all the arguments which they have to offer in support of their claim. Let me now tell him—what may perhaps be yet a secret to the Colony in general, that those very lawyers whose opinions have been so much bandied about in Connecticut, *viz.*: Mr. Thurlow, Attorney General, Mr. Wedderburn, Solicitor General, and Mr. Dunning,‡ are retained by the Honorable the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania to defend the Charter rights of this Province before His Majesty in Council, whenever the Connecticut claimants can be dragged to that equitable tribunal."

At Philadelphia, under the date of April 11, 1774, Governor Penn wrote to Governor Trumbull as follows:§

"Sir: I have your letter of the 24th March by the post. My sentiments of exercising the jurisdiction of this Government in every part of the Province, and the impropriety of extending your jurisdiction within our bounds before you have laid your claim before His Majesty, are so plainly expressed in the several letters I have wrote you, and in those which passed between your commissioners and me, that they need not be repeated; and I cannot but think it strange that you should persist in attempting to support a possession gained from the people of this Province in a course of absolute hostility, before your Government had made any claim to the lands within the bounds of this Province. It appears to me that your taking latitudes at or beyond the Delaware within the bounds of this Province is premature; and, that no Act of your Assembly can authorize any such proceeding. I therefore cannot concur in that step; but, on the contrary, must protest against it, and desire it may not be done, lest it should produce effects which may be injurious to the public peace.

"I am with due regard, your most obedient and humble servant,

[Signed] "JOHN PENN."

April 25, 1774, Governor Trumbull wrote to Thomas Life, Esq., the Agent of Connecticut in London, and enclosed a copy of the foregoing letter of Governor Penn. Referring to that letter Governor Trumbull said:

"Please to note the manner of his writing, and to observe a copy of my letter to him, which enclosed a copy of a letter addressed to me from a committee of The Susquehanna Company dated March 27, 1771 ||—which was sent to you, with the state of our case, for advice of counsel. Therein you may find a detail of the proceedings of that Company, together with the treatment of the settlers under them, after they had taken possession of the lands they claimed; and see what color he hath to think it strange that we should persist in attempting to support a possession gained from the people of his Province in the course of absolute hostility. Who had the right? Who first purchased the title of the Indians? Who took the first possession? And who began the course of absolute hostility? Hath he not had decent and open treatment? How can it be injurious to the public peace to take the latitudes at and beyond the Delaware? Is it not the duty of the Governor and Company, in faithfulness to the trust reposed in them, to assert and support the rights of Connecticut and its inhabitants? Are they chargeable with any fault for their exercise of jurisdiction over the people who inhabit land they have good reason to think themselves intitled to, lying within the limits and expressed in the Royal Charter to Connecticut?"

* See page 782, *ante*.

† Benjamin Trumbull was not a nephew of Jonathan Trumbull; but the latter and the father of the former were cousins.

‡ See pages 441 and 609, Vol. I.

§ See the original letter among the "Trumbull Papers" mentioned on page 29, Vol. I.

|| See page 684, *ante*.

Turning our attention, now, in the direction of Wilkes-Barré, we find that on Monday, April 11, 1774, a town-meeting of the inhabitants of Westmoreland, "legally warned," was held at Wilkes-Barré, Capt. Zebulon Butler being "chosen Moderator for ye work of ye Day." The freeman's oath was taken by 206 of the inhabitants, and then the meeting was adjourned until the next day, at the same place, at nine o'clock in the forenoon. The following is a copy of the minutes of the meeting then held—the original record being in the handwriting of Maj. Ezekiel Peirce, Town Clerk.

"April ye 12th 1774 this meeting is opened and Held by an adjournment.

"*Voted*—that this town Does now Grant a tax on ye rates and rateable Estate of the Inhabitants of this town on ye list that shall be given in In September next one penney on ye Pound and to be paid into the town Tresurer by ye first Day of December Next and to be Improved by ye Selectmen of sd town to furnish ye town with a stock of ammunition and other Nesessarys for ye towns use.

"*Voted*—that this town shall make application to ye General Assembly to be Holden at Hartford on ye 2nd Thursday of may Next to Have a Court of Probates erected in this town—and also that this town be Devided into three District towns—and also to be a Rgement [regiment—i.e., a regiment of militia organized] Here in town.

"*Voted*—that Zebulon Butler Esq., and Capt Timothy Smith, Christopher Avery and John Jenkins* be appointed agents for the town of westmoreland to lay our circum-

*JOHN JENKINS, who was fourth in descent from John Jenkins who was settled at Sandwich, Massachusetts, as early as 1655, was born February 6, 1728, at East Greenwich, Rhode Island. John Jenkins of Sandwich was the first of the name in this particular branch of the American family of Jenkins. His wife's name was Susanna, and they were Friends, or Quakers. In 1658 he was "distrained" £19, 10sh. for attending Quaker meeting, contrary to law. Zechariah Jenkins, born in 1651, was a son of John and Susanna Jenkins. He was married at Sandwich December 11, 1686, to Abiah (born December 10, 1666; died April 10, 1712), daughter of Francis and Mary (*Barlow*) Allen of Sandwich. About 1708 Zechariah and his family removed to East Greenwich, Rhode Island, where, about January 1, 1723, Zechariah died. John Jenkins, son of the last-mentioned, was born April 5, 1697, and died in 1742. His second son was JOHN JENKINS—the first of this name mentioned above—who, in 1750, removed from East Greenwich to Colchester in New London County, Connecticut, where, later, he became a school teacher.

This John Jenkins paid to Samuel Gray, Esq., at Windham, Connecticut, October 8, 1753, "two dollars towards ye Susquehannah affair," and thereby became a member of The Susquehanna Company which had been organized in the previous March, as noted on page 249, Vol. I. Mr. Jenkins' name does not appear among the names of the grantees in the Indian deed of July 11, 1754, but the name "John Jenkes" is there (see page 272, Vol. I), and without much doubt that was intended for the name of John Jenkins. About the year 1762 Mr. Jenkins began to take an active part in the affairs of The Susquehanna Company, as is fully shown in the preceding pages of this work. He was one of the company of settlers who in 1762 and 1763 attempted to establish themselves on the banks of Mill Creek, just north of the present city of Wilkes-Barré; and he was there, undoubtedly, at the time of the massacre of October 15, 1763, when the settlement was broken up and those who escaped the fury of the savages fled to their former homes. In February, 1769, John Jenkins was one of the "First Forty" settlers—another of whom was his brother, or cousin, Stephen Jenkins, of Rhode Island. (See pages 473 and 512, Vol. I.)

Among those settlers who were occupying Fort Durkee when it was captured by the Pennamites in September, 1770, was John Jenkins, and upon his release from the Easton jail (see page 671, *ante*) in the following October he repaired to his home in Connecticut. Judging from the various original records in existence it seems that Mr. Jenkins did not return to Wyoming Valley until the middle of June, 1772. His eldest son, however, was here in the early Spring of 1772. When the lands of Kingstown, or the "Forty," Township were allotted to the proprietors thereof, in the Spring of 1772, John Jenkins drew "House Lot No. 14" (which contained some four acres, and lay about where the Forty Fort Cemetery is located), as well as his share of lots in the other divisions of the township. As noted on page 467, Vol. I, he was one of the original proprietors of Exeter Township (laid out in November, 1772), and there he settled with his family. He erected his dwelling-house within the present limits of West Pittston, upon the top of the high bank overlooking the Susquehanna River, about ten or twelve rods above the northwest end of the present Pittston Ferry bridge. From that period, until about the time of his death, John Jenkins filled a leading position in the public affairs of the Wyoming settlements, and his name is frequently mentioned in the following pages. He was one of the two Representatives from the town of Westmoreland present at the sessions of the General Assembly of Connecticut held in May, 1776, and in May and October, 1777. From June, 1777, till June, 1778, he held, by appointment of the General Assembly, the office of Chief Judge of the Westmoreland County Court. During the Autumn of 1778, and again in the Spring of 1783, he acted as Clerk of the Probate Court of Westmoreland. Early in 1779 Judge Jenkins joined his family (all save his eldest child, John, Jr.) in Connecticut, and remained there with them until the Autumn of 1782, when they all returned to Exeter, in Wyoming Valley. When in May, 1784, several hundred Yankees were expelled from Wyoming by the Pennamites—as described hereinafter—Judge Jenkins and his family were among those who were thus outraged, and they fled to Goshen, Orange County, New York. Col. John Franklin, referring in his diary to this expulsion, says: "Two aged gentlemen, John Jenkins, Esq., and a Mr. Gardner, who were cripples, were obliged to hobble through the dismal road with crutches." Judge Jenkins died in November, 1784, and was buried at a place called "The Drowned Lands," in the Minisink region, not far from Goshen, New York.

John Jenkins was married August 1, 1750, to Lydia (born March 20, 1727), daughter of Stephen and Frances (*Condon*) Gardner, mentioned in the note on page 254, Vol. I. Mrs. Lydia (*Gardner*) Jenkins died in Exeter Township, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, October 22, 1804. The children of John and Lydia (*Gardner*) Jenkins were as follows—all born in New London County, Connecticut: (i) *John*, born November 27, 1751; died March 19, 1827. (ii) *Stephen*, born February 22, 1753; died September 20, 1808. (iii) *Benjamin*, born July 18, 1754; died in March, 1787. His wife was Affa Baldwin, who, after his death, became the wife of John Harding (*q. v.*). (iv) *Amy*, born January 12, 1757; married to Asahel Atherton, one of the "First Forty" Wyoming settlers; died March 24, 1834. (v) *Thomas*, born January 19, 1761; died April 22, 1812. (vi) *William*, born October 30, 1764; died November 1, 1846. (vii) *Wilkes*, born July 18, 1767; died April 1, 1838.

(v) *Thomas Jenkins* removed with the other members of his father's family from Connecticut to Wyoming Valley in 1772; was in Jenkins' Fort when it was surrendered to the British, July 1, 1778; fled to Connecticut with his mother, brothers and sisters after the surrender of Forty Fort; returned in 1782

to Exeter Township, whence he was again driven, by the Pennamites, in May, 1784. Returning to Exeter in the Autumn of 1784, or early in 1785, Thomas Jenkins resided there until his death. Judge John Jenkins died seized of 1,200 acres of land in Exeter Township, and when his estate was divided among his children Thomas received that portion of it which included the site of the old Jenkins Fort. He also came into possession of the ferry across the Susquehanna at the foot of what is now Exeter Street, West Pittston, and which was known as Jenkins' Ferry. About 1800 Thomas Jenkins was Captain of one of the companies in the Second Regiment, Luzerne Brigade of Militia. He died at his home in Exeter April 22, 1812, and was survived by his wife Eleanor (*Shontz*)—who lived until April, 1842—and the following-named children: Benjamin, Ada (born May 21, 1794; married March 5, 1817, to Peirce Smith, mentioned in the last paragraph on page 719, *ante*; died at Commerce, Michigan, August 24, 1866), Mehetael (born March 18, 1796; married in 1814 to Dr. John Smith, mentioned in the last paragraph on page 719, *ante*; died at Wilkes-Barré July 6, 1862), Mary (married to Joseph Shaw), David, Thomas, Fanny (who was married to Beach Tuttle), Catharine (born November 29, 1808; died December 9, 1890; married October 8, 1826, to Daniel Jones—born May 30, 1807, and died in October, 1876—and had the following-named children: Frances, Esther Ann, Elizabeth, Thomas, Merritt, Susannah, Helen Mar, Daniel Webster, Stephen, Elvira Augusta, Hiram and E. Louise) and John.

(i) *John Jenkins*, eldest child of John and Lydia (*Gardner*) Jenkins, came to Wyoming first in the Spring of 1772, as previously noted, being then in the twenty-first year of his life. Beginning with the year 1776 he was closely identified with the public life of Wyoming for many years, and as his name appears often in the subsequent pages of this work it will not be necessary to give a detailed sketch of his life in this note. In October, 1775, he was appointed by the General Assembly of Connecticut, and commissioned, Ensign of the 7th, or Exeter, Company of the 24th Regiment, Connecticut Militia. In October, 1776, he was appointed by the General Assembly of Connecticut one of the Second Lieutenants for the eight battalions of troops then ordered to be raised by the State. It would seem, however, that Ensign Jenkins did not accept this appointment, and was not commissioned by the Governor, but continued to hold his rank and commission as Ensign in the 24th Regiment, and to remain in Wyoming Valley. At that time he was one of the Listers for the town of Westmoreland, and in May, 1777, was appointed by the General Assembly "Surveyor of Lands for the County of Westmoreland."

In November, 1777, having been sent by Colonel Denison of the 24th Regiment up the Susquehanna in command of a scouting party of militia, Ensign Jenkins was captured near Wyalusing by a band of Indians and Tories, and carried off to Fort Niagara. In the Spring he was taken to Montreal. At that time, says Miner ("History of Wyoming," Appendix, page 27), "an Indian chief of some celebrity was a prisoner to the Americans in Albany, and Col. John Butler sent Mr. Jenkins, under an escort of Indians, to be exchanged for the chief. * * * Arrived at Albany, the chief for whom he was to have been exchanged had just died of small-pox." The Indians then proposed to take Mr. Jenkins to Kanadasaga ("Old Castle Town"), to be disposed of at a Grand Council of Seneca Indians to be held there. On the way he escaped, and, after enduring great fatigue and suffering much from hunger, he reached home June 2, 1778. At the May session of the General Assembly of Connecticut in 1778, the following resolution was passed (see "Records of the State of Connecticut," II:84): "Upon the representation of the town of Westmoreland by Nathan Denison and Anderson Dana, Esquires, showing to this Assembly that John Jenkins, Jr., Constable and Collector of the State taxes on the List of said town for August, 1776, was made prisoner by the savages, by which means the greatest part of said tax remains uncollected: *Resolved by this Assembly*, That the said town of Westmoreland have liberty, and liberty and authority is hereby granted to said town, to appoint some suitable person to collect the remaining part of said taxes in the same manner as the said Jenkins was authorized and empowered to do."

During the battle of Wyoming, July 3, 1778, Forty Fort was garrisoned by a small detail of militia commanded by Ensign Jenkins. The latter left the valley after the surrender of the fort, and joined Captain Spaulding's company at what is now Stroudsburg, being given the provisional appointment of Lieutenant, and serving as such prior to and after the arrival of the command at Wilkes-Barré in the following August. In September, 1778, he took part in Colonel Hartley's expedition to Tioga Point—more fully mentioned hereinafter. At Wilkes-Barré, under the date of March 31, 1779, Col. Zebulon Butler wrote to Brig. Gen. Edward Hand, at the Minisinks, relative to Lieut. John Jenkins, Jr., as follows (see the original letter in the possession of George H. Butler, Esq., of Dorranceton): "The situation of Mr. Jenkins. He was a militia officer here. Captain Spaulding had no subaltern officer in his Company. Mr. Jenkins entered as a volunteer in Captain Spaulding's Company and has done Lieutenant's duty for eight months past." Subsequently Mr. Jenkins was commissioned Lieutenant by Congress and regularly attached to Captain Spaulding's Company.

In 1779, when the Sullivan expedition took place, Lieutenant Jenkins was selected, says Miner, "for his activity, zeal, and knowledge of the country, for one of the guides. The arduous and responsible duty he performed in a satisfactory manner. Lieutenant Jenkins was in the decisive battle of Newtown, and among the most efficient and useful officers of his grade in that campaign." After the Sullivan expedition Lieutenant Jenkins remained at Wilkes-Barré with his company, forming part of the garrison of Fort Wyoming under the command of Colonel Butler. At the session of the General Assembly of Connecticut held in May, 1780, Lieutenant Jenkins was appointed and commissioned one of the Justices of the Peace in and for the county of Westmoreland. February 25, 1781, Captain Spaulding and his company (including Lieutenant Jenkins) began their march from Wilkes-Barré for New Windsor (mentioned on page 745, *ante*), to join the main army under General Washington. Lieutenant Jenkins was with the American army at the surrender of Cornwallis, October 17, 1781, and, returning to New York, spent the ensuing Winter with his company in camp on the banks of the Hudson. March 1, 1782, he resigned from the service, and returned to Wyoming Valley.

In November, 1785, after the jurisdiction of Connecticut over the Wyoming region had ceased, and before the county of Luzerne had been erected by the Pennsylvania Legislature, The Susquehanna Company's Wyoming settlers organized among themselves a militia regiment, and elected John Franklin Colonel and John Jenkins, Jr., Major. In the Spring of 1788 Major Jenkins was elected Lieutenant Colonel of the "Second Battalion of Luzerne County Militia."

The following paragraph is from Turner's "History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase" (Rochester, New York, 1852), page 378: "In the Winter of 1788-'89 John Swift and Col. John Jenkins purchased Township XII, R. 2, now Palmyra [Wayne County, New York], and commenced the survey of it into farm lots, in March. Jenkins being a practical surveyor, built a camp on the bank of Ganargwa Creek, about two miles below the present village of Palmyra. His assistants were his nephew, Alpheus Harris, Solomon Earl, — Baker and Daniel Ransom. One morning about two o'clock, the party being asleep in their bunks—their fire giving light enough to show their several positions—a party of four Tuscarora Indians and a squaw stealthily approached, and the Indians, putting their guns through the open spaces between the logs, selected their victims and fired. Baker was killed, Earl, lying upon his back, with his hand upon his breast, a ball passed through his hand and breast, mutilated his nose, and lodged under the frontal sinus between his eyes. Jenkins and Ransom escaped unhurt, and encountering the murderers—Jenkins with his Jacob's-staff and Ransom with an ax—drove them off, capturing two of their rifles and a tomahawk. In the morning they buried their dead companion, carried Earl to Geneva and gave the alarm. The Indians were pursued, and two were captured on the Chemung River. They were tried—by what would be called in these days a 'Lynch Court'—and executed, with the tomahawk, at Newtown, now Elmira."

In 1786 Athens Township (adjoining the New York-Pennsylvania boundary-line) was surveyed and laid out by John Jenkins, Jr., and in March, 1787, he was employed to survey and lay out Putnam Township—both these townships being within the bounds of the Susquehanna Purchase. In 1795 Colonel Jenkins was styled "Superintendent of Surveys" of The Susquehanna Company, and was also one of

the Commissioners of the Company, then in the days of its decadence. In 1797 he was one of the Commissioners of Luzerne County, and in 1805 was elected one of the two Representatives from Luzerne County to the Pennsylvania Legislature. Some years subsequently to the Revolutionary War Colonel Jenkins became the owner of a large tract of land in Exeter Township which had formerly been in the possession of the Tory family of Wintermute, and upon which Wintermute Fort stood at the time of the battle of Wyoming. Upon the site of this fort Colonel Jenkins built a frame dwelling-house, which he occupied with his family until his death. Portions of the stone fire-places, chimney and cellar walls are now the sole remains of the old building.

June 23, 1778—which was ten days before the battle of Wyoming and twenty-one days after the return from captivity of John Jenkins, Jr.—the latter was married in Jenkins' Fort, Exeter Township, by the Rev. James Benedict, to Bethiah (born in Salem, Connecticut, September 14, 1752), eighth child of Jonathan and Rachel (*Otis*) Harris. Jonathan Harris (born January 15, 1705; died September 12, 1761) was the fourth child of Lieut. James Harris of New London, Connecticut (born in Boston April 4, 1673; died February 10, 1757), and his first wife Sarah (born in 1676; married in 1696; died November 13, 1748), daughter of Samuel Rogers of New London. Lieut. James Harris was the third child of James and Sarah (*Dentson*) Harris, originally of Boston, who, about 1690, came to New London, where they lived till their respective deaths—he dying in 1715, and she later. Rachel Otis, the wife of Jonathan and the mother of Bethiah Harris, was born December 1, 1713; was married July 2, 1735; died September 21, 1761. She was the youngest child of Joseph Otis, Esq., of the North Parish of New London, to which place he had removed in 1722 from Scituate, Massachusetts, where he had been judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Plymouth County, 1703-10, Representative in the General Court, etc. His wife was Dorothy Thomas of Scituate, by whom he had twelve children.

Col. John Jenkins died at his home in Exeter Township March 19, 1827, and Mrs. Bethiah (*Harris*) Jenkins died there August 12, 1842. In *The Susquehanna Democrat* (Wilkes-Barré), of May 4, 1827, the following notice of Colonel Jenkins' death was printed. "Another Veteran Gone! Died at his residence in Exeter, in March last, Col. John Jenkins, aged seventy-six years. Colonel Jenkins was a native of Connecticut, whence he emigrated to this country before the Revolution. He bore the commission of a Lieutenant in the Continental army, and was equally distinguished for his attachment to the cause of liberty and for his intrepid bravery. He was left in command of the fort in Kingston during the memorable battle of Wyoming. He afterwards accompanied General Sullivan in his expedition against the Six Nations of Indians; having been selected for that service on account of his accurate knowledge of the then almost unknown and savage wilds of northern Pennsylvania and western New York. In the cruel and relentless warfare prosecuted by the British Indians and refugees against this defenceless frontier, he bore a distinguished part. It has been well said that 'he defended and supported the first settlers of this valley with his rifle in one hand and his hoe in the other.' As a patriot and soldier, on the narrow stage upon which it was his destiny to act, he developed those traits of character which in a more extended sphere would have given his memory to fame. He lived to see that colony—whose commencement was amidst scenes of famine, bloodshed and desolation—to the defence of which he had devoted his best days, enjoying in the midst of abundance the blessings of health, liberty and peace, and has, in the fullness of his days, committed himself to rest in the bosom of that soil which he had contributed so well to defend."

Col. John and Bethiah (*Harris*) Jenkins were the parents of the following-named children: (1) *Lydia*, born September 3, 1780; became the wife of Jabez Hyde, 3d; died December 3, 1798. See below. (2) *John*, born August 24, 1782; died October 15, 1804, unmarried. (3) *Harris*, born July 22, 1784; died August 11, 1850. See below. (4) *William*, born April 17, 1786; married February 23, 1809, to Elizabeth Slocum of Pittston. (5) *Franklin*, born March 2, 1788; married May 8, 1810, to Margaret Gay of Kingston. (6) *Rachel*, born January 4, 1792; married February 2, 1829, to David Goodwin. (7) *Falla*, born February 7, 1794; married March 21, 1811, to Lot Brees; died November 23, 1877. See below. (8) *James*, born January 29, 1796; died August 8, 1873. See below.

Jabez Hyde, 3d, who, September 1, 1797, was married to (1) *Lydia Jenkins*, was born at Norwich, Connecticut, July 9, 1776, the eldest child of Jabez Hyde, Jr. (born at Norwich West Farms, Connecticut, June 15, 1740; died at Rush, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, November 15, 1835), and his wife Martha Pettis (born at Norwich July 15, 1742; married January 12, 1775; died at Rush, Pennsylvania, April 16, 1816). Jabez Hyde, Jr., was the second child of Jabez Hyde, Sr. (born at Norwich, Connecticut, September 16, 1713; died at Franklin, Connecticut, March 6, 1805), and his wife Lydia Abel (born at Norwich July 28, 1719; married December 8, 1736; died June 25, 1803). Jabez Hyde, Sr., was for some time a Justice of the Peace at Norwich, and was an extensive landowner. He was the father of eleven children. Prior to 1805 Jabez Hyde, Jr., settled in that part of Luzerne County which in 1810 was erected into Susquehanna County—his home being in that section of the new county which in 1813 was erected into the township of Rush. From 1810 till 1813 Jabez Hyde, 3d, was Sheriff of Luzerne County. In 1813 he was elected one of the two Representatives to the State Legislature from the district comprising the counties of Luzerne and Susquehanna, and about that time he removed to Rush Township in the latter county. From 1816 to 1820 he was Prothonotary, Register of Wills and Recorder of Deeds for Susquehanna County, and in 1822 and again in 1823 he was elected one of the three Representatives to the State Legislature from the Luzerne-Susquehanna district. He was a delegate to the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention of 1837-'38, and in 1840 was appointed an Associate Judge of the Susquehanna County Courts. Mrs. *Lydia (Jenkins)* Hyde having died December 3, 1798, leaving an infant child—John Jenkins Hyde—Jabez Hyde, 3d, was married (2d) in August, 1803, at Rush, Pennsylvania, to Lucy Smith of Windham, Connecticut. He died at Rush October 8, 1841, and his wife Lucy died there February 16, 1849.

(3) *Harris Jenkins*, second son of Col. John and Bethiah (*Harris*) Jenkins, was born in Exeter Township. During his long life he was a farmer, school-teacher, clerk and merchant. In 1820 and '21, and other years about that period, he was an innkeeper in Kingston Township. From December, 1845, to December, 1848, he was Register of Wills and Recorder of Deeds for Luzerne County, and for a number of years at that period was a Justice of the Peace. Prior to 1821 he was a Colonel in the Pennsylvania Militia. August 2, 1819, Colonel Jenkins became a member of Lodge No. 61, F. and A. M., Wilkes-Barré. He was Senior Warden of the Lodge in 1822 and Master in 1825. He was married January 5, 1808, to Mary Booth (born February 14, 1790), and they became the parents of eight children. Colonel Jenkins died at Pittston, Pennsylvania, August 11, 1850.

Lot Brees, who, as previously noted, became the husband of (7) *Falla Jenkins*, was born January 8, 1788, the son of Capt. Samuel Brees mentioned below. He was by occupation a farmer, and was also at one time a Justice of the Peace, and for a while a Captain in the Pennsylvania Militia. He died at the borough of Wyoming May 1, 1868, and his wife died there November 23, 1877. They were the parents of eleven children, as follows: Steuben, Freeman (married to Margaret Ann Sharps), Sarah Maria (married to William Sharps), Elizabeth (married to Peter Sharps), Lydia (born April 19, 1820; married October 4, 1840, to Albert, son of William and Christiana (*Winter*) Polen), Catharine Bethiah (married to John Sharps), Esther (married, as his first wife, to Jacob Sharps Hice), Ruth Ann (married to James H. Melick), James, John, and Murray (married to Mary Courtright). Margaret Ann, William, Peter and John Sharps, mentioned above, were sister and brothers.

(8) *James Jenkins*, youngest child of Col. John and Bethiah (*Harris*) Jenkins, spent his whole life in and near the present borough of Wyoming, in Kingston Township, where he was a successful farmer, merchant, innkeeper, etc. He was married July 2, 1815, to Elizabeth (born March 27, 1793), daughter of Capt. Samuel Brees (originally of Basking Ridge, Somerset County, New Jersey), and his wife Hannah (born March 15, 1760; died at Wyoming April 9, 1817). Captain Brees (born April 17, 1758; died at Wyoming July 21, 1837) was a son of John and Dorothy (*Riggs*) Brees, was a soldier in the Revolutionary War, and in 1815 and other years was an innkeeper at New Troy, now the borough of Wyoming. James Jen-

stances Before ye General Assembly In may Next and also to Prefer a Petition or memorial to the Gen^l Assembly for the Purposes mentioned in the above vote and seure the same as agents in behalf of this Town and fully to act thereon before s^d assembly.

"voted—that this town Does Now appoint the selectman to set out ye several Districts to Each surveyor of Highways, and that ye several Highways allready Laid out or shall be Laid out in ye several Districts In this town shall be Legal Rodes for ye surveyors to work on.

"voted—that each Pound allready Built in ye several Districts shall be known to be Lawfull pounds for ye town, and if any Districte be yet Destitute of any Pound that such Districte may agree at their own cost to build pounds for themselves & at such places as they shall think best, & that said Pounds so built shall be Lawfull Pounds.

"voted—that Capt. obadiah Gore & obadiah Gore Jun^r are appointed raters and Branders of Horses* for ye year Ensuing.

"voted—that for ye Present ye tree that Now stands Notherly from Cap^t Butlers House shall be ye town sign post.†

"voted—that ye Hogs are allowed to go at Large on ye Commons."

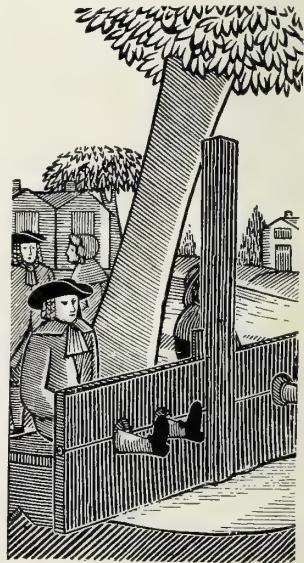
kings died at Wyoming August 8, 1873, his wife having died there October 22, 1871. They were the parents of nine children, of whom the third was *Steuben Jenkins* (mentioned on page 28, Vol. I), who was born at the old Jenkins homestead, on the site of Fort Wintermute, September 28, 1819. He was admitted to the Bar of Luzerne County August 3, 1847. In 1856 and again in 1857 he was elected one of the Representatives from Luzerne County to the State Legislature, and from 1863 to 1870 he was Clerk and Solicitor to the Board of Commissioners of Luzerne County. He was well known for many years as an earnest and careful investigator and student of all that related to the early history of Wyoming Valley, and upon many occasions he delivered addresses and published monographs on subjects connected with that history. (For a fuller account of his life see Kulp's "Families of the Wyoming Valley," I:55, and Johnson's "Historical Record," IV:9, 14.) *Steuben Jenkins* was married February 24, 1846, to Catharine M. (born July 27, 1822), daughter of John and Jerusha (*Johnstone*) Brees, and a descendant of John Brees of Somerset County, New Jersey, previously mentioned. Mr. and Mrs. Jenkins became the parents of one son and three daughters. *Steuben Jenkins* died at Wyoming May 29, 1890, and his wife died there July 18, 1905.

* Inasmuch as horses, cattle, sheep and swine were allowed to run at large, or to graze on the common lands belonging to a town or settlement, at the period of which we write, the owners of such animals were required by law to have their horses branded and their other stock either branded or ear-marked, in such a way that they could be easily identified. The statute law of Connecticut governing branding was as follows: "Each town in this Colony shall have a Town Brand to brand their horses with—every of which brands shall be set respectively on every horse and horse-kind on their near or left shoulder. And the inhabitants of each town shall choose a suitable number of persons (not exceeding six) to be branders of horses in such town; and each brander shall be under oath, and shall make a record of all horses by him branded, with the age and color, natural and artificial marks; and also all sales and exchanges made of any horse—which shall be presented to him—he shall enter, * with the names of buyer and seller and place of residence. * Any person having a horse above two years old shall cause one of the branders of the town in which he lives to brand such horse with the town brand, and enter the marks, etc.; on penalty of forfeiting the sum of forty shillings for every such horse that he shall neglect. * If he shall sell, give or exchange any such horse he shall have them entered and recorded on penalty of thirty shillings." The fee for branding and recording each horse was six pence; and for recording a sale, three pence. The following were the brands in use in some of the Connecticut towns in 1774 and 1775: Hartford, "A"; Lyme, "Q"; New London, "I"; Windham, "&"; Litchfield, "0"; Danbury, "II"; New Haven, "H"; Norwich, "N".

It was further provided by law (in 1772): "Whoever shall steal any horse in this Colony and be convicted, shall pay to the owner of the horse three times the value thereof, and a fine to the Colony of £10; and be further punished by being publicly whipped on the naked body, not exceeding fifteen stripes; and be confined in the Work House, or House of Correction, not exceeding three months—there to be kept at hard labor, and be further whipped on the first Monday of each month, not exceeding ten stripes each time."

The statute law of Connecticut relating to ear-marks was as follows: "All owners of any cattle, sheep or swine shall ear-mark or brand the same that are above one-half year old; and they shall cause their several marks to be registered in the town book. And all cattle, sheep and swine that shall be found unmarked and not branded, as aforesaid, the owners shall forfeit two shillings per head."

The following are descriptions of some of the ear-marks found registered in the Westmoreland records. Jonathan Prichard's, entered May 31, 1775, "a slit in the end of the right ear"; Nicholas Manvil's, entered June 9, 1775, "a halfpenny on the upper side of the left ear, and a slit in the end of the right ear"; William Comstock's, entered October 21, 1774, "a smooth crop of ye right ear, and a halfpenny ye under side of each ear"; Job Tripp, 2d, entered April 2, 1776—"his ear-mark a smooth crop of ye left ear, and a halfpenny ye fore side of each ear"; Asaph Whittlesey's, entered April 28, 1774, "a smooth crop of ye left ear, and a halfpenny ye under side of ye same ear"; William Reynolds', entered April 28, 1774, "a swallow's tail in the left ear, and a half-crop on ye right ear"; Samuel Ransom's, entered April 28, 1774, "a halfpenny the under side of the right ear and the upper side of the same, and the upper side of the left ear"; John Franklin's, entered May 16, 1774, "a swallow's tail on ye left ear"; Philip Goss', entered November 26, 1774, "a half crop ye under side of ye right ear."



(From an Old Print.)

† "This matter of the legal sign-post," says Miner ("History of Wyoming," page 157), "is of weightier import than, without explanation, might be imagined. Newspapers in those days were little known save in the larger cities. It had therefore been enacted that a sign-post be established in each town,

From about the middle of March until the latter part of May or early in June, 1774, Maj. John Durkee was at Wilkes-Barré, and on the West Branch of the Susquehanna, for the first time after his release from his long and tedious imprisonment at Philadelphia (see page 741), and was engaged with Capt. Zebulon Butler, Capt. Stephen Fuller, Obadiah Gore, Jr., Nathan Denison and Seth Marvin (composing the Committee of Settlers) in disposing of "rights" in the Susquehanna Purchase, and in approving the surveying and laying out of tracts of land to various proprietors in The Susquehanna Company. April 23d the Committee approved the laying out of a township on Fishing Creek surveyed to Cornelius Hull, Daniel Andrus, Ebenezer Banks and others.

As the time (May 12, 1774) approached for the convening at Hartford of the General Assembly of Connecticut in its regular semi-annual session*, Capt. Zebulon Butler, and probably also Timothy Smith and John Jenkins—who, with Christopher Avery, had been "appointed Agents for the town of Westmoreland" (see page 805) to appear before the General Assembly—repaired to Hartford. Christopher Avery did not go, but under the date of May 18th wrote from Westmoreland to Captain Butler that he had "been advised by the leaders of the people here not to attend this Court—they being of the mind now that this town will not be allowed the privilege of their Deputies sitting in the Court." This surmise was correct, for Westmoreland was not represented by any of its agents in the May session of the Assembly, although Zebulon Butler, at least, was on the ground. The party of malcontents who had held their convention at Middletown met with very little countenance from the people in general; by many they were made a subject of banter and ridicule. They presented their memorial to the Assembly, but it was received with only slight consideration. At the same time The Susquehanna Company came forward with a petition praying the Assembly to quit-claim to them the right and title of the Colony to the western lands. Among various resolutions passed by the Assembly was one providing "that a petition be presented to His

on which notices of public meetings, public sales, stray animals taken up, etc., should be nailed or placed, to render them legal. It is proper to add, that as an accompaniment of the sign-post, which was also the legal whipping-post, a pair of stocks was provided for a punishment of the guilty, and a warning to deter from crime. These (now abjured) monuments of civilization and law were derived from England, and were brought over—nay, almost venerated, by our Puritan fathers. The ancient pillory and wooden horse first disappeared; the whipping-post and stocks soon followed."

The sign-post, in Connecticut, took the place of the town-crier, who, with his bell or speaking-trumpet, flourished in some of the other American Colonies as well as in England at that period. In 1774 the Connecticut statute law relative to sign-posts (they were sometimes referred to as "Public Posts") and stocks read as follows: "Near the center of every town there shall be a sign-post set up at the town's charge, and maintained in sufficient repair—on a penalty of ten shillings per month for neglect; at which sign-posts proclamations, notices of strays, sales of houses and lands, and advertisements of such like occasions, shall be set up. * * * Every town shall make and maintain a good pair of stocks, with a lock and key, sufficient to hold and secure such offenders as shall be sentenced to be set therein."

The tree selected by the inhabitants of Westmoreland for their town sign-post, as noted in the foregoing minutes, was a large white elm, which stood on the River Common nearly opposite the termination of Northampton Street.

From the Westmoreland records we learn that in the Spring of 1774 it was voted "That ye Indian apple-tree, so-called, at Capouse, shall be ye town sign-post for ye town of New Providence." Hollister, writing in 1857 relative to this tree, stated (in his "History of Lackawanna Valley," page 191): "This apple-tree, venerable in its broad branches, as if arrayed in the foliage of its youth, planted more than 150 years ago, yet blooms and bears its fruit by the roadside, between Providence and Scranton, a few hundred feet above the ancient village of Capouse." About the same time that the aforementioned sign-posts were designated a venerable elm, which stood near the east corner of the present Main and Elm Streets in the borough of Plymouth, was designated as the sign-post for the "Plymouth District." This old tree stood until some twenty-five years ago, when it was cut down.

*The law of Connecticut relative to its Legislature was, at that period, as follows: "There shall be yearly two General Courts, or Assemblies, held—one at Hartford, on the second Thursday in May, and the other at New Haven on the second Thursday in October—unless it be upon occasions of epidemical sickness, diseases, or the like. And the first shall be called a Court of Election, wherein shall be chosen from time to time, yearly, one Governor, one Deputy Governor and twelve Assistants, with a Treasurer and Secretary for the Colony. And the said General Courts shall consist of the Governor, or Deputy Governor, and six Assistants, at least, with those of the Deputies, or Representatives, from the several towns in the Colony that shall be present. * * The freemen of every town shall have liberty to send one or two Deputies to every session." (See, also, page 248, Vol. I, concerning the Assembly.)

Majesty, praying that commissioners may be appointed to settle the bounds between the contending Colonies." The Assembly also appointed Zebulon Butler, Nathan Denison and Silas Park to be Justices of the Peace in and for the county of Litchfield for the ensuing year.

In *The Connecticut Courant* of May 31, 1774, a few days after the adjournment of the Assembly, the following item appeared:

"PROGRESS OF THE STATE RACE.—On the 12th of May the two famous horses 'Charter' and 'Westmoreland' appeared in Hartford near the sign of the Golden Ball, in order to run the State race. There was nothing wanting to qualify 'Westmoreland' for this race. The jockies and grooms that attended him had been vastly assiduous, and no pains spared to give him the advantage in the start, for which purpose he was provided with a light, airy, subtle rider. 'Charter' appeared in good spirits, but not well fixed. A misunderstanding had happened among those who had been appointed to attend him; he was badly shod, and it is said was not so much as trimmed and curried until the very morning. * * * Lest 'Charter' should be entirely run out of breath, his friends gave over the race and paid their losings, upon the promise from the friends of 'Westmoreland' (who by this time had become very numerous) that the race should be completed at Newmarket, in Old England."

In the same issue of the *Courant* the following burlesque advertisement was printed:

"This is to notify all persons indebted to me for the service of my horse 'Charter'—either for races, journeyings or for colts—to make speedy payments, as it is expected he will soon be sent for to Old England to complete the race with 'Westmoreland,' and through infirmity of body and ill usage it is thought he will never return.

[Signed] "CHARLES STEADY."

May 24, 1774, at or near the close of the session of the Assembly, The Susquehanna Company met at Hartford agreeably to adjournment. Col. Elizur Talcott was Moderator and Samuel Gray was Clerk of the meeting, and a considerable amount of business was disposed of, part of which was as follows:

"Voted, That Benjamin Stevens, Josiah Cowles, Benjamin Yale, Jonathan Root, Aaron Cleveland, William Judd, Gad Stanley and Joseph Sluman be a committee to hear and consider sundry complaints and matters of grievance now preferred to this meeting. [This committee reported, relative to] 'the grievances of Thomas McClure, * * that his settling right at Kingston, No. 36, &c., was voted to James Forsythe in June, 1773, that Thomas McClure be restored to the above settling right in Kingston, and quieted in possession thereof; and that James Forsythe be quieted in the suffering right in the township six miles square at Muncy Creek—as we find his name enrolled among the sufferers in that township, which enrollment was made in lieu of the above right after it was voted to the abovenamed McClure.' The foregoing report is accepted by this meeting and ordered to be recorded, and the parties to be concluded thereby.

"It appears that ——— Slocum accepted a right in Providence in lieu of a right in Pittstown, in behalf of Mr. Updike, and ought to be content therewith. It appears to us that Mr. Elijah Shoemaker has had meet recompense in one of the suffering towns, for the rights he lost at Kingston, or 'Forty.' We are of opinion that the right Robert Frazier has had and disposed of in Wilkesbarry, is a sufficient compensation of all that he has done for the Company. John Stevens and son have been duly provided for by the Committee of Settlers at Westmoreland—the father having had a right in Wilkesbarry and the son in Providence. As to the complaint of Mr. Ebenezer Newton—we apprehend that, by the votes of The Susquehanna Company, by his own neglect he has justly forfeited all further favor from the Company. [As to] the petition of James Bidlack, now lying before this meeting, wherein he prays to be restored to the right that was originally Jeremiah Ross', or to his original right in Plymouth, your committee are of the opinion that the said Ross be quieted in the possession of his said rights agreeably to the votes of this Company on the 2d day of June last; and as to the said Bidlack being restored to his original right in Plymouth that he made over to Uriah Marvin, we are of opinion that it is out of our province to consider, as said Marvin was not notified of said petition.' The foregoing report of the committee was accepted by the Company and ordered to be recorded, and the parties to be concluded thereby.

"On the memorial of William Whiting, Esq., and proprietors of the town of Warwick on the East Branch of the Susquehanna River, showing to this meeting that they had pitched upon a tract of land on the southerly side of said river, at a place called Nescopeck Falls*—said survey about two and a-half miles wide from said river to the

* See page 776, relative to surveys made in the locality of Nescopeck Creek in 1773 by Pennsylvania land-claimants.

mountains, and ten miles long, surveyed to Zachariah Lothrop November 8, 1773, and containing the quantity of twenty-five miles square—and praying that the said survey of said town may be accepted and approved of by this Company as though the same had been laid out five miles square according to the votes of said Company. This meeting, having duly examined and enquired into the quality of the land lying southerly of the said survey two and a-half miles from the river—which appearing from the evidence to be mountainous and unfit for cultivation—do thereupon accept and approve of the survey made by the said Lothrop of said town of Warwick, as though the same had been laid out five miles square.

“*Voted*, That all those pitches of land at Susquehanna without [*i. e.*, *outside*] the limits of any town, that has already been made, shall not be good nor valid nor of any influence without the grant and approbation of this Company.

“*Whereas*, Ebenezer Watson, Printer at Hartford, in his paper of the 5th of April, 1774*, published false and Scandalous accounts of and concerning The Susquehanna Company, without any just foundation therefor; and, being called upon to disclose his author, refuseth to do it. *Voted*, That the Standing Committee of this Company be, and they are hereby, authorized and fully empowered, to pursue such measures against said Watson as they shall judge necessary for the credit of the Company.

“*Voted*, That Zebulon Butler, Esq., and Mr. John Jenkins be, and they are hereby, appointed a committee, at the expense of this Company, to look out the best place for a road from the East Branch in the most convenient place to the town on the West Branch of the Susquehanna River, and to cut a horse road in such convenient place as soon as may be; and the expense to be paid out of the monies in the hands of Captain Butler and the other [members of the] Committee of Settlers at Westmoreland.”

The Company then adjourned, not to meet again—so far as its records disclose—until November 13, 1782.

At a town-meeting, “legally warned,” held at Wilkes-Barré, “in Westmoreland, June ye 27th, 1774, it was Voted by this town of Westmoreland that they will now form themselves into companies in ye military way for ye defence of this country, agreeable to ye laws of ye Colony”—one company to be organized in each district of Westmoreland. A committee was then appointed to draw up articles for the inhabitants of each district to sign, agreeing to come “under regulations in ye military discipline.” Further, it was agreed that meetings should be held early in the next month in the Wilkes-Barré, Hanover, Pittston, Exeter, Kingston and Plymouth districts for the choice of military officers; and Capt. Zebulon Butler, Maj. Ezekiel Peirce and John Jenkins, Esq., were appointed a committee “to repair to the several districts and lead each company to a choice of officers, etc.”

Westmoreland was rapidly advancing to a place in line with the older towns of Connecticut. The condition of affairs in the new town, in respect of population, the administering of justice by lawfully-constituted courts, and the executing of local and general laws by a host of town officers, was fairly satisfactory. But, in order to make the community in some measure self-sustaining, it was deemed desirable that more land should be cleared up and cultivated, and that a greater variety of industries should be carried on by the people. To accomplish those ends it was evident that a large increase in the number of working inhabitants would have to be brought about. Whereupon plans were set on foot to attract immigrants to Westmoreland from various sections of the country.

In May, 1774, by authority of The Susquehanna Company's officials, the township of Wooster was laid out along the Susquehanna, in what is now Bradford County, and settlements were begun in it by Lemuel Fitch, Simon Spalding, Anthony Rummerfield, and others. About the same time another township—originally called Washington, but later named Springfield—lying within the present limits of Brad-

* See page 802, *ante*.

ford County, was granted to James Wells, Robert Carr, Jeremiah Ross, and others. In August, 1774, Capt. Harris Colt, agent and surveyor for Maj. Daniel Ely, Samuel Ely, Esq., Ebenezer Tiffany, Elisha Ely, Capt. Joseph Arnold, and others, residents of New London County, Connecticut, and shareholders in The Susquehanna Company, surveyed and laid out a township containing twenty-five square miles of land. It was located westerly of the mouth of Shickshinny Creek and "near Fishing Creek," and comprehended a large part of the present township of Huntington. This township was named "Haveril," and the survey was approved at Westmoreland August 17, 1774, by the committee to order and direct the laying out of towns, "as not interfering on any former survey." About that time considerable property in the original "settling" towns (see page 515, Vol. I) changed hands, many of the early settlers disposing of all, or parts of, their rights in those townships and moving into the newer townships. Many of the conveyances then executed were dated at "Wilkes Barre, alias Westmoreland, county of Litchfield and Colony of Connecticut."

But the Yankees were not the only persons who were busying themselves about real estate in the Susquehanna region in the year 1774. Many land-warrants were issued from the Pennsylvania Land Office, particularly in the months of March, June and July, 1774, and under them lands were surveyed and "taken up" in various localities. The following, copied from an original, shows the form of land-warrant in use under the Pennsylvania Proprietary Government in 1774.

"BY THE PROPRIETARIES.

"*Pennsylvania, ss.*: WHEREAS, *Bertles Shee* of the County of Philadelphia hath requested that we would allow him to take up 300 Acres of Land, on the westerly side of Delaware River, adjoining and above lands granted to John Boyle in Northampton County (Provided the same Land does not lie in or interfere with our Manor of Fermor or any of our Manors or appropriated Tracts) for which he agrees to pay to our Use, within the Term of six Months from the Date hereof, at the Rate of Five Pounds Sterling, or value thereof in Current Money of this Province for every Hundred Acres; and also to pay the yearly Quit-rent of One Penny Sterling for every Acre thereof, to Us, our Heirs and Assigns forever, with Interest and Quit-rent, to commence from six Months after Date hereof. These are therefore to authorise and require you to survey, or cause to be surveyed, unto the said *Bertles Shee* at the Place aforesaid, according to the Method of Townships appointed, the said Quantity of 300 Acres, if not already surveyed or appropriated, and make Return thereof into the Secretary's Office, in Order for Confirmation; for which this shall be your sufficient Warrant. Which Warrant and Survey, in case the said *Bertles Shee* fulfil the above Agreement within six Months from the Date hereof, shall be valid, otherwise void.

"Witness JOHN PENN, Esquire, one of the said Proprietaries, who, as well in his own Right as by Virtue of certain Powers from THOMAS PENN, Esquire, the other Proprietary, hath hereunto set his Hand, and caused the Seal of the Land Office to be affixed at Philadelphia, this seventeenth Day of March, 1774.

[Signed] "JOHN PENN."

"To JOHN LUKENS, Surveyor-general.

While, at that time, the Proprietaries were disposing of their unimproved lands at the rate of £5 per 100 acres, and an annual quit-rent of one penny per acre for ever, other land-owners in the Province were offering their improved lands (originally acquired from the Proprietaries) at £45 per 100 acres, and a quit-rent of one penny per acre to be paid to the Proprietaries annually.

Under numerous warrants 27,800 acres in Northumberland County (chiefly along Tunkhannock and Meshoppen Creeks and the Lackawanna River, within the limits of the Susquehanna Purchase) were surveyed in the Summer of 1774 by Charles Stewart (see page 459, Vol. I) for himself, John M. Nesbitt and Isaac Coxie of Philadelphia—

Stewart's share being one-third of the quantity surveyed. Under warrants dated March 17, 1774, Lambert Cadwalader (of Philadelphia) and Daniel Frazier each took up 300 acres of land near Buttermilk Falls; and under a warrant dated March 31, 1774, William Corbet took up 330 acres in "Nanticoke Town" (see page 487). In September, 1774, tracts containing 300 acres or more, each, were taken up along the Lackawanna River by George Campbell, John M. Nesbitt, Samuel Meredith, Charles Stewart, William Fishbourne, Lambert Cadwalader, Jonathan Serjeant, Jr., and John Van Reed.

In the Summer of 1774 Jesse Lukens*, a son of Surveyor General Lukens (mentioned in the note on page 654, *ante*), was employed by Thomas Willing of Philadelphia, and others, to go up the Susquehanna with a party of assistants and survey certain lands to be taken up under warrants granted by the Pennsylvania Proprietaries to Willing and his friends. Mr. Lukens kept a pretty full diary of his expedition, extracts from which are printed in Johnson's *Historical Record*, VIII:226, *et seq.* Some of the extracts are as follows:

"August 1, 1774.—Hired several hands and prepared for the business of the North Branch. August 6.—In the evening sent off the canoe [from Sunbury]. D. Leary, A. Christ and Jacob Parker in her. August 7.—About noon set off [on horseback] and overtook George Field, William Sims and George I. McWilliams. Encamped at McClure's. August 8.—Set off in the morning. Captain Solomon† came in the night to the camp and is now of the company to show T. Willing's 10,000 acres. About two o'clock came to Beeches‡, nearly opposite the mouth of Oppolopy [Wapwallopen], and waited for the canoe. Evan Owen came from McClure's with us. Mr. Harris met us here, being encamped about two miles up the river. Went to Harris' encampment and stayed all night, a little below the mouth of Shickshining§. August 9.—Set off, and about two o'clock arrived at Wioming [Wilkes-Barré]. Near night the canoe came up and encamped opposite to where we lodged. August 10.—Waited on [Capt. Zebulon] Butler, who behaved with great civility. Sent Sims to Philadelphia. Field went around, and is to meet us at Buttermilk Falls. Captain Solomon returned to the fort.|| The canoe set off, and Harris and Wallis for Buttermilk Falls [some twenty miles above Wilkes-Barré].

"August 11.—Set off [from Wilkes-Barré] up the river. Breakfasted at Chapman's Mill.¶ Came to Lahawanock.** About noon met Solomon and Field. The first bottom above Lahawanock is fine land—about 600 acres. * * * Hadsell's is the second large bottom. Came to Buttermilk Falls in the evening and encamped. * * * There is the Burches Lake†† on the head of Buttermilk Falls Creek, about three miles from our encampment. * * * August 13.—Went and viewed the lake [Winola] on the head of Buttermilk Falls Creek. About three miles from the camp came to the lake. * * * Captain Solomon went to Wialoosing with John Rinker, [Capt.] John Dick and James Grimes. August 14.—Christ returned with the horse and the whole party went fishing for trout. Took ten dozen fine trout. * * * Quilutimack [two miles below Buttermilk Falls] is the next bottom below our camp, where one Jones lives, at the old Indian field and spring, opposite to which Hadsell lived. Monday, August 15.—Sent Lewis to survey the land at the lake [Winola]. Hunt‡‡ came to our camp and stayed all night. Lewis and the party returned from surveying the lake, which they completed. August 16.—Lewis begin to survey our camp and lands adjacent. Made a survey of nearly 1,000 acres, tolerable land. August 17.—Went and surveyed a piece of land back of Jones', at Quilutimack. August 18.—Made a small survey on or near the back path, as showed by Jones. Kachlein§§, Logan|||, and party came to our camp. About noon Sims returned from Philadelphia. We moved up the river to *Saughapaughkunk*, or Gravelly Island Run, and encamped. Had some talk with Hunt, Wilcox, etc. Wilcox seems to be a cool, determined man.

"August 19.—Set off about eight o'clock for Hoppeny [Mehoopany]. Called at John Seacord's. Went over the hill and up the river to James Seacord's. [Capt. Alex-

* See page 861, *post*, for a further reference to him.

† Capt. JOHN SALMON, mentioned on pages 645 and 689.

‡ NATHAN BEACH's plantation, near the present Beach Haven.

§ Shickshiny Creek.

|| Either Fort Wyoming at Wilkes-Barré, or Lackawanna Fort in the township of Pittston.

¶ See page 745, *ante*.

** Lackawanna River.

†† Breeches Pond, later Crooked Lake, and now Lake Winola.

‡‡ AUGUSTIN HUNT.

§§ PETER KACHLEIN, mentioned on page 669, *ante*.

||| JAMES LOGAN, mentioned in note "*" on page 647.

ander] Patterson had three farms laid out here. * * * *August 20.*—Sent off the canoe at six o'clock for Wialoosing, and at eight o'clock set off by land and came to Mushappe [Standing Stone]. The bottom on which John Depue lives [at Skinner's Eddy] Patterson sold 1,200 acres, running up to the Wialoosing Falls, about three miles. Came to Wialoosing in the afternoon, and partly viewed our survey at mouth of Sugar Creek. The striking injustice of this survey is beyond description. [Capt. John] Dick also informed me that the land up Sugar Creek (this stream is between Wialoosing Falls and Wialoosing Creek, on the west side of the river), is really not worth the fees of surveying. Job Chillaway* is out hunting, and I cannot therefore get all the information I want on sundry matters. *August 21.*—Set off for Messescum. * * *August 25.*—Am informed Mr. [Charles] Stewart† is below at Wialoosing. *August 26.*—Mr. Field set off for the fort.‡ Sent by him to Mr. Stewart that I waited for him at Messescum. * * Mr. Peter Weiser came to the camp; informs me that Mr. Stewart is at Wialoosing and is going up to the line of the Purchase; that he sent down from Nicholas Phillips' for Captain Patterson; that Job Chillaway and John Dick are about ten miles from Wialoosing, on the Muncy path, locating lands; that Mr. Stewart *was ill treated at Wioming* by Captain Fuller§, and that Captain Butler interfered in his behalf. *August 27.*—Went out and viewed the land that Lewis is surveying. Some of it is exceeding fine. Found survey lines—marked like Stewart's—through the best. * * *August 28.*—Went down to Wialoosing and found Job [Chillaway] at home. *August 29.*—Went and viewed the land on Sugar Creek; killed a bear. In the evening Mr. Stewart came down the river to us, Captain Solomon along.

"*September 1.*—Sent Lewis to run the back line and divisions of yesterday's work [near Buttermilk Falls]. * * Mr. Lewis returned, but on account that the Yankeys were coming we did not finish. Struck our camp and sent the canoe down the river and set off by land. Met the Yankey party on the hill below Wialoosing, commanded by Captains Ransom|| and Blanchard¶ and Lieutenant Marvin. Capt. [Zebulon] Butler in company. Sent the party on, and returned with the gentlemen to Wialoosing. For a party of volunteers *they behaved with much order.* *September 2.*—The foot set off for Wioming under Lieutenant Marvin. The horses lost. About twelve o'clock found them, and about two o'clock set off in company with Messrs. Stewart, Butler, Ransom and Blanchard. About six o'clock came to [Frederick] Vanderlip's**. Our party was encamped at Depue's, lower end of Tuscarora Bottom. *September 3.*—The Wioming gentlemen set off early. Lieutenant Marvin rode my horse. * * Viewed Mr. Shaw's land. There is a fine swamp for meadow runs across it, about sixty perches from the river at the bend, opposite the lower end of an island. * * Upon the whole, situation and quality considered, do report it worth £100 *if the Connecticut claim was settled in favor of Pennsylvania.* A certain Simeon Cady, a shoemaker, desires a lease of it on the best terms Mr. Shaw will allow. He offered £100 for it, but would pay none until the Yankey claim is settled. Perhaps he had no money. Mr. Depue wants our tract at the Wialoosing Falls, on the west side. Promised him the preference of purchase, and also to send him a barrel of Philadelphia or New England rum by the first opportunity. Struck camp and went down to Vanderlip's and got some butter, etc.

"*Sunday, September 4.*—Mr. Harris went out to work with a party. Sent Sims to Vanderlip's for corn and milk. We have about three pounds of flour only; bacon almost gone, and no kind of meat. James Grimes, John Dick's man, went down the river, and says John Dick does not go into the woods until he returns, and that will be a week. Job Chillaway and his wife came to the camp. We pitched a tent for them. * * *September 7.*—Sent off a party with written instructions. Went in the canoe for Wioming in order to procure provisions. The party consisted of Mr. Harris, Lewis, Wallis, Sims and Christ. Mr. Lewis rode my dun [horse]. * * On ye west side, about a mile above Buttermilk [Falls], begins ye bottom on which Thomas Willing, Esq., hath five warrants, and runs down to Strong's saw-mill creek. Quilutimack two islands is about two miles below Buttermilk. About a mile below Quilutimack begins the bottom on Little Mill Creek,†† ye first creek, or run, above Lahawanock. Here is 600 acres most excellent land. On ye west side, opposite to ye lower end, begins H. Williamson's ragged bottom, the lower end of which is opposite Mr. Purviance's upper corner. Then comes in a narrows,‡‡ about one-half a mile to ye islands,§§ and then is Abraham's Flats. About 200 yards below Lahawanock Fort||| is high rocks, which continue nearly to Manahanunk¶¶ Island. In the evening came to Wioming. *September 8.*—Sent Dennis, Jacobs and George down with ye canoe. Sims joined me with ye horses. Went to Mr. Chapman's mill on a foot. No flour to be procured at any rate. *September 9.*—Set off in

* Mentioned on page 701.

† Mentioned on page 459, Vol. I.

‡ Evidently Fort Augusta, at Sunbury.

§ STEPHEN FULLER, mentioned on page 717, *ante*.

|| Capt. SAMUEL RANSOM, a sketch of whose life will be found hereinafter.

¶ JEREMIAH BLANCHARD, of Pittston, mentioned hereinafter.

** See page 817, *post*.

†† Now Gardner's Creek.

‡‡ Above Campbell's Ledge, or Dial Rock. See page 234, Vol. I.

§§ Now Scovell's Island, described on page 50, Vol. I.

|| Pittston, or Lackawanna, Fort, erected by the Yankee settlers.

¶¶ Monocanock, described on page 51, Vol. I.

ye morning in company with Mr. [Joseph] Sluman for ye fort*. Captain Butler accompanied us to Hunlock's†. * * September 10.—Came in the evening to the fort. Met Mr. [Charles] Stewart."

At Wilkes-Barré, September 30, 1774, a town-meeting of the inhabitants of Westmoreland was held, at which Capt. Zebulon Butler and Joseph Sluman, Esq., were chosen Representatives to the next General Assembly of Connecticut. "These," says Miner, "were the first persons admitted to the full participation of the rights of members—not as delegates from territories, having a power to debate but not a right to vote, but voting on all questions that arose, uniting in making laws for the rest of the Colony as the other members made laws for Westmoreland; and from thenceforth Wyoming, or Westmoreland, was in all respects a part of Connecticut—as much so as Stonington, or Saybrook, or Hartford, or New Haven."‡ The Assembly convened at New Haven on the 13th of October, and Captain Butler and Mr. Sluman were present as members of the Lower House. On the 15th of October they presented to the House a "memorial" signed by themselves as "Agents for the town of Westmoreland, and for the proprietors and settlers of lands lying within this [Connecticut] Colony west of the line of said Westmoreland." This document§, which is in the handwriting of Capt. Solomon Strong (who is several times referred to hereinafter) sets forth the action taken by the General Assembly in October, 1773||; next refers to the incorporation of the town of Westmoreland, and then continues as follows:

"Your memorialists with their families, now at said town of Westmoreland, consist of about one hundred and twenty-six persons (whose land that belongs to them lieth on the West Branch of the Susquehannah River), who are now waiting to remove themselves and settle thereon. And your memorialists who are proprietors and settlers of the land lying west of your said town of Westmoreland, and within the limits and jurisdiction of the Colony of Connecticut, with their families, are upwards of two hundred families. And your memorialists having (from their birth and education) a most inviolable attachment to the Constitution and Government of your Honours, and impressed with sentiments of loyalty, affection, and zeal for the present and future greatness, tranquillity and glory of this Colony—principles which in a far more eminent manner reside in your Honours' minds, and guide and influence all your publick measures¶—beg leave humbly to approach your Honours as the great *parens patriae*, the supreme power within this Colony, with grateful sentiments for your Honours' care for our good, peace and safety, heretofore exercised toward us by incorporating us of said Westmoreland into a town, do trust that the same benevolent intentions still influence your Honours, and that nothing will be wanting, on the part of your Honours, to perfect the good which has begun towards us your dutiful subjects, who were but few in number when we first came up hither, but now, by the good hand of our God upon us, are become a multitude; and

* Fort Augusta, at Sunbury.

† The plantation of Jonathan Hunlock, who, about a year previously, had come from Lower Smithfield Township, on the Delaware, and settled on the right bank of the Susquehanna, about three miles below Wyoming Valley, near the mouth of a good-sized creek called by the Indians "*Mossacota*," but now known as Hunlock's Creek.

‡ In 1775 the General Assembly of Connecticut was composed of one or two Deputies from each of the towns of the Colony—just as for many years previously, and subsequently until the adoption of the Constitution of 1818. (See note "*" on page 809.) Ever since 1818 the "land of steady habits" has been under the operation of a Constitution based on the principle that the towns as such, and not the voters, should be represented in its Legislature; the idea being that the towns existed before the State, and that the towns made the State. In 1902 a Constitutional Convention sat at Hartford for four and a-half months and framed a new Constitution for the State, the principle feature of which was a provision for a Senate of forty-five members, and a House composed of one Representative from each town having a population of 2,000 or less, and two Representatives from each town having a population between 2,000 and 5,000, with one additional Representative for each additional 5,000 of population. However, the adoption of this Constitution was defeated at the polls by the people, by a very decisive majority, and Connecticut continues to be guided by the Constitution of 1818.

§ The original is "No. 57" in the volume of MSS. entitled "Susquehanna Settlers, 1755-1796, Vol. I"—mentioned on page 29, Vol. I.

¶ See page 776, *ante*.

¶ A few months before this memorial was written Thomas Hutchinson, the former Tory Governor of Massachusetts (see page 615, Vol. I), then in London, was questioned at great length by the King relative to various existing conditions in the American Colonies. Concerning the inhabitants of Connecticut Governor Hutchinson said: "They are a more cautious people; strive to make as little noise as may be, and have in general retained a good share of that virtue which is peculiarly necessary in such a form of government." (See Larned's "History for Ready Reference," V:3213.)

to observe that the jurisdiction erected by your Honours is inadequate to answer the ends and purposes of government in our situation, for that all our writs, which are not cognizable before a single Minister, are returnable to Litchfield, which necessarily occasions an enormous expense to the suitors. And our not having any jail, and being unable by law to transport any man's person across the Province of New York—it being another jurisdiction—executions are thereby rendered in a great measure ineffectual; debtors enabled to avoid payment of their just debts; and criminals of every kind, almost, to escape justice; by reason whereof your memorialists are greatly embarrassed, perplexed and exposed; living under a civil government without much of its benefits; living in such a situation as that it cannot, with only the power already given, be thoroughly administered, nor the noble end and design thereof be fully answered.

"And as many of your memorialists, who are settlers and proprietors of lands lying west of said town of Westmoreland within this Colony, labour under great difficulties in continuing and proceeding in our just claims and settlements without civil government established among us; and to relinquish our settlements and lands, acquired with great hazard, labour and expense, will be attended with risk of a total loss of them both to this Colony and your memorialists. And whereas, the constituting and erecting a county within the following limits and boundaries, *viz*: to extend west of the western boundaries of the Susquehanna Purchase; and to bound north and south on the Colony line, exclusive of that part of said purchase as is taken off by the line lately settled with the Indians at Fort Stanwix, invested with powers, privileges, jurisdictions, &c., which other counties in this Colony are, *viz*: that of having and holding county courts, and courts of probate, having a Sheriff, a jail, &c., would remedy most of the difficulties which your memorialists labor under, and make your memorialists happy and comfortable. Or if your Honours should not think it best to erect a county, &c., as prayed for, that your Honours would at this time either extend the limits of said town of Westmoreland to the western boundaries of Susquehanna Purchase, and north and south on the Colony line, exclusive of the land taken off by the Indians' line as above, or divide the same into towns by the easternmost branch of said Susquehanna River, and to extend as above described or in some other way grant relief to your memorialists, as in your wisdom you shall think best; and your memorialists as in duty bound shall ever pray."

By both Houses of the Assembly it was resolved that "the consideration of this memorial be referred to the General Assembly" that would meet in May, 1775. A few days later Governor Trumbull presented to the Assembly, for its consideration, a document which he had drawn up in behalf of "the Governor and Company of the English Colony of Connecticut," answering certain queries contained in a letter sent out by the Earl of Dartmouth, His Majesty's Secretary of State, under date of July 5, 1773. The Governor's answer contained, among other matters, the following*:

"A number of the inhabitants of this Colony, called the Susquehanna and Delaware Companies, in the year 1754, for great and valuable considerations in money, paid and satisfied to the Indians of the Six Nations, purchased of them (as early as they, the aboriginal proprietors, were willing to grant and convey) their title to a large tract of land within the bounds and limits of this Colony, lying west of the River Delaware, and from thence spreading over the East and West Branches of the Susquehanna River. Since such purchases a great number of our inhabitants have made settlements thereon. The General Assembly of this Colony have asserted their claim to those lands, and the inhabitants dwelling within the bounds of this Colony, on the west side of the Delaware River, are made and constituted a distinct Town, with like powers and privileges as other towns in this Colony by law have, within the following bounds, *viz*: Bounded east by Delaware River, north by the northern bound of the Colony, west by a north and south line across the Colony at fifteen miles distance west from a place on the Susquehanna River called Wyoming, and south by the south line of this Colony. Which town is called by the name of Westmoreland, and is annexed to the county of Litchfield.

"The Proprietaries of Pennsylvania dispute the right of this Colony to those lands; they refuse to join to run or to settle the line between this Colony and that Province."†

* See "Colonial Records of Connecticut," XIV:495, *et seq*.

† Among the "Penn Manuscripts" (folio 139), mentioned on page 30, Vol. I, is an original opinion on the Connecticut-Pennsylvania case in the handwriting of and signed by Alexander Wedderburn (see notes on pages 441 and 546), at the time Solicitor General of England. The document is dated August 8, 1774 (about the time Governor Trumbull prepared the abovementioned communication to the Secretary of State), and reads in part as follows: "This Petition only prays a declaration of the Western Boundary of Connecticut, which, if it were made in the very terms of the Petition, would leave the question in the same state that it found it. For the Colony of Connecticut admits that it is bounded on the westward by the Province of New York, but contends that where New York ceases the right of Connecticut goes on against all subsequent grants. This proposition may be false, but it is not unintelligible nor absurd, and the truth or falsehood of it can only be decided upon a precise application to the Crown to de-

The Assembly directed that 600 copies of the aforementioned queries and answers should be printed and distributed. It is interesting to note that at that time the following important officials of the Colony of Connecticut were very much interested, in one way or another, in the affairs of The Susquehanna Company: Jonathan Trumbull, Governor; Eliphalet Dyer, Roger Sherman, William Samuel Johnson and Oliver Wolcott, Assistants, or members of the Upper House of the Assembly; George Wyllys, Secretary of the Colony.

At a town-meeting held at Wilkes-Barré October 17, 1774, it was voted that Lieut. Elijah Shoemaker, Mr. Solomon Johnson, Mr. John Jenkins, Capt. Timothy Smith and Mr. Douglass Davidson be a committee to meet such gentlemen as should be appointed at or near the Delaware River "to mark out a road from that river to the Susquehanna." A few days later the following communication was received at Wilkes-Barré:

"EASTON 21ST OCTOBER 1774.

"Sir—The inhabitants of this place having been informed that the People at Wyoming purpose to lay out a publick Road from thence to the Inhabited parts of this County are very glad of such a proposal and would be very fond to give all the assistance they can to the forwarding of the same; but as the laying out a Road thro' any part of this County without we could procure an Order from the Governor of this province or from the Court would be of little benefit, without being properly Confirmed & Recorded, we would therefore beg the favour of you if possible to pospond your proceedings for a little time, until we Could be able to obtain such an Order either from the Governor or from the Court of Quarter Sessions of this County, which order we make no doubt of procuring and then we Would be glad to Give you all the Encouragement & assistance we Could to the fulfilling of the said Undertaking. You will no Doubt see Mr Charles Steward & then youl please to Consult with him about the matter as also please to forward the Inclosed which is Concerning the same. I am Sir In behalf of a number of the aforesaid Inhabitants your most obedient & Humble Servant,

[Signed] "JOHN RINKER."

"To

Zebulon Butler, Esquiar, at Wyoming.

The following paragraphs are extracts from the minutes of a general town-meeting of "ye Proprietors and settlers, legally warned, held in Wilkesbarre district, in Westmoreland," November 22, 1774.

"Zebulon Butler, Esq., was chosen Moderator for ye work of ye day.

"Voted, That Augustin Hunt* and Frederick Vanderlipt†, now residing on the Susquehanna Purchase, being men that have and now do so conduct themselves by spreading reports about ye town of Westmoreland, much to ye disturbance of ye good and wholesome inhabitants of this town, and by their taking up and holding land under ye pretension of ye title of Pennsylvania, contrary to ye proclamation of ye Governor of this Colony [of Connecticut], and contrary to ye votes of ye Susquehanna Company, &c. *It is now voted*, That ye said Hunt be expelled this Purchase, and he be, as soon as may be, removed out of ye Purchase and out of ye town of Westmoreland, by ye committee hereafter [to be] appointed, at ye cost of this Company, in such way as ye committee shall think proper.

"Voted, That Capt. Stephen Fuller, Capt. Robert Durkee, Asahel Buck, Nathan Denison, Esq., Capt. Samuel Ransom, John Paine, Abraham Harding, Roasel Franklin and John Jenkins, Jr., be a committee to make inquiry into and search after all persons that are suspected to have been taking land under the title of Pennsylvania, etc.; and that they have full power to expel any person or persons from this Purchase and town whom they or ye major part of them judge unwholesome inhabitants, on account of their taking land under the title of Pennsylvania, and their conducting contrary to ye proclamation of ye Governor of ye Colony of Connecticut and ye votes of ye Susquehanna Company, &c. And also remove them at such time and in such way as they shall think proper, out of this town and Purchase; and that they be empowered by this Company to call on the Treasurer for any of ye bonds‡ in his hands that belong to this Com-

mittee the respective claims of Connecticut and Pensilvania to the ground in question, or to settle their boundaries with respect to each other. The present petition does not present the claim on the part of Pensilvania as a matter of discussion; but supposing it to be clear prays directions consequential to that supposition. These directions, I apprehend, cannot be given without an examination into the claim of Pensilvania and a decision upon the Boundary of that Province."

* See pages 730 and 813.

† See page 814.

‡ Settlers' bonds, described on pages 721 and 791.

pany, and put ye same in suit against any of ye persons who are indebted to this Company and are going out of town, or are spending their estate, &c.; and that they collect ye same, or get good security of such other persons who are good, able landholders in this town; and that they lodge ye same in ye hands of said Treasurer as soon as they have obtained it, &c.; and that they do ye same at ye cost of this Company, if needful; and that they take ye most effectual method to prevent such great numbers of persons of evil name and fame from going up and down this river *under the pretence of laying out locations, &c.*"

December 6, 1774, a town-meeting was held at Wilkes-Barré, at which it was voted that Elisha Richards, Capt. Samuel Ransom, Peren Ross, Nathaniel Landon, Elisha Swift, Nathan Denison, Esq., Stephen Harding, John Jenkins, Esq., Anderson Dana, Obadiah Gore, Jr., James Stark, Roasel Franklin, Capt. Lazarus Stewart, Capt. Silas Park and Uriah Chapman be a School Committee for the ensuing year. About that time Fort Wyoming, on the River Common near the foot of Northampton Street, having passed its days of usefulness, and it not being deemed necessary to repair it or make further use of it, was demolished.

Near the close of the year 1774, or early in 1775, the following communication was sent to Governor Penn of Pennsylvania (see "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, II: 240).

"To the Hon. JOHN PENN, Esq., Gov. & Com.-in-chief of the Province of Penna, &c.

"The petition of the Sheriff, Coroner and Magistrates of the County of Northumberland in the said Province, most humbly sheweth:

"That your petitioners, actuated by a sense of the duty which they owe to the public in general, have not been wanting in the utmost exertion of their abilities towards enforcing the laws of this Province, and maintaining regularity and good order in their several stations, yet sorry we are to inform your honor that our utmost endeavors are likely to fail of the desired effect through the restless and ambitious designs and enterprizes of the Colony of Connecticut; the intruders from that Colony settled at Wioming are reinforced with fresh numbers; officers, civil and military, are appointed not only among them but even among us by the Governor of Connecticut, as well in direct violation of our laws as for the express purpose of overturning the jurisdiction of our Courts. Swarms of emissaries from that Colony crowd among our people, seducing the ignorant, frightening the timorous and denouncing the utmost vengeance against any who may be hardy enough to oppose them.

"It is with grief we own that with all our diligence we have not been able to prevent their insidious artifices from having some effect; hitherto, indeed, we have been able, tho' with difficulty, to support a proper appearance of lawful authority; but how can we, single and unsupported, sustain the weight of a whole Colony which teems with people! A large detachment is now marching to Wioming. Five hundred of the troops of that Colony are applied for, and expected under the disengenuous artifice of being a guard against the Indians. We have such repeated and reiterated accounts of their firm intentions to dispossess the people settled under Pennsylvania, that to believe it would be arrant incredulity. In fine, to such situation are we already reduced, from the number of their adherents, spies and emissaries, as to be under the hard necessity of keeping constant guards, not only to prevent the destruction of our jail, but for the security of our houses and persons, all of which are violently threatened. In this critical and alarming situation we cannot help imploring the interposition and aids of Government, and that this country, poor and but thinly inhabited, may not be abandoned and left a prey to a powerful Colony.

"And your petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray.

[Signed] "WILLIAM COOK*, Sheriff.

"JAMES MURRAY, Coroner,

"ROBERT MOODY,

"WILLIAM PLUNKET,

"MICHAEL TROY,

"SAMUEL HUNTER,

"ELLIS HUGHES,

"BENJAMIN ALISON,

"WILLIAM MACLAY."

In the latter part of January, 1775, Governor Penn, in answer to a letter of inquiry from the Earl of Dartmouth, similar to the one received by Governor Trumbull, as previously mentioned, made full and

* WILLIAM COOK was a native of Donegal Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. He came to what is now Northumberland County at an early day, and in October, 1772, was elected the first Sheriff of the County. He served till October 12, 1775, when he was succeeded by William Scull, previously mentioned. Early in the Revolutionary War he became Colonel of the 12th Regiment, Pennsylvania Line, and in 1778 joined the main army under Washington. About 1779 he was appointed Commissary General for the army of the North, and was stationed at the town of Northumberland. He held that office till the close of the war. He died in April, 1804.

complete answers* relative to the affairs of the Province of Pennsylvania, in which he referred to "Wioming, on the East Branch of the Susquehanna, where some intruders from Connecticut have forcibly seated themselves, under pretence of extending their Colony to the South Sea." Relative to the Province in general the Governor stated :

"It is not easy to ascertain what proportion of the Province is cultivated; but on the whole it is a much larger proportion than in any other Colony of the same age in North America. * * * From the best information and estimate I have been able to procure there are in the Province of Pennsylvania 302,000 souls, of whom 2,000 are blacks, the others whites. There has been a great increase of inhabitants within the last ten years. The population is owing to the annual importation of German and Irish servants and passengers, and the natural increase of the inhabitants, who marry earlier and more generally here than is usual in Europe. * * Before the late Indian war† there were a number of Indians settled in several parts of the Province, but during that war and since they have withdrawn themselves beyond the western and northern limits of the Province."

To the end that we may the better understand the full significance and force of some of the happenings recorded on the succeeding pages of this chapter, let us at this point hurriedly consider the state of affairs which existed, not only in Pennsylvania and Connecticut, but in all the Colonies and Provinces on this continent, at the period under consideration.

As noted on page 354, Vol. I, the First Continental Congress convened at Philadelphia in September, 1774, and with the coming-in of the year 1775 excitement and restlessness among the people everywhere began to be constant. The Americans were beginning to feel keenly the oppression which King George did not dare to inflict upon his subjects in the British Isles, and which was apparently reserved for the Colonists in America—as if emigration had made them unworthy of their heritage of British liberty and self-government. The situation of affairs in America was promptly made known in England, and produced a vast amount of public and private discussion. In Parliament, January 20, 1775, the Earl of Chatham, in a powerful speech, declared :

"The Americans have been condemned unheard. The indiscriminate hand of vengeance has devoted 30,000 British subjects of all ranks, ages and descriptions to one common ruin. * * * The spirit which now pervades America is the same which formerly opposed loans, benevolences and ship-money in this country—the same spirit which roused all England to action at the Revolution, and which established at a remote era your liberties on the basis of that great fundamental maxim of the Constitution, that *no subject of England shall be taxed but by his own consent*. What shall oppose this spirit, aided by the congenial flame glowing in the breast of every generous Briton? To maintain this principle is the common cause of the Whigs on the other side of the Atlantic, and on this. It is Liberty to Liberty engaged. In this great cause they are immovably allied. It is the alliance of God and Nature—immutable, eternal, fixed as the firmament of Heaven.

"History, my Lords, has been my favorite study, and in the celebrated writings of antiquity have I often admired the patriotism of Greece and Rome; but, my Lords, I must declare and avow, that, in the master-states of the world, I know not the people nor the senate who, in such a complication of difficult circumstances, can stand in preference to the delegates of America assembled in General Congress at Philadelphia. I trust it is obvious to your Lordships that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men—to establish despotism over such a mighty continental nation—must be futile. * * * It is more than evident that you cannot force them to your unworthy terms of submission. It is impossible! We ourselves shall be forced ultimately to retract! * * Avoid, then, this humiliating, disgraceful necessity. With a dignity becoming exalted situation make the first advance to concord, to peace and to happiness."

Less than three weeks after the delivery of the foregoing speech in the House of Lords, John Wilkes and Isaac Barré delivered in the Commons the speeches printed in part on pages 557 and 603, Vol. I.

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, IV : 501.

† Pontiac's War. See the last paragraph on page 416, Vol. I.

These speeches were reprinted in America, and helped, greatly, to bolster up the cause of the Americans. The Sons of Liberty sang, with renewed vigor, their patriotic songs*—one of the most popular of which, entitled "American Taxation," had this chorus :

" We never will give under !
O George ! we do not fear
The rattling of your thunder,
The lightning of your spear."

March 5, 1775, an affray took place in the city of New York between the Whigs and the Tories, in which the latter were overcome and routed. Less than a month later the Provincial Assembly of New York adjourned, never to meet again. March 13th, at what is now Westminster, Vermont, officers of the Crown, in endeavoring to force an entrance to the Court House, which had been taken possession of by a party of Whigs, caused the death of one William French and severely wounded several other persons. A few days later the remains of French were interred with military honors in the old graveyard at Westminster, and in due time there was erected over his grave a tombstone, from which the storms of more than one hundred years have not yet effaced these lines :

" Here William French his Body lies ;
For Murder his Blood for Vengeance cries ;
King Georg the 3d his Tory Crew,
Tha with a Bawl his head Shot threw.
For Liberty and his Country's good
He lost his Life, his Dearest blood."

By many American writers it is claimed that William French and his associates were patriots arrayed against royal authority, and that theirs, rather than the blood of the citizens shed in New York in January, 1770†, was "the first martyr blood of the American Revolution." Perhaps these writers are correct. In 1770 the presence of the British troops to uphold the oppressive measures of the Home Government was obnoxious to the patriots of the Colonies, but they had not yet determined to throw off their yoke. The liberty they claimed, and for which the Liberty Pole on the New York Common stood, was liberty under the royal Government, not independence of it. When, however, the royal posse attacked the Court House at Westminster the revolt of the Colonies was in active preparation. The minute-men of Massachusetts and Connecticut were casting the bullets which, a few weeks later, slew hundreds of redcoats at Concord Bridge and Bunker Hill, while the Green Mountain boys had already engaged to take Ticonderoga. The Revolution had really begun.

April 19th the sound of the first gun at Lexington "pushed into the background all the shortcomings, subterfuges and delays of George III." "The first drum-beat in the march of the coming democracy had broken on a somewhat slumberous world." On April 23d a travel-stained horseman rode furiously into the city of New York and spread the news of the fights at Lexington and Concord. It required but little time for the Sons of Liberty, on that peaceful Sunday, to take possession of the City Hall, distribute the arms stored therein and in the arsenal among the citizens, and form a volunteer corps. They demanded and obtained the key to the Custom House, closed the building, and

* See page 602, Vol. I.

† See page 594, Vol. I.

laid an embargo on the vessels in the port destined for the eastern Colonies. May 5th a provisional government for the city was formed at a meeting of the citizens, who pledged themselves to obey its orders until different arrangements should be made by the Continental Congress.

May 10th the Second Continental Congress convened at Philadelphia, while on the same day Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold took possession of Fort Ticonderoga, and two days later of Crown Point*. May 31st the inhabitants—largely Germans—of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, impelled by a love of liberty, passed resolutions in regard to the propriety of throwing off the British yoke. These resolutions were copied into the leading newspapers of the Colonies, and formed what has been called the “Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence.” June 15th the Continental Congress chose Col. George Washington commander-in-chief of the American forces, and directed him to repair to Boston and assume command in the field. He set out from Philadelphia on June 23d. On the eve of his departure meager news of the battle of Bunker Hill reached him. “Did the militia fight?” was his one pregnant question. When told how they had fought he said, “Then the liberties of the country are safe!” July 3d Washington arrived at Cambridge and assumed the command of the army. The War for Independence was now on in earnest.

Shortly after the news of the fights at Lexington and Concord reached the British Isles the Rev. John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, wrote from Armagh (under date of June 15, 1775) to Lord North†, in part as follows:

“*My Lord* :—I would not speak, as it may seem to me, concerning myself with things that lie out of my province; but I dare not refrain from it any longer. I think silence in the present case would be a sin against God, against my country and against my own soul. * * * I do not intend to enter upon the question whether the Americans are in the right or in the wrong. Here all my prejudices are *against* the Americans, for I am a High Churchman, the son of a High Churchman, bred up from my childhood in the highest notions of passive obedience and non-resistance; and yet, in spite of all my long-rooted prejudices, I cannot avoid thinking (if I think at all) these, an oppressed people, ask for nothing more than their legal rights, and that in the most modest and inoffensive manner that the nature of the thing would allow. But, waiving this, waiving all considerations of right and wrong, I ask, is it common sense to use force towards the Americans? A letter now before me, which I received yesterday, says: ‘400 of the regulars and 40 of the militia were killed in a late skirmish.’ What a disproportion is this! And this is the first essay of raw men against regular troops. You see, my Lord, whatever has been affirmed, *these men will not be frightened!* And it seems they will not be conquered so easily as was at first imagined. They will probably dispute every inch of ground, and if they die, die sword in hand.

“Indeed, some of our valiant officers say: ‘2,000 men will clear America of these rebels!’ No! nor 20,000—be they rebels or not—nor perhaps treble that number. They are as strong men as you; they are as valiant as you—if not abundantly more valiant—for they are one and all enthusiasts for liberty. They are calm, deliberate enthusiasts, and we know how this principle breathes into softer souls stern love of war and thirst of vengeance and contempt of death. We know that men, animated with this spirit, will leap into a fire or rush into a cannon’s mouth. ‘But they have no experience in war.’ And how much more have our troops? Very few of them ever saw a battle. ‘But they have no discipline.’ That is an entire mistake. Already they have near as much as our army, and they will learn more of it every day. ‘But they are divided among themselves.’ So you are informed by various letters and memorials. No, my Lord, they are terribly united. Not in the Provinces of New England only, but down as low as the Jerseys and Pennsylvania. The bulk of the people are so united that, to speak a word in favor of the present English measures, would almost endanger a man’s life. Those who informed me of this—one of whom was with me last week, lately come from Philadelphia—are no sycophants; they say nothing to curry favor; they have nothing to gain or lose by me. But they speak, with sorrow of heart, what they have seen with their own eyes and heard with their own ears. * * *

* See page 484, Vol. I.

† See pages 597–610, Vol. I.

"Are we, then, able to conquer the Americans, suppose they are left to themselves? Suppose all our neighbours should stand stock still, leaving us and them to fight it out. But we are not sure of this. Nor are we sure that all our neighbours will stand stock still. I doubt they have not promised it; and if they had, could we rely upon these promises? Yet it is not probable they will send ships or men to America. Is there not a shorter way? Do they not know where England and Ireland lie? And have they not troops, as well as ships, in readiness? All Europe is well apprized of this; only the English know nothing of the matter! What if they find means to land but 10,000 men. Where are the troops in England or Ireland to oppose them? Why, cutting the throats of their brethren in America! Poor England, in the meantime!" * * *

When the foremost men of the Colonies perceived that war with the mother country was imminent, they took steps tending towards either the neutrality or the friendship of the Indians*, whose enmity was very much to be feared. As noted on page 298, Vol. I, Sir William Johnson, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs—who possessed, in a very large measure, the confidence and regard of the northern Indians, particularly the Six Nations—had died in July, 1774, and been succeeded as Superintendent by his son-in-law, Col. Guy Johnson, a very different sort of a man.

At Schenectady, New York, under the date of March 21, 1775, the Rev. Samuel Kirkland† wrote to Timothy Edwards, Esq. (mentioned on pages 285 and 490, Vol. I), in part as follows‡ :

"I have been no farther westward than Col. [Guy] Johnson's. The Oneidas are expected there this day. I came down here last evening upon special business, to bring an address from the Mohawks to the Committee of Schenectady and the Mayor and Committee of Albany. Guy Park and Johnstown have been alarmed for several days. Reports have been that 500 New England people were coming up to take Colonel Johnson prisoner, and were to be joined by some in and about Albany. Colonel Johnson has been at great trouble and expense to fortify his house, and support a number of people for several days, and we have had no sleep there for three nights. * * The Indians are determined not to meddle in the dispute between England and America—or, only Boston, as it is represented to them; but they will support and defend their Superintendent [Col. Guy Johnson], that their council-fire may not be extinguished. They also said to me that if Colonel Johnson had been taken in Albany or New York they should not have interposed; but to have him taken from their side (as they expressed it), they will not consent. It has been reported in these parts that I was taken prisoner by Colonel Johnson, which is not strictly true. The Colonel, indeed, forbid my proceeding to Oneida till this meeting should be over; said he would show me a letter from General Gage, with orders from Lord Dartmouth, to remove the dissenting missionaries from the Indian country till the unhappy dispute betwixt England and Boston were settled. Since yesterday many things wear a different face. I suspect he [Johnson] dreads the consequence of forbidding my returning to my people. If I don't return to Stockbridge, or you should not hear from me by next week, you may conclude I have proceeded to Oneida. * * * I would not have you write to me. Letters begin to be opened and persons examined a little beyond this town. However, there are two sides to the river, and some go the opposite side with safety."

Early in the Summer of 1775 Col. Guy Johnson, under the pretense that he could better control the Indians and keep them from harming the inhabitants by fixing his headquarters at Fort Stanwix, left Guy Park (within the limits of the present city of Amsterdam, New York) and repaired to that post, where he was soon joined by other Tories and a formidable body of Indians. Thence Colonel Johnson soon removed, with the most of his retinue, to Oswego.

Immediately after the fight at Lexington an account of the same was sent by express from town to town. In the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is preserved the original despatch, prepared by a member of the Committee of Safety at Watertown, Massachusetts, on April 19th and sent to Worcester the same day. On the 20th, at four o'clock in

* See page 490, Vol. I.

† See pages 449 and 490, Vol. I.

‡ Extracted from the original letter, which was in the possession of the late Hon. George F. Hoar of Massachusetts.

the afternoon, it reached Norwich, Connecticut; at seven o'clock in the evening it reached New London; at one o'clock in the morning of the 21st it reached Lyme; Saybrook, at four o'clock; New Haven in the evening of the same day; at eight o'clock in the morning of the 22d it reached Fairfield, where another despatch, from Woodstock, announcing the Concord fight, was added. At four o'clock in the afternoon of the next day (Sunday, April 23d) these two despatches reached New York; at two o'clock in the morning of the 24th they reached New Brunswick, New Jersey; Princeton at six o'clock; Trenton three hours later, whence the news was forwarded to the Committee of Safety at Philadelphia. At each stage of their progress these despatches were endorsed by the Committees of Safety in the various towns mentioned above.

It was about the first of May when news of the Lexington and Concord fights reached Wilkes-Barré. In the meantime the Connecticut Assembly had been specially convened at Hartford, and was in session from April 26th till May 6th. Joseph Sluman was in attendance as the only Representative from the town of Westmoreland. May 11, 1775, the Assembly met again at Hartford, in regular semi-annual session; Capt. Zebulon Butler and Maj. Ezekiel Peirce being present as Representatives from Westmoreland. Early in the session the Lower House took up the memorial from the inhabitants of Westmoreland, which had been presented at the previous October session and laid over for action (see page 816), and resolved: That the jurisdiction of Westmoreland should be extended, that a County Court and a Court of Probate should be erected, and "that a military establishment be there made, and Captain Butler is desired to bring in a Bill for said purpose." When the matter was brought before the Upper House that body voted to extend the bounds of the town of Westmoreland, and also enacted that the town of Westmoreland should be "one district of and for a Court of Probate," and that a military establishment should be created; but voted against the erection of a County Court. The Lower House having duly acquiesced in the action of the Upper House the following Act was subsequently passed*:

*"Be it enacted, * * That the bounds of the town of Westmoreland be, and they are hereby, extended westward until it meets with the line lately settled with the Indians at Fort Stanwix, commonly called the Stanwix Line, bounding north and south on the north and south lines of this Colony. And the inhabitants on said tract of land, annexed as aforesaid, are hereby incorporated with said town of Westmoreland, and the same is hereby annexed to the county of Litchfield."*

This new western boundary-line of Westmoreland is indicated on the map facing page 790. Owing to the fact that the location and course of the "Fort Stanwix Treaty Line" (see page 451) was not precisely understood by the Connecticut law-makers when they extended the bounds of Westmoreland, it was supposed at that time, and for some time afterwards, that the extension took in the territory on the West Branch of the Susquehanna which a few New Englanders had several times attempted, and were still anxious, to occupy and improve—which territory lies in the northern end of the present Northumberland County and in the eastern half of Lycoming County, Pennsylvania. However, that section of the Susquehanna Purchase *did not* fall within the limits of the town of Westmoreland—although some writers have stated that it did.

* See "Colonial Records of Connecticut," XV:13.

The bounds of Westmoreland having been settled, the Assembly appointed Capt. Zebulon Butler, Nathan Denison, Esq., Capt. Silas Park, William Judd, Esq., and John Vincent*, Esq., of Westmoreland, Justices of the Peace in and for the county of Litchfield for the ensuing year; Joseph Sluman Judge of the Court of Probate of Westmoreland (with power to appoint a Clerk of the Court), and Samuel Gordon and Nathaniel Landon, of Westmoreland, Surveyors of Lands in and for Litchfield County. A few days later the Assembly enacted†: "That the town of Westmoreland shall be one intire regiment, distinguished and call'd by the name of the Twenty-fourth Regiment, and shall be under the same rules and orders and have the same powers, privileges and advantages as other regiments of this Colony by law have." Then the Assembly appointed and "established" Zebulon Butler Colonel, Nathan Denison Lieutenant Colonel, and William Judd‡ Major of the new regiment, and without delay they were duly commissioned as such officers by Governor Trumbull.

* JOHN VINCENT was born in Essex County, New Jersey, January 26, 1709, the son of Levi Vincent. He was married December 1, 1738, to Elizabeth Doremus of New Jersey, and in 1772 they and their son Cornelius (born in 1737) and their respective families accompanied Jacob Freeland and others of New Jersey to the then new county of Northumberland, Pennsylvania. They settled on Warrior Run, where Fort Freeland was subsequently built—which was about four and a-half miles up the creek from its mouth, and about four miles east of the present borough of Watsontown, Northumberland County. The Vincents were among the occupants of Fort Freeland when it was surrendered to the British and Indians July 29, 1779. John Vincent died in 1801.

† See "Colonial Records of Connecticut," XV: 12, 43.

‡ WILLIAM JUDD (JR.) was born at Farmington, Connecticut, July 20, 1743, the third son and sixth child of William Judd, Sr., and his wife Ruth, youngest child of John and Elizabeth (*Loomis*) Lee of Farmington. William Judd, Sr., was the only son and eldest child of John Judd of Farmington, who was a descendant in the fourth generation of Thomas Judd who came from England in 1633 or '34 and settled at Cambridge, Massachusetts; removing to Hartford, Connecticut, in 1636, and about 1644 becoming one of the proprietors of Farmington, where he died November 12, 1688. He was a Deacon of the Farmington Church. William Judd, Sr., was a well-to-do man. He died in 1751, and upon his monument the following inscription was carved: "Liberality of sentiment, singular veracity, integrity and charity marked his character." His widow was married in 1760 to Jacob Kellogg.

William Judd, Jr., was graduated A. B. at Yale College in 1763, in the same class with Ebenezer Gray (mentioned on page 292, Vol. I) and Vine Elderkin (mentioned on page 463, Vol. I), and in September, 1778, the degree of A. M. was conferred on him by his Alma Mater—he being present, in person, to receive it. Having studied law he was admitted to the Bar of Hartford County, Connecticut, in 1765, and immediately began to practise his profession in his native town. In 1773 he became a proprietor in The Susquehanna Company, and in March, 1774, was (as noted on page 798, *ante*) appointed a member of the Standing Committee of the Company. At a town-meeting of the inhabitants of Farmington held June 15, 1774, it was voted: "That the Act of Parliament for blocking up the port of Boston is an invasion of the rights and privileges of every American, and as such we are determined to oppose the same—with all other such arbitrary and tyrannical acts—in every suitable way and manner that may be adopted in General Congress; to the intent that we may be instrumental in securing and transmitting our rights and privileges inviolate to the latest posterity. * * * That William Judd, Fisher Gay [and nine others named] be, and they are hereby, appointed a committee to keep up a correspondence with the towns of this and the neighboring Colonies."

In May, 1775, William Judd was still living in Farmington, but shortly afterwards—leaving his family there—he removed to Wilkes-Barré. Here he was the proprietor of Town Lot No. 32 (see page 655), which he continued to own until June 15, 1792, when he sold it to Putnam Catlin for £30. In August and September, 1775, Major Judd was at Wilkes-Barré, where he was exercising the duties of his office of Justice of the Peace.

After his release from custody by the Pennsylvania authorities (see page 843) he returned to Wilkes-Barré, where, in the Summer or early Autumn of 1776, he enlisted a number of men for the Continental army. At the session of the Connecticut Assembly held at New Haven in October, 1776—Col. Zebulon Butler and Col. Nathan Denison being in attendance as Representatives from Westmoreland—Major Judd was appointed a Justice of the Peace in and for Westmoreland for the ensuing year, and was also appointed a Captain in the 3d Regiment, Connecticut Line, in the Continental service. (See page 637.) Under the date of December 18, 1776, Major Judd wrote from Wilkes-Barré to Governor Trumbull of Connecticut as follows (see "American Archives," Fifth Series, III: 1281):

"By the hand of Jonathan Fitch, Esq., I was favored with a certificate of my appointment to a captaincy in the Continental service. The duty I owe my country, and the gratitude due to friends, are strong motives urging me to accept the appointment; but when I consider this infant country and settlement, and the probability of Colonel Butler's leaving it at so critical a season, I rather consider it my duty to remain here for the present. Capt. Robert Durkee, who commands these two companies of troops stationed here [the "Wyoming Independent Companies," described in Chapter XIII], is very desirous of joining the army. Could he be allowed to take my place in the army, and I have his berth at this place, it would be agreeable to me, for the reasons aforementioned. My inclination strongly urges me to the service of my country, and were it not for the regard I have to this settlement, would immediately enter into the service. Should I be so happy as to succeed in my wish, I hope I may be allowed the rank of Major, though I expect to receive no more than Captain's pay or rations. My reasons are, that I may not be commanded by the other Captain [Samuel Ransom] stationed here; which will be the case provided I cannot obtain the rank of Major, as his commission will be older than mine. I have wrote to General Parsons to the same purpose. Captain Durkee is gone to the army. I humbly hope for your Honour's influence with the Congress for that purpose."

January 1, 1777, Major Judd was commissioned Captain in the 3d Regiment, Connecticut Line (previously mentioned), and a few weeks later he left Wilkes-Barré for Connecticut, where, having accepted his commission, he aided in organizing the new regiment. He remained in the service until January 1, 1781, when he was retired by the consolidation of his regiment with the 4th Connecticut Regiment. (See

page 486, Vol. I.) Subsequently Captain Judd became an original member of the Connecticut branch of the Society of the Cincinnati. Upon leaving the army he returned to Farmington, where he resumed the practise of law, and where he resided until his death. He represented his town at nine sessions of the General Assembly of Connecticut from 1786 to 1794; in 1788 he was a member of the State Convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States, and for several years about that period he was a Justice of the Peace.

American Union Lodge, Free and Accepted Masons, was constituted at Waterman's Tavern, Roxbury, Massachusetts, February 20, 1776. It was an Army, or a Military, Lodge, and worked in the American army until April 23, 1783. It was re-opened at Marietta, Ohio, June 28, 1790, and was re-chartered by the Grand Lodge of Ohio in 1815. It is still at work at Marietta, and is the oldest Masonic Lodge in the West. While working as an Army Lodge many prominent American officers were members of it; among them being Samuel Holden Parsons, Ebenezer Gray, Samuel Wyllys, Isaac Sherman, Samuel Richards and Jedidiah Huntington. At a later date Gen. Rufus Putnam (the first Grand Master of Ohio), Gov. Return Jonathan Meigs, the Hon. Lewis Cass, and other eminent men were members of the Lodge. Capt. William Judd became a member of American Union Lodge prior to February, 1779, at which time, as the records show, he was serving as Secretary of the Lodge. At a meeting of the Lodge held at Morristown, New Jersey, on St. John the Evangelist's Day (December 27), 1779, Captain Judd was present, and among the names of distinguished Brethren present we find those of Generals Washington, Schuyler, Maxwell and Benedict Arnold.

After the war Captain, or Major (as he was commonly called), Judd became a member of St. John's Lodge, No. 2, F. and A. M., Middletown, Connecticut. Frederick Lodge, No. 14, F. and A. M., now of Plainville, Connecticut, was organized under a charter from the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts September 18, 1787, by several members of the craft residing at Farmington, Connecticut. Major Judd was the first Worshipful Master of this Lodge, and among its members were several other Brethren who had been members of American Union Lodge. A convention of representatives from various Masonic Lodges located in Connecticut assembled at Hartford May 14, 1789, to consider the question of establishing a Grand Lodge. Major Judd presided, and a committee was appointed to arrange a plan of organization, to be reported at a convention to be held at New Haven on the 8th of the following July. On that day twenty-one representatives from twelve Lodges convened at the old "Doolittle Tavern," corner of Elm and College Streets, New Haven, and organized the present Grand Lodge of Connecticut, F. and A. M. "These Free Masons," wrote the late Grand Secretary of Connecticut, Joseph K. Wheeler, "represented the best element in the community. They were men of intelligence and influence, filling dignified stations in the community in which they lived, and whose interests were so closely identified with the welfare of the Colony that our historical sketch of Free Masonry will enter somewhat into the history of the State." Pierpont Edwards (youngest son of the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Edwards, and for years Judge of the United States District Court in Connecticut), a member of Hiram Lodge, No. 1, of New Haven, was elected Grand Master; William Judd was elected Deputy Grand Master, and Col. Samuel Wyllys of Hartford (see page 283, Vol. I) was elected Grand Junior Warden. William Judd was Grand Master of Connecticut in 1792, '93, '94 and '95, and the warrants, or charters, of many of the Lodges now working in Connecticut bear his signature as Grand Master.

For a number of years prior to his death Major Judd was a conspicuous and leading man in the Democratic-Republican party of Connecticut. In the Summer of 1804 he was chairman of the convention of citizens held at New Haven to agitate the matter of forming and adopting a State Constitution. The General Assembly of the State was entirely opposed to this idea, and was so much offended at Judd's activity in the cause that it revoked his commission as a Justice of the Peace. It is said that Major Judd died broken-hearted, in consequence of the persecutions which ensued because of his zeal in the advocacy of a Constitution. His death occurred at Farmington November 13, 1804, and within a short time thereafter there was printed and published, "for the General Committee of Republicans," an octavo pamphlet of twenty-four pages, said to have been written by Abraham Bishop, a graduate of Yale College in the class of 1778, and entitled: "William Judd's Address to the People of the State of Connecticut, on the subject of the removal of himself and four other Justices from office by the General Assembly of said State, at the late October [1804] session, for declaring and publishing their opinion that the people of the State are at present without a Constitution of Civil Government." The following paragraph is an extract from the pamphlet in question: "The Federalists, finding that a royal charter, granted 140 years ago to a small Colony, upon the petition of a few individuals, and imposed on all the rest, and since made void by the Declaration of Independence, could not be a Constitution for a free people; and that a statute law, liable to be repealed at the pleasure of the Legislature, would not do, * * * conjured up this old compact, or agreement [of the inhabitants settled at Hartford, Windsor and Wethersfield], that had been quietly sleeping for 160 years, and we are now told— The dispute is settled! Behold your Constitution!"

On the last page of this pamphlet appears the following: "Major Judd, at the time of receiving notice from the General Assembly, was out of health; but having been chairman of the convention, and being by profession a lawyer, he decided on making his own defence. His extreme exertion, in preparing for this, so disabled him that soon after his arrival at New Haven he was confined to his bed and prevented from making his defence. After a partial recovery he proposed to his friends his wish to publish his brief, or summary, of defence, which, being judged advisable, he furnished them with his ideas on this subject. * * * The work being nearly finished he left New Haven yesterday (November 13th) morning, and having arrived at his house expired at eleven o'clock in the evening. * * * These are to you, the people, the last words of a respectable individual, lately of your number; of a man who served for a long time in the character of a Justice of the Peace, of an officer in the Revolutionary War, of a Representative of his town, of Master of the Grand Lodge of Connecticut, and of Chairman of the Republican convention. In the course of a busy life, spent in political councils and in extensive practise at the Bar, Major Judd had the means of understanding the principles of our Revolution, and the history and true interests of this State. With uniform integrity and firmness he asserted his political opinions in opposition to the powers of the State, and this last opinion, for which he was removed, was expressed at a time when he had strong presentiments that his end was near."

The following paragraph is an extract from a pamphlet entitled "Judd vs. Trumbull; or Plain Truths" —published at New Haven, Connecticut, in 1820. "He [Maj. William Judd] had been a brave and an accomplished officer in the Revolutionary War; he afterwards was a Justice of the Peace in Connecticut, and while he held this office he asserted in a Republican convention that Connecticut ought to have a written Constitution of civil government. For this declaration he was arraigned as a culprit at the bar of the Assembly; men were hired at the public expense to conduct a prosecution against him; and after a hearing he was deprived of his commission of the peace, in a way calculated above all others to wound the feelings of an honorable man. * * * At the opening of the late convention [the Connecticut Constitutional Convention of 1818, which framed a Constitution that was subsequently adopted by the State, as noted on page 243, Vol. I] a vote was adopted in which the Federalists themselves, with two or three exceptions, expressed the sentiments of Major Judd by declaring that it was then 'expedient that the State of Connecticut should have a Constitution of civil government.'"

Major Judd was married December 8, 1765, to Elizabeth, elder daughter of Ebenezer and Mary (*Sedgwick*) Mix of West Hartford, Connecticut. They became the parents of the following-named children: (i) *William Samuel*, born January 10, 1766; graduated at Harvard College in 1787; married to Esther Stanley; was a Major in the Connecticut Militia; died at New Britain, Connecticut, March 27, 1835, leaving numerous descendants. (ii) *Borliva*, born in 1767; died in 1774. (iii) *William*, died in 1776. (iv) *Elizabeth Olive*, who became the wife of William T. Belden, and lived at Poughkeepsie, New York. Mrs. Elizabeth (*Mix*) Judd, widow of Major Judd, died at Farmington September 23, 1806, in the sixty-ninth year of her age.

At that time the statute law of Connecticut relating to the militia of the Colony required that all male persons, inhabitants of the Colony, from sixteen to fifty years of age, should bear arms and duly attend all musters and military exercises of the respective troops and companies wherein they were enlisted—excepting, however, the following persons: Assistants (members of the Upper House of the Assembly), Justices of the Peace, Physicians and Surgeons, Representatives and Deputies to the Assembly for the time being, Schoolmasters, Attorneys at Law, one Miller to each grist-mill, Sheriffs and Constables for the time being, “constant” Ferry-men, Indians, Negroes, and a few other classes of inhabitants. No man could be *compelled* to “serve as a private centinel in the militia” after he had arrived at the age of forty-five years. Every enlisted soldier (unless he were a trooper), and “every other house-holder,” was required to “always be provided with, and have in continual readiness, a well-fixed firelock—the barrel not less than three and a-half feet long—or other good fire-arms to the satisfaction of the commissioned officers of the company to which he doth belong; a good sword, or cutlass; a worm; primer and priming-wire fit for his gun; a cartridge-box; one pound of good powder; four pounds of bullets fit for his gun, and twelve flints—on penalty of three shillings for want of such arms and ammunition, and one shilling for each defect.” It was provided that each company should choose a Clerk, who should “give his attendance in the field, with his sword by his side,” on each of the muster-or training-days—to keep or call the muster-rolls, and make out the enrolment-lists twice each year, to be delivered to the Captain commanding the company; also to execute warrants for the levying of fines against delinquents.

In every train-band where there were sixty-four soldiers, exclusive of the officers, it was provided that there should be one Captain, one Lieutenant, one Ensign and four Sergeants; where there were only thirty-two soldiers in a company, there should be one Lieutenant, one Ensign and two Sergeants, and where there were but twenty-four soldiers, there should be one Ensign and two Sergeants. The members of each company or train-band had liberty to nominate and elect their several officers, of whom all above the rank of Sergeant were thereupon “established” by the General Assembly and commissioned by the Governor. The chief commissioned officer of each company was empowered to designate the “days of training and trooping”—three days’ warning to the men being given through the Clerk of the company. It was provided that the training-days should be “in some or either of the months of March, April, May, September, October and November of each year;” and, declared the law, “every centinel shall appear compleat in his arms on every such day; * * and every person liable to train, having been duly warn’d and not appearing and attending the same, shall pay a fine of three shillings—except he make within twelve days a satisfactory excuse to the commanding officer.” The annual inspection of arms and ammunition was required to be held on the first Monday in May. The law permitted one troop of horse—to consist of no more than sixty-four officers and men—to be attached to each regiment in the Colony.

At the session of the General Assembly held in December, 1775, the following regulation regarding the militia was adopted.

"Whereas this Assembly, in May, 1769, did establish and order that the military exercise called the 'Norfolk Militia Exercise' should be used and practised by the militia of the Colony for the future; And Whereas the Continental army have adopted the military exercise usually called the 'Manual Exercise', as ordered by His Majesty in the year 1764, which is esteemed preferable in many respects to the said 'Norfolk Militia Exercise', for the purpose of preparing the soldiery for real service—*Resolved by this Assembly*, That for the future the military exercise called the 'Manual Exercise', ordered by His Majesty in 1764, shall be observed and practised by the militia in this Colony."

At or near the close of the May session of the Connecticut Assembly Governor Trumbull received a letter from Thomas Life, Esq., the Agent of the Colony at London. It was dated April 5, 1775, and read in part as follows:

"There was a flying report some time ago that the acts of some people in your Colony, in going down to Boston to oppose the King's troops, had subjected your Charter to be forfeited, but have not heard anything lately about it. The Colony of Rhode Island, it is said, is likewise in the same predicament for seizing the King's powder. I received notice from the Board of Trade to attend them on the 20th of March last on Messrs. Penn's petition, which I accordingly did, and prayed two months' time to be heard on behalf of your Colony by counsel. Mr. Baker, who married one of Mr. Penn's daughters, appeared on behalf of the petitioners, and opposed me very strongly, and it was with the utmost difficulty I obtained time till the first of May next, and I must be prepared in all events by that time. Indeed, Mr. Baker at first objected to my having any more time than a fortnight, or a month at most. * * Since I wrote by the last packet Mr. Nuthall is dead and is succeeded by Mr. Hoole, whom I mentioned in my former letters to be his partner. On application to this gentleman he attended with me at the Board of Trade in behalf of Colonel Dyer and the other Susquehannah proprietors, but their Lordships would not then hear him, as they were of opinion that it was not then the proper time."

Near the end of June, 1775, news reached Wilkes-Barré of the battle of Bunker Hill (see page 484, Vol. I), and a few weeks later there was received in the village a printed circular containing the following resolves of the Continental Congress, then in session at Philadelphia.

"That it be recommended to the inhabitants of the United English Colonies in North America that all able-bodied, effective men between sixteen and fifty years of age, in each Colony, immediately form themselves into regular companies of militia, to consist of one Captain, two Lieutenants, one Ensign, four Sergeants, four Corporals, one Clerk, one Drummer, one Fifer, and about sixty-eight privates. That each soldier be furnished with a good musket that will carry an ounce ball, with a bayonet, steel ramrod, worm, priming-wire and brush fitted thereto; a cutting sword or tomahawk; a cartridge-box that will contain twenty-three rounds of cartridges and twelve flints, and a knapsack. That the companies be formed into regiments or battalions, officered with a Colonel, a Lieutenant Colonel, two Majors and an Adjutant, or Quartermaster. * * * That all the militia take proper care to acquire military skill, and be well prepared for defence, by each man being provided with one pound of good gunpowder and four pounds of ball fitted to his gun."

Accompanying the foregoing circular was a little pamphlet printed by W. & T. Bradford, Philadelphia, entitled: "Several methods of making salt-petre; recommended to the inhabitants of the United Colonies by their representatives in Congress."

In July, 1775, the Rev. P. V. Fithian, a graduate of Princeton College in 1772, and a Presbyterian minister, was making a missionary tour through the southern part of Northumberland County, Pennsylvania. On July 12th he was at the home of Col. William Piper, at Warrior Run (where the village of Dewart now stands), when he made the following entry in his journal*:

"The people here are all cordial and inveterate enemies of the Yankees, who are settling about in this Province on the land in dispute between Connecticut and Pennsylvania. It is said they are intending to come down into this neighborhood and fix upon the unsettled land; which exasperates the people generally."

Thursday, July 20, 1775, in pursuance of a recommendation made by Congress, a "solemn Continental Fast" was observed by the Whigs

* See Fgle's *Historical Register* for 1883-'84.

throughout the country. In all the principal towns and villages business was suspended, and religious services were held in the various churches. The day was carefully observed in the town of Westmoreland, and at Wilkes-Barré a large company of the inhabitants assembled to listen to a sermon preached by the Rev. Jacob Johnson*. Some five or six days subsequently to the fast-day a company of Indians arrived at Wilkes-Barré from Oghwaga (see the note on page 257, Vol. I)† and a Tuscarora village on the Susquehanna a few miles below Oghwaga. The chiefs of the delegation were "Captain John," an Oghwaga Indian, and a Tuscarora chief with an unpronounceable name, and the first named bore a written message signed by three



Oghwaga chiefs (including "Captain John" himself), addressed to the inhabitants of Westmoreland. The latter were thanked in the message for their kindness to the Indians at Oghwaga, and then occurred this sentence: "We hope you will also be kind to our brethren ye Tuscaroras whenever they come amongst you, and afford them some relief if it is in your power." The message also contained a reference to the trouble between Great Britain and the Colonies, "but," it stated, "we shall only strive for peace, and not hearken to either party that may invite us to join them." Accompanied by the forms and ceremonies usual on such occasions,

this message was delivered to Col. Zebulon Butler on July 27th, in the presence of a number of the inhabitants, including some of the militia. Subsequently the Rev. Jacob Johnson, who was present, wrote an account of the conference, to be transmitted to a friend in New England. The original draft of this document is now in the possession of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, and reads as follows:

"WYOMING IN WESTMORELAND, AUGST 20th 1775.

"Had a late conference here with the Indians—

"Present, Col. Zebulon Butler, Joseph Sleuman, Esq., & many others. As also *Ieyeounghkmojahauh*, a Tuscarora Chief, with several Head-men of the Six Nations, Together with an Interpreter, and attendants to the number of thirty or more. The Chief produced a letter from *Onenhoghkwage*‡, directed to Colonel Butler, bearing date 3d July, 1775, subscribed by *Toohnehteaughgogh*, *Tsolehoone*, and *Pejeehtaugh*, or *Adam*, *Isaack*, and *Captain John*—three Chiefs of the Six Nations; shewing the moving cause of their coming here at this time, &c., of which proper notice being taken, the Chief proceeded to make the following speech:

"*Brothers*—We come to make you a visit, and let you know we were at the Treaty at Oswego with Col. Guy Johnson. We are all of one mind. We are friends, and bring you good news.

* See page 829.

† The Oghwaga Indians, at the period mentioned, were, according to Halsey (in "The Old New York Frontier," page 28), "detachments from the Mohawks, Oneidas, and other tribes." As early as 1757 Oghwaga had become what Stone calls "an aboriginal Port Royal, where many of the Six Nations who had become disgusted with the politics of their several cantons were in the habit of settling." During the early days of the Revolutionary War it was the largest Indian town in that section of New York, having "an orchard, a church, a fort, and many other signs of civilization." It was also a headquarters for Joseph Brant.

‡ Oghwaga.

"*Brothers*—We come also to let you know the Six Nations have been somewhat afraid, but now are glad to see all things look like Peace; and they think there will be no quarrel among yourselves, with one another; and you must not believe bad reports, or remember times past that have been unfriendly.

"*Brothers*—All our Spirits are one colour; why should we not be of one mind? Continue to be Brothers, as our Fathers and Grandfathers were?

"*Brothers*—We hope & desire you may hold the Rights & Liberties you now enjoy.

"*Brothers*—We must tell you we are sorry to see two Brothers are fighting one with another. Should be glad to hear the quarrel was at an end. We choose not to take part on one side or the other; but to sit down & smoke our Pipes. The quarrel to us looks unnatural. We do not well understand it. We are for Peace!

"*Brothers*—When our young men come to hunt your way, don't dream they come to hurt you. No, they come to get things they want, & trade with you.

"*Brothers*—We desire WYOMING may be the Place where the great men may meet, & have a Fire to sit & smoke by, as a Token of Peace & friendship; & which ever hereafter may be called the WYOMING FIRE.

"*Brothers*—You see but one of our Chief-men. You may from that think he speaks only for One; but we assure you he speaks for the Six Nations. We are all of one mind!

"*Brothers*—What we say is not from the lips, but from the Heart. If any Indians of little note or Name should talk otherwise, you must not mind them; but remember what has been said & wrote by the Chiefs—which may be depended on.

"*Brothers*—We live at the head of the Waters (Susquehannah). Listen to no Reports or Stories that may come up the stream, or any other way; but look to the head of the Waters for Truth. And we do now assure you, so long as these waters Run so long you may depend on our Friendship. We are all of one mind, and are all for Peace!"

"To which address a full & friendly answer was giv'n, to the great satisfaction of the chief & his company. Meantime care was taken to provide for the necessity & comfort of the Indians during their stay here. Before their departure several other Indians from the Mohaque* Country & elsewhere coming in, it was tho't proper to renew the Conference. At which the foresaid Chief requested & desired that the Great Road from the Head of the Waters *viâ* Wyoming to Philadelphia should be kept open straight & plain, that they might see their way thro' & not fear danger. * * * * At the close of this meeting further care was taken to supply the Indians with Provisions, as they needed, on their way to the Head of the Waters—and since, as they or others pass'd or Repass'd this way, which is now very common.

"Besides the above Conference, we have had repeated assurances of the pacific & friendly disposition of the Indians all around us; so that our Friends at a distance, or women & children that are here with us, have no cause of fear. In a word, this fruitful Land lyes as it were with open arms inviteing the Proprietors, & all wholesome Inhabitants, to come & settle themselves here, & fill this New World even to the great Sea. The Inhabitants multiply fast. People from all parts are coming in. Some more able & faithful ministers are greatly needed. There has been a more open ear of late to hear the Word than usual. The General Continental Fast was attended with more People than perhaps ever met on this Ground for Religious worship before."

On the day (July 28th) following the delivery of the aforementioned message Colonel Butler held another conference with the Indians at Wilkes-Barré, in the course of which he delivered to them a speech, an original draft of which—endorsed in the handwriting of Colonel Butler, "Indian Message, 28 July, 1775"—is now in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, and reads as follows:

"*Brothers*—We thank you for this visit, and the information of the late treaty. We are glad to hear that the Six Nations are of one mind, and the good news you bring us, and we make you heartily welcome.

"*Brothers*—We are sorry the Six Nations have had any fears from us; we are glad to find your fears removed. We shall not stir up any quarrels with the Six Nations. We do not believe the bad reports—neither will we remember bad times to your hurt. * * *

"*Brothers*—We are obliged to you for the good desires you express, that we may retain those privileges and liberties which God and Nature have given us.

"*Brothers*—We truly lament the unhappy quarrel that subsists between Old and New England. We acknowledge we are brothers. We act on the defensive. We fight for nothing but our liberties and property. We all hope for peace, and that soon.

"*Brothers*—Your young men are welcome to hunt in our neighborhood, and we are glad to trade with them for their skins, &c., but you must caution them not to make our women and children afraid, either by word or action.

"*Brothers*—We are willing to have a Wyoming Fire, which shall be lasting, and we will apply to our Great Chief, Governor Trumbull, that he may appoint some chiefs to

* Mohawk.

meet you at the Wyoming Fire so often as shall be thought best, which we doubt not will be done.

"*Brothers*—We make no doubt but this chief who brought this good news is an honest man, and gives us a true account of the Six Nations, and we believe you to be of one mind. * * *

"*Brothers*—We shall pay no regard to the reports that may come up the stream by the small Indians, but shall look to the head of the Susquehannah waters for Truth, where the chiefs of the Six Nations live; and, if you do not turn the waters out of their natural courses, our friendship will be as lasting as yours—which we hope will not have an end."

These Indians remained at Wilkes-Barré until the 2d or 3d of August, and then set out on their homeward journey. Relative to their visit to Wilkes-Barré there are now in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society two original papers, (1) in the handwriting of Maj. Ezekiel Peirce, and (2) in the handwriting of Col. Zebulon Butler, as follows:

(1) "We the subscribers do promise to deliver ye quantity of grain that we shall set to our names, for our Brethren ye Indians, to carry them to their homes. As witness our hands this 1st day of August, 1775.

[Signed]

"Capt. R. GEER, $\frac{1}{2}$ bus.	PHILIP GOSS, 1 bus.	"Col. ZEB ^N BUTLER, 1 bus.
"JEDIDIAH STEVENS, $\frac{1}{2}$ bus.	OBADIAH GORE, JR., $\frac{1}{2}$ bus.	ELISHA SWIFT, $\frac{1}{2}$ bus.
"JER ^E ROSS, $\frac{1}{2}$ bus.	PHILIP WEEKS, $\frac{1}{2}$ bus.	TIMOTHY HOPKINS, $\frac{1}{2}$ bus.
"TITUS HINMAN, $\frac{1}{2}$ bus.	'Deacon' KELLOGG, $\frac{1}{2}$ bus.	JOHN DORRANCE, $\frac{1}{2}$ bus.
		EZEKIEL PEIRCE, $\frac{1}{2}$ bus."

(2) "Memorandum of what I expended in counsel with the Indians at Westmoreland, 1775: 2 bus. of corn, 5 sh.; victuals, 12 sh.; $3\frac{1}{2}$ bus. wheat, @ 5 sh., 17 sh. 6 d.; 4 lbs. tobacco, @ 6 d., 2 sh.; 2 quarts of rum & $\frac{1}{2}$ bus. rye, 4 sh. 9 d; 1 bus. rye & 1 bus. corn, 5 sh.; 1 bus. corn & 32 lbs. flour, 5 sh."

At German Flats, New York, August 15, 1775, the Continental Commissioners of Indian Affairs in and for the Northern Department met and invited the Six Nation Indians to a conference with them at Albany. A large number of Indians—representing the various tribes of the Six Nations, as well as other tribes—having arrived at Albany on August 25th, the treaty was begun, and was carried on until September 1st, as briefly related on page 490, Vol. I. Both at German Flats and at Albany the Commissioners produced and exhibited to the Indians an ancient belt of wampum that had been "given by the Six Nations, by [the hands of] the Indian called *Kayinguaraghtoh**, of the Seneca nation." Among the principal chiefs and speakers present at Albany were *Tegnagerat*, an Oneidan, who (as shown on page 276, Vol. I) was one of the signers of the Indian deed to The Susquehanna Company; Abraham, the Mohawk (see page 278), the son of another signer of that deed, and *Taokogwando*, or *Tiahogwando*, an Onondagan chief, or sachem. The latter, in his speech in the conference on August 31st (briefly referred to on page 490), said:

"The dispute between the people of New England and Penn seems to us to become a serious affair, and therefore the Six Nations take upon them to speak their minds freely. Many years ago, at a council held in Philadelphia, when *Connasiatigo*† was present, Penn desired the Six Nations would sell him that piece of land known by the name of *Scanandanani*‡, or Susquehanna. The Indians of the Six Nations refused to sell it, saying the great God would not permit them. Therefore they made him a present of that land, known by the name of *Scanandanani*. Penn received it, and made them valuable presents. After this Colonel Lydius, a gentleman employed by the people of Boston, treated with some of the Indians to get that land from them; but he never kindled up a council-fire upon the occasion. He spoke to them whenever he met them; never with more than ten. From these he pretended to make a purchase of that tract. Governor Penn also, at the great treaty of Fort Stanwix, in the year 1768, desired that the land

* *Sayenqueraghta*, mentioned on pages 415 and 437, Vol. I.

† Undoubtedly *Canassatego*, the famous Onondaga sachem and orator—mentioned on pages 81, 197 and 232, Vol. I—is here referred to.

‡ *Skehantowana*. See page 60, Vol. I.

might be his, and distributed among the Six Nations, Shawanese and Caghawagas 10,000 dollars, for which they gave him a writing. This is the affair with which all the Six Nations are acquainted, and any one would lie who said they knew nothing about it."

Considering the occasion of its delivery, and the perilous times which then prevailed in the country, this speech, filled as it was with inaccuracies, was, to say the least, injudicious and inopportune. It is fair to presume that the speech had a bad effect on some of the Indians present at the conference, which, undoubtedly, was just what was desired by Col. Turbutt Francis, the inspirer of the speech.

Returning to Westmoreland from Albany we find the following record of a town-meeting which was held at Wilkes-Barré while the delegation of Oghwaga and other Indians was still here.

"At a meeting of the proprietors and settlers of ye town of Westmoreland, legally warned and held August 1, 1775, Mr. John Jenkins was chosen Moderator for ye work of ye day.

"*Voted*, That this town does now vote that they will strictly observe and follow ye rules and regulations of ye Honorable Continental Congress, now sitting in Philadelphia.

"*Resolved by this town*, That they are willing to make any accommodations with ye Pennsylvania party that shall conduce to ye best good of ye whole—not infringing on the property of any person—and come in common cause of Liberty in ye defence of America; and that we will amicably give them ye offer of joining in ye proposals as soon as may be.

"*Voted*, That this meeting is adjourned until Tuesday, ye 8th day of this instant August, at one of the clock in ye afternoon, at this place."

The minutes of the adjourned town-meeting read as follows:

"This meeting is opened and held by an adjournment, August ye 8, 1775.

"*Voted*, That as this town has but of late been incorporated and invested with the privileges of Law, both civil and military, and now [is] in a capacity of acting in conjunction with our neighboring towns, within this and the other Colonies, in opposing ye late measures adopted by Parliament to enslave America; Also, this town having taken into consideration the late plan adopted by Parliament, of enforcing their several oppressive and unconstitutional acts, of depriving us of our property, and of binding us in all cases without exception, whether we consent or not, is considered by us highly injurious to American or English freedom.

"*Therefore*, we do consent to and acquiesce in the late proceedings and advice of the Continental Congress, and do Rejoice that those measures are adopted and so universally received throughout the Continent; and, in conformity to the eleventh article of the Association, we do now appoint a Committee to attentively observe the conduct of all persons within this town, touching the Rules and Regulations prescribed by the Honorable Continental Congress, and will unanimously join our brethren in America in the common cause of defending our liberty!

"*Voted*, That Mr. John Jenkins, Joseph Sluman, Esq., Nathan Denison, Esq., Lieut. William Buck* and Mr. Obadiah Gore, Jr.,† be chosen a *Committee of Correspondence* for ye town of Westmoreland, etc.

* Mentioned on page 468, Vol. I.

† OBADIAH GORE, JR., was born at Norwich, New London County, Connecticut, April 7, 1744, a descendant, in the fifth generation, of John Gore of Waltham Abbey, Sussex, England, who came to America prior to April, 1637, and settled at Roxbury, Massachusetts. As early as 1637 John Gore was a freeman and a land-owner at Roxbury; was a member of the artillery company there in 1638, and for many years was Town Clerk. He died at Roxbury June 2, 1657, and a copy of his last will and testament is printed in *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, VII:282. His estate was inventoried at £812, 7s. 6d. By his wife Rhoda John Gore had eleven children, of whom the next to the youngest child was Samuel, born at Roxbury in 1652. He was a carpenter by trade, and for several years was a Selectman of Roxbury. He was married August 28, 1672, to Elizabeth, daughter of John Weld of Roxbury. He died July 26, 1692.

The third child and second son of Samuel and Elizabeth (*Weld*) Gore was Samuel (Jr.), born at Roxbury October 20, 1681. He was married (1st) in 1703 to Hannah (born April 8, 1686), daughter of Moses and Hannah (*Chandler*) Draper. She died at Norwich, Connecticut, July 11, 1741, and Samuel Gore, Jr., was married (2d) May 13, 1742, to Mrs. Dorcas Blunt. Early in the eighteenth century—subsequently to 1704—Samuel Gore, Jr., removed with his family from Roxbury to Norwich, New London County, Connecticut, where he continued to reside until his death, May 27, 1756. In May, 1721, he was established and commissioned Captain of the Fifth Company, Connecticut Militia, located in the "East Society of Norwich."

Capt. Samuel and Hannah (*Draper*) Gore were the parents of three daughters and six sons. Of these nine children Obadiah Gore, born at Norwich July 26, 1714, was the sixth child and fifth son. He learned the trade of a blacksmith, and settled in his native town. He was married November 4, 1742, to Hannah Parke (born July 3, 1721) of Preston, New London County, Connecticut. In May, 1761, Obadiah Gore was established by the General Assembly of Connecticut, and duly commissioned by the Governor, Ensign of the Eighth Company (located in Norwich) of the Third Regiment, Connecticut Militia; in May, 1762, he was promoted Lieutenant of this company, and in May, 1766, was commissioned Captain of the same. Obadiah Gore and his father early became members of The Susquehanna Company, and, as owners of one right, or share, each, their names appear among the names of the grantees in the Indian deed of July 11, 1751. (See page 273, Vol. I.) Having been appointed a member of the Committee of Set-

tlers at Wyoming in June, 1770 (see page 652, *ante*), it is quite probable that about that time Capt. Obadiah Gore made his first appearance in Wyoming Valley. Prior to that time his name does not appear in any of the existing lists, memorials, or other records of the settlers at Wyoming; but subsequently his name appears frequently (see pages 658, 694, 715, etc.), and it is evident that almost up to the time of his death he was active and prominent in Wyoming affairs. In May, 1777, and again in May, 1778, he was appointed by the General Assembly of Connecticut, and subsequently commissioned by Governor Trumbull, one of the "Justices of the Peace and Quorum in and for the county of Westmoreland [Wyoming] for the year ensuing." He resided in Kingston, and in the tax list of that district for the year 1776 he is rated at £68, 18s.; in that for 1777, at £92, 12s., and in that for 1778, at the last-mentioned amount. In the "Bill of Losses sustained by the inhabitants of Westmoreland from July 3, 1778, to May, 1780" (see Chapter XIX, *post*) Captain Gore's losses are stated at £306, 1s. When the battle of Wyoming was fought Captain Gore was one of the small company of old men who remained in Forty Fort for its defense. Five of his sons and two of his sons-in-law marched out with the patriots to meet the invading British and Indians, and of these seven five fell on the field of battle.

Captain Gore died of small-pox January 10, 1779. Letters of Administration upon his estate were granted by the Probate Court of Westmoreland March 7, 1780, to his widow, Mrs. Hannah Gore—Daniel Gore being her surety on a bond of £1,000. The original inventory of Captain Gore's estate is still in existence (in the collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society), and the following verbatim copy of it is here given—chiefly for the purpose of showing how meager were the belongings of even a well-to-do inhabitant of Wyoming at the period of which we write.

"An Inventory of the real and personal Estate of Capt. Obadiah Gore late of Westmoreland, Deceased—Namely:

	£	s	d
"One meadow lot in Kingston District, No. 20, containing 48 acres at £3: 10s: pr acre . . .	168	0	0
Five acres of land adjoining sd. lot buting on the river and was part of lot No. 21 . . .	27	0	0
Four town lots in sd. District, Nos. 10, 38, 39 & 40, containing 5 acres each at 40s. per acre . . .	40	0	0
One back lot No. 18 containing 80 acres at 40s.	160	0	0
One undivided right and an half in sd. District,	12	0	0
Five 4th Division lots in the District of Wilksbarre containing 5 acres each	47	10	0
One quarter of a millseat on Mill Creek with one half of a set of Sawmill Irons,	9	0	0
One proprietor's right in the Susquehanna	20	0	0
One grant of lands by order of Susqh. Company in lieu of Two rights in Plymouth District	30	0	0
One piece of sole leather wt. 5 lb. at 1/6	0	7	6
One note of hand against James Legget for 25 bus of rye	3	15	0
One do. against James Finn dated July 1777	10	12	0
One do. against Colo. Denison	6	3	0
Two do. against Thos. McCluer	8	18	0
One do. against James Cole	0	18	3
One do. against Jno. Blanchard	3	0	0
One do. against Nero Mattison May 20th 1778	15	0	0
One do. against Anning Owen	6	0	0
Three do. against Elias Church	8	14	0
One do. against Jno. Ansley	20	0	0
One do. against Elihu Williams	3	0	0
One do. against Benj. Budd	5	7	8
One do. against Jabez Fitch	3	4	8
One do. against Capt. Parrish	0	10	0
One do. against John Ewing	0	10	0
One note of hand against Abraham Harding	3	10	0
One do. against Isaac Vannorman	12	0	0
One do. against Capt. Fuller for 20 sheep and 25 lb of Wool	6	10	0
Two do. against Capt. Fuller for 25 lb. of wool	3	15	0
One do. against Jonathan Fitch	12	3	0
One do. against Thomas Bennet	0	12	0
One harrow with 11 teeth	12	10	0
One old plow share	3	0	0
One pair of old Flat Irons	3	0	0
One old Beaver hat	14	0	0
One pair of old plated buckels	3	0	0
Two silver spoons 6/- each	12	0	0
11 vest buttons—silver	6	0	0
One pair of gold sleeve buttons	12	0	0
1 puter Teapot	2	0	0
1 puter bason	1	3	0
1 old great coat	10	0	0
1 old streight bodyed coat	6	0	0
One old linnen do.	6	0	0
1 old pr. of Leather breeches	6	0	0
4 Napkins	6	0	0
5 pillow Cases at 1/3 each	6	3	0
1 feather bed 1 bolster & 1 pillow	2	10	0
1 coverlid & sheet	1	0	0
1 pr. hand Irons	8	0	0
1 Workd. pocket book	2	6	0
1 Anvil	5	10	0
1 vice	1	10	0
1 cow	4	0	0
1 heifer yearling	1	10	0
1 coat lined and lappeld	12	0	0
1 bedstead	5	0	0

£670 — 16 — 11

"Westmoreland
Sept. 1st, 1780.

"Jonathan Fitch } Apprisers under
"Simon Spalding } oath"

"The within Inventory recorded in the probate Records for the District of Westmoreland pages 65, 66, 67. "pr. me OBADH. GORE, Clerk."

"Fees for Administration 3s. 6d.
For receiving probate & recording 7s. 3d.

10s. 9d."

Mrs. Hannah (*Parke*) Gore, widow of Capt. Obadiah Gore, died at the home of one of her sons in Sheshequin, then in Lycoming, now in Bradford, County, Pennsylvania, August 14, 1804, in the eighty-fourth year of her age.

The children of Capt. Obadiah and Hannah (*Parke*) Gore were as follows: (i) *Obadiah*, born April 7, 1744; died March 22, 1821. See hereinafter. (ii) *Daniel*, born March 13, 1746; died September 3, 1809.

(iii) *Silas*, born December 28, 1747; killed at the battle of Wyoming. See hereinafter. (iv) *Asa*, born February 28, 1750; killed at the battle of Wyoming. See hereinafter. (v) *Hannah*, born May 28, 1752. See hereinafter. (vi) *Lucy*, born May 28, 1754; died September 30, 1820. See hereinafter. (vii) *Sarah*, born November 23, 1756; died May 20, 1841. See hereinafter. (viii) *George*, born in September, 1759; killed at the battle of Wyoming. (ix) *Samuel*, born May 24, 1761; died May 2, 1834. See hereinafter. (x) *John*, born February 25, 1764; died August 4, 1837. See hereinafter.

(i) *Obadiah Gore, Jr.*, was born at Norwich, Connecticut—as mentioned on page 831. He learned the trade of a blacksmith, and settled in his native town. He was married March 27, 1764, to Anna (born December 18, 1744), third child of Richardson and Sarah (Plumb) Avery of Groton, New London County, Connecticut. (For a sketch of Richardson Avery and some of his descendants, see a subsequent chapter.) In the Autumn of 1762 Obadiah Gore, Jr. (then in the nineteenth year of his life), and his younger brother, Daniel, came with the original New England settlers to Wyoming (see page 403, Vol. I) as the representatives of their father, a member of The Susquehanna Company; and it is quite probable that the two youths were here at the time of the massacre described on page 430, Vol. I. In the Spring of 1769 Obadiah—accompanied by his brothers Daniel and Silas—again came to Wyoming; this time in the company of settlers led by Major Durkee. He was here during the ensuing Summer (see pages



OBADIAH GORE, JR.

498 and 509, Vol. I), again in 1770, and in 1771 took part in the siege and capture of Fort Wyoming. For this last-mentioned service he was admitted as a proprietor in the town of Wilkes-Barré September 24, 1771; and when the final distribution of the Wilkes-Barré lands took place in 1772 he drew House Lot No. 6, as well as lots in the other divisions of the town. (See pages 713, 728 and 655.) Prior to 1778 he acquired, also, House Lot No. 5, which he continued to own until March 20, 1786, when he sold it to Aaron Cleveland for £15. Lot No. 6 he continued to own until 1787, or later.

During the first few years subsequently to his second coming (1769) to Wyoming Obadiah Gore, Jr., worked at his trade. He and his brother Daniel were two of the small number of blacksmiths to be found among the New England settlers in the valley at that time; and these two were undoubtedly the first men, not only in Wyoming but in the world, to use "stone-coal," or anthracite, for fuel—they having used it as early as the year 1769 in the fires of a smithy or forge at Wilkes-Barré. As evidence that, as early as 1774, at least, Obadiah Gore, Jr., appreciated the fact that anthracite coal had some value, the following paragraph is here introduced, taken from an original letter written in May, 1774, by Mr. Gore to The Susquehanna Company, and now in the possession of the present writer. "There is a large quantity of good stone coals on said tract, which is valuable and the very best I have seen on Susquehanna—as I profess to be judge of that." The tract of land here referred to lay in the lower end of what is now Plymouth Township, near Harvey's Creek, and in later years the Harvey coal-mine was opened on it and successfully worked for a long period. Concerning the connection of Obadiah Gore, Jr., with the early burning of anthracite coal, further and fuller references are made in Chapter LI, *post*.

As early as June, 1772, Obadiah Gore, Jr., was a member of the Wyoming Committee of Settlers (see page 735), and thenceforward, for more than thirty years, he was prominent and influential in the affairs of Wyoming. His name is frequently mentioned in the following pages. From February to July, inclusive, in 1772, he was Town Clerk of Wilkes-Barré. In October, 1772, he was sent by the Wyoming settlers to the General Assembly at New Haven to present an important memorial. (See pages 750 and 751.) In 1775 he was surveying lands in the Wyoming region for some of the Susquehanna proprietors.

Miner ("History of Wyoming," page 192) says: "During the Summer [of 1776] Captain Weisner, from New York, was sent to Wyoming to enlist part of a rifle company for the Continental service. Obadiah Gore, Jr. * received the commission of Lieutenant and raised about twenty men, with whom he marched to headquarters. Soon after, however, it being deemed proper that, as they were enlisted in Connecticut, they should be credited to her, and not to the New York Line, they were transferred to the regiment of Colonel Wyllis." At the session of the General Assembly of Connecticut held in October, 1776, Obadiah Gore, Jr., was "appointed to be First Lieutenant in one of the eight battalions" then ordered to be raised (see "Records of the State of Connecticut," I:14); and according to "Connecticut in the Revolution" (published at Hartford, Connecticut, in 1889) Obadiah Gore, Jr., was commissioned January 1, 1777, First Lieutenant in the Third Regiment, Connecticut Line, commanded by Col. Samuel Wyllis. He (Gore), according to this book, was "on duty at Westmoreland; was in Sullivan's expedition, and was retired from service January 1, 1781, by reason of the consoli-

dation of the 3d Regiment with the 4th Regiment, Connecticut Line." Craft, in his "History of Bradford County, Pennsylvania," says (page 360): "In 1776 he [Obadiah Gore, Jr.] entered the Continental army in a regiment commanded by Col. Isaac Nichols, and served six years; was commissioned First Lieutenant by John Hancock, October 11, 1776, and by John Jay, March 16, 1779." The present writer will not attempt to reconcile these different accounts of the military commissions and services of Lieutenant Gore, but will simply state that there is indisputable evidence at hand to prove that Obadiah Gore, Jr., was a Lieutenant in the Continental forces in the years 1776 to 1780.

Lieutenant Gore was not in Wyoming at the time of the battle of July 3, 1778, but was with the army under General Gates, at White Plains, New York. About the 18th of July he joined Colonel Butler at Fort Penn (now Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania) and was sent by the latter "as express to headquarters"—as is shown by an original document in the handwriting of Colonel Butler, now in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. (See, also, "Proceedings and Collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," VII: 131, 146.) In August, September and October, 1778, and in March, 1779, Lieutenant Gore was on military duty at the Wyoming Post in Wilkes-Barré—and presumably was here during the Winter of 1778-79. According to "Connecticut in the Revolution" (page 267) Lieutenant Gore and the following-named men of the Third Regiment, Connecticut Line, were at the Wyoming Post November 11, 1779. Asa Chapman, *Sergeant*, Thomas Park, *Corporal*, Deliverance Adams, Turner Johnson, Ebenezer Park, John Oakley, Benjamin Potts, David Shaw, Lemuel Whitman, Crocker Jones, John Platner and Joshua Farnum. In May, 1779, Lieutenant Gore was appointed by the General Assembly of Connecticut, and duly commissioned, a Justice of the Peace in and for the county of Westmoreland (Wyoming) for the ensuing year; and to this office he was reappointed and recommissioned in May, 1779, May, 1780, May, 1781, and May, 1782. From 1779 to 1783, inclusive, Lieutenant Gore was Clerk of the Probate Court and of the County Court, and Recorder of Deeds, in and for the county of Westmoreland, and many pages of the original record-books described on page 26, Vol. I, are in his handwriting. In December, 1779, he was elected Town Clerk of Wilkes-Barré, and in 1782 was Treasurer of the county of Westmoreland. He was one of the two Representatives from Westmoreland who sat in the General Assembly of Connecticut at the sessions held in October, 1781, and in May and October, 1782. In February, 1783, he was the bearer to the Legislature of New York of an important memorial from a large number of Wyoming inhabitants. (See Chapter XXI, *post*.)

In the latter part of 1784 Lieutenant Gore removed from Wilkes-Barré to a section of the Susquehanna region which subsequently formed a part of Luzerne, later was in Lycoming, but now is in Bradford County, Pennsylvania. He located first in what is now Ulster Township, but the next year removed to what is now Sheshequin, on the left bank of the Susquehanna. (In the note on page 443, Vol. I, we refer to the original Sheshequin as being on the left bank of the river. This is an error, inasmuch as it was on the right, or west, bank, within the limits of the present township of Ulster. August 28, 1775, The Susquehanna Company granted to Elijah Buck—who in 1802 was living in Tioga County, New York—Aboliab Buck, William Buck, Asahel Buck, Thomas McClure, Matthias Hollenback, Obadiah Gore and others a township called "Ulster," containing twenty-five square miles of territory and located on the west side of the main branch of the Susquehanna at and above Tioga Point. Owing to the breaking out of the War of the Revolution no survey or allotment was made in pursuance of the aforementioned grant, nor was any attempt at settlement made. July 21, 1786, after Lieutenant Gore and others had settled in that locality, The Susquehanna Company—by a committee consisting of Zebulon Butler and John Franklin—issued a new grant for the township of Ulster, which included territory on both sides of the river, but took in only a small part of the territory covered by the original grant. This new township was surveyed in 1786 by Lieut. Obadiah Gore, "Agent and Surveyor" for the following-named grantees—as shown by the original records of The Susquehanna Company, Book I, page 25. Simon Spalding, William Buck, William Judd, Timothy Hosmer, Obadiah Gore, Elijah Buck, Thomas Baldwin, Henry Baldwin, Joseph Kinney, Joseph Kinney, Jr., Joseph Spalding, John Spalding, Reuben Fuller, "Widow" Hannah Gore, Samuel Gore, Abraham Brokaw, Avery Gore, Joseph Eaton, Joshua Dunlap, Lockwood Smith, Aboliab Buck's heirs, John Shephard, Stephen Shephard, Nathan Denison, Joshua Jewell's heirs, Hugh Foresman, Isaac Baldwin, Chester Bingham, Adviel Simons, Zerah Beach, Lebbeus Hammond, Benjamin Bailey, Lawrence and Sarah Myers, Nehemiah Defries, Abner Kelly and Benjamin Clark. This township of Ulster was merged in the township of Tioga in 1790 by a decree of the Luzerne County Court, but some twenty years later it became one of the original townships of Bradford County, and existed under the name of Ulster until 1820, when the township was divided—the portion west of the river retaining the name Ulster and the portion east of the river receiving the name Sheshequin. It was in this last-mentioned Sheshequin that Obadiah Gore lived.)

Craft states in his "History of Bradford County" that Obadiah Gore built in 1787 the first framed house in what is now Sheshequin Township, and that he also had the first distillery in the township. From 1791, at least, until 1821 he conducted a store there—probably the first one in Sheshequin. In 1786 Lieutenant Gore was employed by the Boundary Commissioners of Pennsylvania (one of whom was David Rittenhouse, mentioned on page 792) to assist them, in conjunction with the Commissioners of New York, in running the boundary-line between the two States. As shown by an original MS. in the handwriting of Obadiah Gore, now among the papers of The Susquehanna Company in the possession of The Connecticut Historical Society, "Little Beard," "Big Tree," and other chiefs of the Seneca and Cayuga tribes of the Six Nations, leased to Simon Spalding, Obadiah Gore, Elijah Buck, John Shephard, Matthias Hollenback, and fifteen others, under the date of March 5, 1787, a large tract of land on the Susquehanna and Tioga Rivers, in the "Connecticut Gore region." The consideration paid was £1,600, New York currency, and the lease was to run for a long term of years.

May 11, 1787, Lieutenant Gore was commissioned by the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania one of the two Justices of the Peace in and for the Third District of Luzerne County, and one of the seven original Justices of the Court of Common Pleas of the county. (See Chapter XXIV.) He served as a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas until August 17, 1791, when, under the new Constitution of the State (adopted in 1790), he was appointed and commissioned an Associate Judge of the Courts of Luzerne County, to serve during good behavior. In this office he served until April, 1804, when Sheshequin, Ulster and other of The Susquehanna Company's townships in the northern section of Luzerne County were set off and annexed to Lycoming County.

Craft (in his "History of Bradford County") says of Judge Gore: "He was a man of superior mind, and benevolent in the fullest sense of the word. His name was a household word among the settlers in the backwoods for a long time, and they ever found in him a friend who would assist them from his ample stores as their necessities required." Mrs. Perkins (in "Early Times on the Susquehanna") says: "He [Judge Gore] was a man of dignity of character, and pleasing in his address. He was a man of much taste, and cultivated a great variety of fruit. He also planted the mulberry tree and raised silk-worms to some extent. He was at one time a merchant, and opened a store of goods in his house on the hill, where he always lived, and at the same time carried on farming quite extensively. There was much in his beautiful situation to comfort his family and attract his friends." He was a man of fine appearance, as is indicated by the photo-reproduction on page 833 of his portrait, painted when he was about forty years of age. That he wore a wig as early as 1787 (when he was forty-three years of age), is shown by the following extract from a letter written at Philadelphia in November, 1787, by Col. Timothy Pickering to his wife at Wilkes-Barré. "I have desired Mr. Burkett to purchase a wig for Esquire Gore, but he has not yet found one ready-made. The peruke-makers ask eight dollars to make one."

The following verses from Alexander Wilson's poem, "The Foresters," referred to on page 65, Vol. I, describe the poet's visit to Judge Gore's home at Sheshequin in the Autumn of 1803:

" 'Tis now dull twilight; trudging on we keep
Where giddy Breakneck nods above the steep,
And down the darkening forests slowly steer,
Where woods, receding, show a dwelling near—
A painted frame, tall barracks filled with hay,
Clean, whitewashed railings raised along the way.
Young poplars, mixed with weeping willows green,
Rise o'er the gate, and fringe the walks within;
An air of neatness, pleasing to the eye and mind,
Bespeaks that courtesy we so quickly find.
The aged Judge, in grave apparel dressed,
To cushioned chairs invites each weary guest;
O'er the rich carpet bids the table rise,
With all the sweets that India's clime supplies;
And supper served, with elegance, the glass
In sober circuit is allowed to pass.
The reverend sire, with sons and grandsons round,
Ruddy as health, by Summer suns embrowned,
Inquires our road and news with modest mien;
Tells of the countries he himself has seen,
His Indian battles, midnight ambuscades,
Wounds and captivity in the forest glades;
And with such winning, interesting store
Of wildwood tales and literary lore
Beguiles the evening and enthrals each heart,
That, though sleep summons, we are loath to part;
And, e'en in bed reposed, the listening ear
Seems still the accents of the sage to hear.
The morning comes. (Ye gods! how quickly hies
To weary folks the hour when they must rise!)
Groping around, each fixes his particular load,
And, full equipped, forth issues to the road."

Judge Gore died at his home in Sheshequin March 21, 1821, and his wife died there April 24, 1829. The children of Obadiah and Anna (*Avery*) Gore were as follows: (1) *Avery*, born January 10, 1765. (2) *Welthea Ann*, born August 10, 1767; married to Col. John Spalding, son of Gen. Simon and Ruth (*Shepard*) Spalding of Sheshequin. (3) *Hannah*, born September 8, 1769; married October 8, 1788, to Elisha Durkee (born January 6, 1764), said to have been either a nephew or a cousin of Col. John Durkee mentioned on page 480, Vol. I. Elisha and Hannah (*Gore*) Durkee removed to Scipio, New York, where the former died August 21, 1819, and the latter died April 6, 1855. (4) *Anna*, born February 8, 1772; married June 3, 1790, as his first wife, to John Shepard (born at Plainfield, Connecticut, April 17, 1765), for many years a prominent resident of Bradford County, Pennsylvania, where he died May 15, 1837. His wife Anna (*Gore*) died September 7, 1805. (5) *Sally*, born September 22, 1774; married to Isaac Cash of Ulster (born August 12, 1766; died April 12, 1813). She died March 23, 1813.

(1) *Avery Gore* was associated with his father, Judge Matthias Hollenback and Elijah Buck in heavy land speculations in the State of New York, near the Chemung River and elsewhere. Avery Gore was commissioned Ensign of the 3d Company, 2d Battalion of Luzerne County Militia, May 1, 1789, by the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania. He was commissioned by Governor McKean Second Lieutenant of the 2d Troop of Cavalry, 2d Brigade, 9th Division, Pennsylvania Militia, August 2, 1800; First Lieutenant, January 28, 1802, and Captain, May 26, 1806. He was Postmaster at Sheshequin in 1804 and for several years thereafter. He was married December 12, 1793, to his cousin Lucy (born September 2, 1773; died March 23, 1866), second daughter of (iii) *Silas Gore*, mentioned hereinafter. She was nearly five years old at the time of the battle of Wyoming, and during its progress was in Forty Fort with her mother and two sisters. After the capitulation of the fort they fled from the valley, going down the river in a canoe. Avery and Lucy (*Gore*) Gore were the parents of eleven children, as follows: Calista (born November 30, 1794), Alfred (born September 18, 1798), Matilda (born November 6, 1800), Welthea A. (born March 6, 1803), Henry (born March 20, 1805), Edwin (born September 18, 1807), Obadiah (born October 10, 1809), Ralph (born September 21, 1811), Silas P. (born December 12, 1814), Charles (born October 25, 1816), George (born September 7, 1820).

Capt. Avery Gore died at Sheshequin July 30, 1847.

(ii) *Daniel Gore*, second child of Capt. Obadiah and Hannah (*Parke*) Gore, was born at Norwich, Connecticut, March 13, 1746. In his seventeenth year he came to Wyoming with the original New England settlers, as noted on page 833. Later he learned at Norwich the trade of a blacksmith, and came again to Wyoming in the Spring of 1769, as previously noted. He assisted in the erection of Fort Durkee, and was one of its inmates when, in November, 1769, it was surrendered to the Pennamites and the Yankees were required to depart from the valley. He returned to Wyoming in 1770, and at the original allotment of lands in the town-plot of Wilkes-Barré he drew Lot No. 20. (See pages 655 and 662.) When, in January, 1771, Fort Durkee was captured a second time by the Pennamites, Daniel Gore was one of the Yankees who were taken prisoners and sent to Philadelphia, where they were kept in confinement for several months. (See page 682, and note on page 685.) Returning to his home in Connecticut in June, 1771, Daniel Gore immediately marched for Wyoming with his brothers Obadiah, Silas and Asa in the company of Yankees commanded by Captain Butler, to besiege the Pennamites in Fort Wyoming—as described on page 694, *et seq.* When, in 1772, the final distribution of Wilkes-Barré lands was made Daniel Gore drew, among other lots, Meadow Lot No. 38. Subsequently he acquired the adjoining lot, No. 37. These two lots contained upwards of sixty-six acres, and lay along the river, on Jacob's Plain, in what is now Plains Township, nearly opposite the site of Forty Fort. (The site of the ancient Indian earthwork described on pages 174 and 175, Vol. I, is located on this land.) Here, subsequently, Daniel Gore established his home, and lived—except when driven away by the Indians or the Pennamites—until his death.

In October, 1775, Daniel Gore was established by the General Assembly of Connecticut, and subsequently commissioned by Governor Trumbull, Lieutenant of the 6th Company, 24th Regiment, Connecticut Militia—hereinafter more fully referred to. With his company he took part in the battle of Wyoming, and Miner (in his "History of Wyoming," Appendix, page 46) has recorded the following concerning him on that occasion. "Lieut. Daniel Gore was near the right wing, and stood a few rods below Wintermoot's Fort, close to the old road that led up through the valley. Stepping into the road a ball struck him in the arm. Tearing it from his shirt he applied a hasty bandage. Just at that moment Capt. [Robert] Durkee stepped into the road at the same place. 'Look out!' cried Lieutenant Gore. At that instant a bullet struck Captain Durkee in the thigh. When retreat became inevitable Lieutenant Gore endeavored to assist Captain Durkee from the field, but found it impossible, and Durkee said: 'Save yourself!' Lieutenant Gore then escaped down the road, and leaping a fence about a mile below lay crouched close under a bunch of bushes. * * * After dark he found his way to the fort." Escaping from the valley with other fugitives Lieutenant Gore returned to Wilkes-Barré in August, 1778, and,

taking command of a small remnant of the militia company of which he was an officer, formed a part of the force at Fort Wyoming under the command of Lieut. Col. Zebulon Butler. (See "Proceedings and Collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," VII : 128, 129.) He continued in the military service at Wilkes-Barré as Lieutenant until the Sullivan expedition set out for New York, when he accompanied it; returning to Wilkes-Barré with it in October, 1779. In November, 1779, he was elected Captain (and subsequently commissioned) of the Upper Wilkes-Barré Company in the Battalion of Luzerne County Militia commanded by Lt. Col. Matthias Hollenback.

In 1809 Captain Gore was an applicant for a pension from the United States; and at Wilkes-Barré, under the date of May 22, 1809, he wrote the following letter to Col. Timothy Pickering, formerly of Wilkes-Barré, but then a United States Senator from Massachusetts. (See original letter in the "Pickering Papers," XLIII : 251, described on page 29, Vol. I.)

"I have this day forwarded by the mail a memorial to the House of Representatives for a pension or half-pay (accompanied with the proper documents), for my actual services in the Revolutionary War as a First Lieutenant. I was wounded in the arm in the memorable battle fought at Abraham's Plains in this county on the 3d day of July, 1778, between the troops of the United States and the savages under the command of Butler and Brant [*sic*]. I should not have called on my country for assistance at this late hour, but necessity obliges me so to do, for feeling the pain of the wound more sensibly at my advanced age in life, and in a particular manner in the Winter season, and obliged to work very hard and be exposed to the weather, to gain a support for [my] family. And obliged to pay the State of Pennsylvania a sum of money for my little landed property in this county—which I am unable to perform, unless that I receive a compensation from my country in whose cause I spent my best days."

In the "Bill of Losses" referred to on page 832 the losses of Daniel Gore are stated at £273, 13s. Daniel Gore was married (1st) to Mary Parks, who was born in 1740 and died in Wilkes-Barré Township April 11, 1806; (2d) at Kingston, September 23, 1807, to Mrs. Hannah Finn of Clifford, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania. Captain Gore died at his home on Jacob's Plains September 3, 1809. His remains and those of his wife Mary lie in the little grave-yard near Port Bowkley, shown in the picture facing page 722, *ante*. Three of the children of Capt. Daniel and Mary (Parks) Gore were as follows: (a) *Theresa* (born February 11, 1771; died May 5, 1854), who became the wife (1st) of Aaron Clark, and (2d) the second wife of Samuel Carey of Jacob's Plains—a survivor of the battle of Wyoming, who was born August 12, 1758, and died April 23, 1843. (b) *Zydia*, who became the wife of Capt. Benjamin Bailey (born Norwich, Connecticut, November 7, 1768; died at Abington, Luzerne County, May 2, 1858); lived for many years in what is now Plains Township, and reared a large family of children. (c) *George*, born in 1781, in what is now Plains Township; married (1st) to Polly Larned, who died October 25, 1813, in the thirty-third year of her age, and is buried in the Port Bowkley grave-yard previously mentioned; married (2d) to Susanna, a daughter of John Carey of Careytown, Wilkes-Barré Township; removed to New York, and later to Illinois, where he died (in Fulton County) June 8, 1856. By his first wife George Gore had seven children, and by his second wife, six. Two of the sons by the first marriage were Daniel (who was born March 19, 1803; lived for a number of years at what is now the borough of Wyoming, and died there October 21, 1883) and Joel Rogers Gore. The last-named was born in Wilkes-Barré Township in March, 1811, and died May 24, 1900, at Chicago, Illinois, where he had lived many years—having been a pioneer physician of that city.

(iii) *Silas Gore* was born in Norwich, Connecticut, December 28, 1747, and came to Wyoming first in the Spring of 1769 with his brothers Obadiah and Daniel, in the company of settlers led by Major Durkee—as previously described. He became one of the original proprietors of the town of Wilkes-Barré, and in the first distribution (in 1770) of the lands in the town-plot he drew Lot No. 27. (See page 662.) He took part in the siege of Fort Wyoming in 1771 (see page 694, *et seq.*, and page 713), and in 1772 participated in the final distribution of the Wilkes-Barré lands. (See page 728.) Having disposed of his lands in Wilkes-Barré he made his home in Hanover Township, where he had been admitted as a proprietor. In 1776 he settled in Kingston Township, and there he lived until his death. (See "Proceedings and Collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," V : 211, 219, 231.) In October, 1775, Silas Gore was established by the General Assembly of Connecticut, and subsequently commissioned by Governor Trumbull, Ensign of the 5th, or Hanover, Company of the 24th (Westmoreland) Regiment, Connecticut Militia. This office he held until his removal to Kingston. He took part in the battle of Wyoming and fell on that bloody field. Letters of administration upon his estate were granted by the Probate Court of Westmoreland County March 7, 1780, to Abel Yarrington and Keziah Gore—Capt. Stephen Fuller being their surety on a bond for £1,000.

Silas Gore was married in 1770 to Keziah (born in 1746), daughter of ——— Yarrington of Stonington, Connecticut, and a sister of Abel Yarrington—a sketch of whose life will be found in a subsequent chapter. During the battle of Wyoming Mrs. Keziah Gore was in Forty Fort with her three young daughters, as previously mentioned under (1) *Avery Gore*. Some years after the death of Silas Gore his widow became the wife of Benjamin Clark (mentioned on page 729, *ante*), and they settled in what is now Ulster Township, Bradford County, Pennsylvania, where he died August 9, 1834, aged eighty-seven years, and where she died August 12, 1837. Silas and Keziah (Yarrington) Gore were the parents of three daughters, as follows: (1) *Martha* (born August 20, 1771; died February 28, 1862); became the wife (1st) of Jedidiah Shaw (who died in 1800, leaving four children), and (2d) of Jonathan Wilkinson (born in 1770; died in 1835). (2) *Lucy*, who became the wife of (1) Avery Gore, as previously noted. (3) *Rebecca* (born in 1776); married (1st) in 1796 to James Broffitt, who died in October, 1807, and (2d) in 1811 to Joseph Bloom.

(iv) *Asa Gore* was born in Norwich, Connecticut, February 28, 1750, and came to Wyoming first in June or July, 1769. His name appears among the names of those attached to the memorial printed on pages 508 and 509, Vol. I. He was subsequently admitted a proprietor in Wilkes-Barré, and at the original distribution of lots in the town-plot (see page 662, *ante*) he drew Lot No. 2. Later—probably about 1773 or '74—he became an inhabitant of Kingston Township, and there he resided until his death. (See "Proceedings and Collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," V : 211, 219, 232.) In October, 1777, he was established by the General Assembly of Connecticut, and commissioned by Governor Trumbull, Ensign of the Second, or Kingston, Company of the 24th (Westmoreland) Regiment, Connecticut Militia. About that time he was married to Elizabeth (born July 31, 1756), daughter of Richardson and Sarah (Plumb) Avery of Wilkes-Barré, and a younger sister of his sister-in-law Anna (Avery) Gore—previously mentioned. Asa Gore took part with his company in the battle of Wyoming, and fell on the field. The following paragraph—relating to the widow and only child of Asa Gore—is from the *Hartford* (Connecticut) *Times* of January 16, 1858. "Asa A. Gore of Preston [New London County], Connecticut, is a survivor of the Wyoming massacre. He was born June 30, 1778, and when the Indians attacked the place on the 3d of July his mother was taken with himself (then three days old) into Forty Fort. When the fort was taken the Indians took him in their arms, but soon gave him back to his mother. When he was a fortnight old his mother, with others, fled with him through the wilderness, lying out all night and arriving next day at one John Bracey's on the east side of the Delaware, where she remained three months and then came to Preston. Mr. Gore has resided there ever since. He has twice represented his town in the Legislature."

Mrs. Elizabeth (Avery) Gore fled from Wyoming as related above, but she returned late in 1779 or early in 1780, and resided here (presumably in Kingston Township) until the Second Pennamite-Yankee War, when she removed to New London County, Connecticut. Her name appears in the Westmoreland tax-lists for 1780 and '81. (See "Proceedings and Collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," V : 241, and Hayden's "The Massacre of Wyoming," page 79.) In the "Bill of Losses" referred to on page 832 the losses of Elizabeth Gore are stated at £240.

(v) *Hannah Gore*, born at Norwich, Connecticut, May 28, 1752, came with her father, mother, sisters and younger brothers to Wyoming in the Spring of 1772. In the same year, or early in 1773, she was married to Timothy Peirce, and some years subsequently to his death she was married to Thomas Duane, as mentioned on page 711.

(vi) *Lucy Gore*, born at Norwich, Connecticut, May 28, 1754, was married in 1777 to John Murphy, then of Kingston Township. He came to Wyoming in the Spring of 1769, but whence he came—whether from New England, New York or New Jersey—we are unable to state. His name appears in the list of settlers printed on page 498, Vol. I, and also among the names of the signers of the memorials printed on pages 508 and 509, and 751. John Murphy fell in the battle of Wyoming, and his widow fled with other fugitives through the wilderness to the Delaware River. Kulp, in his "Families of the Wyoming Valley" (II : 813), states relative to Lucy (*Gore*) Murphy: "Her husband, John Murphy, was killed in the massacre and battle of Wyoming. A son, George Murphy, was born in Esquire Depew's barn, on the Delaware, near Stroudsburg, while she was a fugitive after the battle. She subsequently returned to Wyoming and became the wife of David Smith." The last-named was in 1776 an inhabitant of Pittston Township, but in 1777 and 1778 resided and paid taxes in Exeter. David and Lucy (*Gore*) Smith were the parents of a daughter Elizabeth, who became the wife of Theophilus Learned (born at Killingly, Connecticut, in 1791) and resided for a time at what is now the borough of Wyoming, and afterwards in the township of Huntington, Luzerne County.

(vii) *Sarah Gore*, born at Norwich, November 23, 1756, came to Wyoming with other members of her father's family in the Spring of 1772. At the time of the battle of Wyoming she was in Forty Fort. She was married at Wilkes-Barré, January 2, 1782, to Lieut. Lawrence Myers. The following reference to this marriage appears in a letter written at Wilkes-Barré January 4, 1782, by Lieut. Samuel Shippard, addressed to "Col. Zebulon Butler, at Camp Connecticut Huts," "Last Wednesday were married Mr. Myers to Mrs. Sally Gore, and Mr. Baulding [Gideon Baldwin] to Mrs. Fuller. All the respectable inhabitants attended first at the widow Gore's, and in the evening were all desired to attend at Capt. [Stephen] Fuller's." * * *

Lawrence Myers was born in 1754 in Germany, and in 1760 accompanied his parents to America, settling at Frederick, Maryland. April 8, 1777, he was commissioned Lieutenant of Capt. Anthony Selin's company in Baron de Ottendorff's Independent Corps in the Continental service (concerning this corps see Chapter XVIII), and with his company came to Wilkes-Barré in the Spring of 1779 to take part in the Sullivan Expedition—*q. v.* He was honorably discharged from the military service at Wilkes-Barré in the Spring of 1780, and after his marriage settled in Kingston Township. For a number of years after the erection of Luzerne County he was a Justice of the Peace, being commissioned as such, and also as a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas of Luzerne County, July 7, 1790. From 1799 to 1801, inclusive, he was one of the Commissioners of Luzerne County. When, in the Autumn of 1787, the militia establishment of the county was organized, Lawrence Myers was elected and commissioned Major of the First Battalion, commanded by Lieut. Col. Matthias Hollenback. Major Myers was succeeded in this office in 1790 by Rosewell Welles. Major Myers died at his home in Kingston Township November 26, 1810, being survived by his wife, but no children.

Mrs. Sarah (*Gore*) Myers was married (2d) at Kingston April 15, 1811, by the Rev. George Lane, to the Rev. Benjamin Bidlack—of whom a sketch will be found in a subsequent chapter. Mrs. Bidlack died in Kingston Township May 20, 1841, and Mr. Bidlack died there November 27, 1845. Their remains lie in Forty Fort Cemetery.

(ix) *Samuel Gore*, born at Norwich May 24, 1761, came with his parents to Wyoming at the age of eleven years. He resided in Kingston Township—except when compelled by the Indians or Pennamites to leave the valley—until 1784, when he removed to what is now Sheshequin, Bradford County, Pennsylvania. There he lived until his death, occupied as a farmer, and for some years filling the office of Justice of the Peace. In January, 1832, being an applicant for a pension from the United States, he presented a petition on the subject to the National Congress, a copy of which is printed in Mrs. Perkins' "Early Times on the Susquehanna." The following extracts from it are printed here for the purpose of aiding the reader to form a correct idea of the hardships which were undergone and the services which were performed by the young men of Wyoming Valley during the Revolutionary War.

"That he resided at Wyoming Settlement at the commencement of the late Revolutionary War; that in the year 1777, in the month of May [having just passed his sixteenth birthday], he was enrolled in the militia of Capt. Aholiab Buck's company [the Second, or Kingston, Company of the 24th Regiment, Connecticut Militia], and took the oath of allegiance, to be true and faithful to the cause then at issue; that in December, the same year, he was drafted on a tour of duty up the river as far as Wysox and Towanda; the command he was attached to took twenty-eight prisoners, men that had served under General Burgoyne the preceding campaign; that in the year 1778 the Settlement was in almost continual alarm the fore part of the season—what added mostly to our fears was, that three companies of soldiers had been enlisted in the Settlement, and had joined the main army of Washington. The militia that was left was on duty the principal part of the time, in fortifying, scouting, and learning the military discipline, till the month of July, when the Settlement was invaded by the British and Indians under the command of Col. John Butler and Brandt [*sic*], the Indian chief.

"Your petitioner was in the memorable battle and massacre of Wyoming, and narrowly escaped the fate of five brethren, and the officers and principal part of the company to which he belonged. In addition to his misfortune, in running across a bay, or morass, every step over the knees in mud and mire, and the Indians in close pursuit, by over-exertion he caused a breach in his body which has been a painful and troublesome disorder ever since. It is unnecessary to describe the entire destruction of the settlement by the enemy, the dispersions and hardships of the fugitives. Old men, women and children fleeing through the wilderness, carrying with them scarcely enough to support nature by the way. The place was retaken in August or September following, by Col. Zebulon Butler and Capt. Simon Spalding, and a garrison [was] replaced there. Your petitioner returned soon after, and served as a volunteer during the years of 1779, 1780 and 1781, and was subject to be called on in every case of emergency. * * * In the year 1782 [*sic*] Captain Spalding's company was called to join the main army, at headquarters, and a company of invalids was stationed at the post [in Wilkes-Barré], commanded by a Captain Mitchell—soldiers that were not calculated for the woods, scouting, etc. Colonel Denison gave orders to have the militia organized and classed, which took place. John Franklin was chosen Captain. Your petitioner was appointed a Sergeant, and had the command of a class, which was ordered to be ready at the shortest notice to scout the woods and to follow any party of the enemy that should be sent on their murderous excursions. That he performed four tours of scouting that season, of about eight days each. Your petitioner never drew any pay, clothing or rations during the contest for Independence, but ammunition he was supplied with from the Continental store. Had the charge of the family at the time (his father being dead), and had to support himself as well as he could by laboring between spells, and frequently ploughing with his musket slung at his back." * * *

Samuel Gore was married about 1785 to Sarah (born April 10, 1764), daughter of Abraham Brokaw, an early settler in Wyoming under The Susquehanna Company. Samuel Gore died May 2, 1834, and his wife died November 17, 1845. Their children were as follows: (1) *Samuel K.*, born in 1787; married to Calista, daughter of (1) Avery Gore; died July 9, 1840. (2) *Silas*. (3) *Sally M.* (4) *Abraham B.* (5) *Judith H.* (6) *Nellie H.* (7) *George D.*

(x) *John Gore*, youngest child of Capt. Obadiah and Hannah (*Parke*) Gore, was born at Norwich February 25, 1764, and in the ninth year of his life accompanied his parents to Wyoming. At the time of the battle of July 3, 1778, he was in Forty Fort, whence he fled with his mother and sisters after the capitulation of the fort. Returning to Wyoming later he made his home in Kingston Township, where he lived until his death. During the Second Pennamite-Yankee War he took an active part

"*Voted*, That Jonathan Fitch, Mr. Anderson Dana, Capt. William McKerachan, Mr. Caleb Spencer, Capt. Samuel Ransom, Lieut. George Dorrance, Mr. Asahel Buck, Mr. Stephen Harding, Mr. John Jenkins, Jr., Mr. Barrilla Tyler, Jr., Mr. Elijah Witter, Mr. Nathan Kingsley, Mr. John Secord and Mr. Robert Carr be chosen a *Committee of Inspection* for ye town of Westmoreland."

At Wilkes-Barré, under the date of August 21, 1775, Col. Zebulon Butler wrote to Ellis Hughes*, Esq., of Northumberland County, as follows†:

"FRIEND HUGHES: Received yours of the 25th June, 1775. Observed the contents; can't say but I am surprised at it. Can't say but some of your people have met with some rough treatment by some of our people; but I'm not to answer for that. You mention you have heard that a number of our people are coming to settle in or near your neighborhood, and that you have got the minds of the people and think it not proper, for union ought to be kept among us. Do you think we are blind, or what do you think of us? I own that at this day we, and all the Continent, ought to be united; but do you expect that we will lie still in this difficult day and let you take the advantage of the times and press on settlers to fill up the land, and we lie still because of the times? You may depend on it, we have a mind to settle some of our land where it lies vacant, and you may depend on it that we have no design to disturb or dispossess any person settled either under Pennsylvania or under Connecticut. You mention the thing of shedding blood. I am as much concerned about uniting as you, notwithstanding you talk of your shedding our blood."

Three days later Colonel Butler wrote again to Mr. Hughes, as follows‡:

"FRIEND HUGHES: It is reported that you and the people near Fishing Creek refuse to allow any of our people to settle on the vacant lands in your neighborhood, under the Connecticut claim. You must know that we are fully determined peaceably to settle the vacant lands in the Susquehanna Purchase, under this Colony [of Connecticut]. Any interruption on your part will be properly resented. It is far from our wish or desire to molest any of your settlers during the continuation of their respective leases, provided they are peaceable and quiet subjects; and we expect that our settlers will be so treated by you and your people. The laws and ordinances of this Colony must be duly observed by our settlers; neither may you molest or disturb them therein; neither may you touch their persons or their properties, as you will answer your conduct to the laws of this Colony and the executive Courts therein. We wish peace and a good understanding between us and you; but you must not expect we will give up our right or relinquish our claim or by any means stop our settlements to make room for you and your people to fill up the vacant lands upon our Purchase. Therefore, relying upon your honourable observance of the premises, I beg leave to subscribe myself your old friend. * * To be communicated to your settlers."

September 4, 1775, the following letter§ from the Connecticut Delegates in the Second Continental Congress, then sitting at Philadelphia, was received at Wilkes-Barré by the persons to whom it was addressed.

"PHILADELPHIA, AUGUST 2ND, 1775.

"*Gentm.*—It has been represented to ye Continental Congress that there is great danger of discord and contention, if not hostility and bloodshed, between the people set-

with the settlers under The Susquehanna Company; was in the fight at Locust Hill, and was one of the party of Yankees who were arrested by the Pennsylvania authorities in August, 1784, and sent to the jail at Easton.

John Gore was married in 1793 to Elizabeth (born in June, 1764), daughter of Jeremiah and Ann (Paine) Ross, originally of New London, Connecticut, but later of Wilkes-Barré. (For a sketch of the Ross family see a subsequent chapter.) John Gore died at his home in Kingston Township August 4, 1837, and his wife died there September 23, 1838. They were the parents of the following-named children—all born in Kingston Township: (1) *Asa*, born in 1794; died June 13, 1855, unmarried. (2) *Elizabeth*, born April 16, 1797; died March 3, 1808. (3) *John*, born in 1799; married to Ruth Searle. (4) *Mary*, born July 15, 1801; married October 23, 1839, by the Rev. Benjamin Bidlack, to Moses Wood, Jr., of Wilkes-Barré; died January 20, 1861. (5) *George*, born in December, 1803; married February 5, 1835, to Harriet (born September 30, 1815), eldest child of Dr. John Smith (mentioned in the last paragraph on page 719, *ante*) and his wife Mehetabel (Jenkins) Smith. George Gore died November 16, 1841. (6) *Sarah*, born May 28, 1806; married July 1, 1836, to John B. Wood of Wilkes-Barré, brother of Moses Wood, mentioned above. John B. Wood (born December 21, 1803) died at Wilkes-Barré April 18, 1877, and his wife died here December 21, 1886. For a sketch of the Wood family see a subsequent chapter. (7) *Jeremiah*, born in March, 1809; died November 6, 1838, unmarried.

* ELLIS HUGHES (previously mentioned on page 818) was one of the original Justices of the Court of Quarter Sessions of Northumberland County, commissioned in March, 1772, when the county was erected—as described on page 724, *ante*. May 1, 1773, Edward Shippen, Jr., and Joseph Shippen, Jr. (hereinbefore mentioned), conveyed to Ellis Hughes 282 acres of land on the left bank of the Susquehanna, in what is now Columbia County, Pennsylvania. June 27, 1778, Ellis Hughes and Hannah, his wife, conveyed ninety-two acres of the abovementioned tract to William Hughes, a Quaker from Berks County, Pennsylvania, who, in 1787, laid out on said land the present town of Catawissa, nearly opposite the mouth of Fishing Creek.

† See "American Archives," Fourth Series, III: 221.

‡ See *ibid.*, 259.

§ The original letter was, in 1900, the property of the late J. Ridgway Wright of Wilkes-Barré.

ting under Connecticut claim and those under Pennsylvania, which would be attended with the most unhappy consequences at this time of general calamity and when we want our whole United strength against our common enemy.

"We are therefore desired to write to you and press upon you the necessity of peace and good order, not only among yourselves, but by no means to give the least disturbance or molestation to the persons, property or possessions of those settled under the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania; and especially to the families, property or possessions of those who are gone as Riflers into the service of their country and to join the army near Boston.

"The Delegates from the Province of Pennsylvania are desired to write to their people, or the heads of them, to urge upon them the same peaceable disposition towards the settlers under Connecticut, that they make no attempts upon the possession of each other, but both sides to remain in peace and quiet, and be cautious and not to interfere in jurisdictions in the exercise of Government, but that they all live together in peace and good order, and unite in the greatest harmony in the common defence. If there should be occasion, you are desired to make no settlement by force nor use any threats for that purpose.

"We are desired by the Congress to write to you the purpose above, and as they may have further to do in this affair we hope your conduct will be such as to give no offence to that respectable body.

"We are your friends and Hble Servts,

"To

[Signed]

"Col. BUTLER,

"Esq. DENISON,

"Esq. JUDD,

"Esq. SLUMAN, &c. &c.

"ELIPHALET DYER,*

"ROGER SHERMAN,†

"SILAS DEANE.‡"

* See page 393, Vol. I.

† ROGER SHERMAN was born in Newton, Massachusetts, April 19, 1721, the son of a shoemaker and farmer, and great-grandson of a prominent citizen of Watertown, Massachusetts, who had emigrated from England about 1634. In 1743 Roger Sherman removed to New Milford, Connecticut, where, for several years, he worked as a farmer and a shoemaker. While at his bench he used to prop up a book before him, so that he could work and study at the same time. In 1745 he was chosen Surveyor of Lands for New Haven County (in which New Milford was then located), and between the years 1750 and 1760 he carried on a general mercantile business in New Milford. Besides putting to practical use in surveying his knowledge of mathematics, he utilized his knowledge of astronomy in publishing for the years 1750-'61 an almanac, the title-page of which bore the following, in part: "AN ASTRONOMICAL DIARY, OR, AN ALMANACK, * * * Wherein is contained the Lunations, Eclipses, Mutual Aspects of the Planets, Sun and Moon's Rising & Setting, Rising, Setting & Southing of the Seven Stars, Time of High Water, Courts, Observable Days, Spring Tides, Judgment of the Weather, &c. Calculated for the Lat. of 41 Deg. North, & the Meridian of New London in Connecticut, by ROGER SHERMAN."

In 1754 Roger Sherman was admitted to the Bar, and the next year was appointed Justice of the Peace and also elected to represent New Milford in the General Assembly of Connecticut. To this latter office he was thrice re-elected. In 1759 he became a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. In 1761 he removed from New Milford to New Haven, where he engaged in mercantile business, but did not practise law. Three years later he was sent as a Representative from New Haven to the General Assembly, and in 1766 was elected an Assistant, or a Member of the Upper House of the Assembly—being continued in this office until 1785. In 1766 he was also made a Judge of the Superior Court of Connecticut, which office he held for twenty-three years. From 1765 till 1776 he was Treasurer of Yale College, and in 1768 received from the college the honorary degree of Master of Arts.

As noted on page 354, Volume I, the First Continental Congress convened at Philadelphia September 5, 1774. "In general, the delegates elect were men of uncommon ability, who had taken a prominent part in the political action of their several localities. * * * New England presented, in John Sullivan, vigor; in Roger Sherman, sterling sense and integrity; in Thomas Cushing, commercial knowledge; in John Adams, large capacity for public affairs; in Samuel Adams, a great character, with

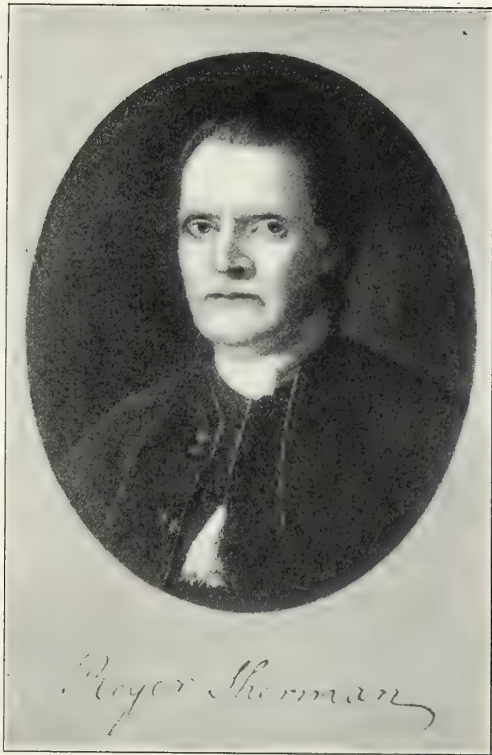


Photo-reproduction of a copy of a portrait painted in 1787.

(By courtesy of the publishers of
The Connecticut Magazine.)

One week after the receipt of the foregoing letter (to wit, September 11, 1775), a general town-meeting was held at Wilkes-Barré. Some unimportant business was attended to, and then, owing to the small number of inhabitants present, the meeting was adjourned till September 19th. On that day Colonel Butler was chosen Moderator "for ye work of ye day", and after some discussion the following resolution was adopted:

"Voted, That Col. Zebulon Butler, Joseph Sluman, Esq., Mr. Christopher Avery, Maj. William Judd and Col. Nathan Denison, they or either of them, be a committee to correspond with ye Continental Delegates now at ye Honourable Continental Congress at Philadelphia; or send a special agent to represent this town to said Congress when they judge necessary."

At the time this meeting was held John Vincent (see page 824), his son Cornelius, and two or three other men who, just as the Vincents, were settled on the West Branch of the Susquehanna within the limits of the Susquehanna Purchase, were in Wilkes-Barré for the purpose of conducting to their destination a company of "people at Wyoming who had arranged to go on to the West Branch to make settlements and extend the jurisdiction and authority of Connecticut to that country." This company of settlers started from Wilkes-Barré on September 21, 1775; but before doing so they signed certain "Articles of Association," or a compact, which had been duly drawn up by a committee. The original of this document is probably not now in existence, but in the hands of Mr. James Terry (previously mentioned) of New Haven, Connecticut, there is a contemporary copy of the original—minus the signa-

influence and power to organize." Roger Sherman was a Delegate from Connecticut in each Continental Congress from 1774 to 1781, inclusive, and again during the session of 1783-'84. June 11, 1776, he was appointed a member of the committee of five Delegates instructed to prepare a Declaration of Independence. This Declaration having been adopted by the Congress (see note on page 355, Volume I), Roger Sherman became one of its signers. In 1777 he was one of the framers of the original Articles of Confederation of the United States of America, and in May, 1787, was appointed a delegate from Connecticut—in company with Oliver Ellsworth and William Samuel Johnson (mentioned on page 478, Vol. I)—to the convention for framing the Constitution of the United States.

At the session of the General Assembly of Connecticut held in October, 1775, the following was adopted: "Whereas, this Assembly are informed that Benjamin Stiles of Woodbury hath publicly and contemptuously uttered and spoken many things against the qualifications of the three Delegates [Messrs. Dyer, Sherman and Deane] of the Colony of Connecticut now belonging to the Continental Congress, with respect to their abilities, integrity and uprightness; and also against the measures that have been adopted by the Continent for the relief and security of the valuable rights and privileges, * * * It is Resolved by this Assembly that the said Benjamin Stiles be cited to appear before the General Assembly at their next session, to answer to the matters alleged against him."

"It was the good fortune," declares R. Eston Phyfe in *The Connecticut Magazine*, VII: 234, "of but one man to be privileged to take part in the making of the four great documents of our early national history: the Declaration of Rights—formed by the convention of 1774—the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution. And this good fortune came to this man not simply in the train of favoring political circumstances, but because of acknowledged merit of great excellence. The man was Roger Sherman, a sterling patriot, whose history should be familiar to every true American, and especially to every patriotic citizen of Connecticut." Roger Sherman was a Representative from Connecticut in the First Federal Congress (1789-'91), and from 1791 till his death (at New Haven, July 23, 1793) he was a United States Senator from Connecticut. He was also Mayor of the city of New Haven from its incorporation in 1784 till his death.

"Roger Sherman is one of the finest examples of self-made men to be found in American history," says Mr. Phyfe, previously quoted. "Born in humble circumstances he raised himself by his own strength of mind and character to positions of the highest usefulness in county, city, state and nation. Going from a country shoe-shop he became the peer of the wisest counselors of the land, and became the honored associate of such men as Franklin, John Adams and Washington." "Only second to Washington!" was the estimate the late United States Senator George F. Hoar gave of Roger Sherman, who was his grandfather. John C. Calhoun declared in the Senate of the United States that it was owing mainly to two States—Connecticut and New Jersey—that we have, as a nation, "the best government instead of the worst and most intolerant on earth." He said: "Who are the men of the States to whom we are indebted for this admirable government? I will name them. Their names ought to be engraved on brass and live for ever. They were Chief Justice [Oliver] Ellsworth, Roger Sherman, and Judge Patterson of New Jersey. * * * To the coolness and sagacity of these three men, aided by a few others not so prominent, we owe the present Constitution." Roger Sherman possessed, more than most men, an intimate acquaintance with human nature. He understood the springs of human action in a remarkable degree, and well knew in what manner to touch them to produce a designed effect. This practical wisdom—another name for common sense—powerfully contributed to guide him to safe results on all the great political questions in which he was concerned, and assisted him to select the means which were best adapted to accomplish the best ends.

Roger Sherman was twice married. By his first wife (who was a Miss Hartwell) he had seven children, and by his second wife (Rebecca Prescott, of Danvers, Massachusetts) he had eight children. Col. Isaac Sherman, mentioned on page 637, was a son, and the late William M. Everts of New York, George F. Hoar of Massachusetts, and Roger S. Baldwin of Connecticut, were grandsons.

† SILAS DEANE was born at Groton, New London County, Connecticut, December 24, 1737. He was graduated at Yale College in the class of 1758, and received the degree of A. M. in 1763. In July, 1774 (as noted on page 393, Vol. I), he was appointed one of the delegates from Connecticut to the

tures—bearing, in the handwriting of Col. Zebulon Butler, this endorsement: "This may certify whom it may concern that I was one of the committee to draw up the above Articles, and that the above is a true copy.
[Signed] "Zebⁿ Butler."

By the courtesy of Mr. Terry we are able to give here a copy of these "Articles"—now printed for the first time.

"1st.—WHEREAS WE THE SUBSCRIBERS, inhabitants of the Colony of Connecticut in New England in America, already settled and about to settle on certain lands scituate on the Western Waters of the Susquehanna River in said Colony—by us and our Associates some time since purchased of the original Natives by and with the consent of said Colony of Connecticut. *And Whereas* the same Lands are claimed to be within the Jurisdiction of the province of Pennsylvania—notwithstanding they are evidently included in the Charter to the Governor and Company of the Colony of Connecticut. *And Whereas* the Governor and Company of the Colony of Connecticut at their sessions held at Hartford within and for said Colony on the second Thursday of May, 1775, did annex the same Lands unto the Town of Westmoreland in the County of Litchfield—granting to the Inhabitants all the Powers, previlidges and advantages the Inhabitants of any other town in the Colony of Connecticut are intitled to. *And Whereas* a Number of the said Purchasers have a mind to settle themselves upon the Western Waters of said River. *And Whereas* it is said a Number of People are now settled on and contiguous to the said Western Waters of said Susquehanna River under pretence of claim under the Proprietors of Pennsylvania. *And Whereas* The Susquehanna Company, so called, have the undoubted right to order and regulate the settlement of the Towns and other the prudential affairs of said Company, whose orders and directions we ingage hereby to pay due Obedience unto at all Times.

"2d.—We solemnly agree and associate together under the ties of Honour and faith of Gentlemen That we will strictly adhere to the recommendations of the Honourable Continental Congress, * * * ready with our Lives and fortunes to support the same when our Country demands our Assistance.

"3d.—That we will strictly and religiously observe the Rules, orders, Laws and ordinances of the Colony of Connecticut, and punctiliously obey and submit to the Legislative, Executive and Ministerial Authority of the same, and at all times hold ourselves in readiness for that purpose.

"4th.—We will not by force, fraud, deceit or sarcasm molest, Disturb, or by any ways or means dispossess any person or persons that are settled under the proprietors of Pennsylvania; neither will we use any threats to that purpose.

"5th.—We will not press or urge upon such settlers under Pennsylvania a submission to the Laws of Connecticut, but at all times [will] stand ready with open Arms to receive and cordially bid them Welcome with us to participate in the benefit of the Laws and Ordinances of the Colony of Connecticut; and that whenever they choose to submit thereto they and every of them shall be protected and defended thereby.

"6th.—We will not desert or absent ourselves from the Body [of settlers] without Leave or License from such committee as shall be appointed to conduct the settlements on said West Branch; who, with the advice of the major part of such settlers, shall, from time to time—as there shall be occasion for—make such other Rules and regulations for the conduct of such settlers as shall be found Necessary, and not inconsistent with the foregoing Rules, the good of our Country or the laws of this Colony.

"7th.—That * * * * Be and they are hereby appointed a Committee to superintend, order and conduct the settlement as aforesaid, to whose counsel, orders and advice we ingage to conform ourselves.

"In Witness Whereof we have hereunto signed our Names this 21 Day of September, 1775."

First Continental Congress, and in 1775 was sent as a delegate to the Second Continental Congress, which assembled at Philadelphia on the 10th of May. In March, 1776, the first American envoy was despatched by Congress to France—reaching Paris in the following June, even before there was an assumption of nationality by the Colonies. "Silas Deane was the man selected. He was the true Yankee jack-at-all-trades; he had been graduated at Yale College, then taught school, then practised law, then engaged in trade, had been all the while advancing in prosperity and reputation, had been a member of the First and Second Congresses, had failed of re-election to the Third, and was now without employment. Mr. Parton describes him as 'of somewhat striking manners and good appearance, accustomed to live and entertain in liberal style, and fond of showy equipage and appointment.' Perhaps his simple-minded fellow-countrymen of the Provinces fancied that such a man would make an imposing figure at an European court. He developed no other peculiar fitness for his position; he could not even speak French; and it proved an ill hour for himself in which he received this trying and difficult honor. * * * September 8, 1777, Congress voted that Deane had no authority to make contracts with persons to come to America. November 21 they voted to recall him. Undoubtedly the vexation which Deane had caused them by sending over a great number of persons to serve in the army, under contracts which enabled them to demand large pay and high rank, was the chief cause of irritation against him. * * The affair of Silas Deane has importance far beyond the merits or the fate of that individual. The quarrel over him and his rights and wrongs entered into the hottest party contests in Congress during the next two or three years."—Larned's "History for Ready Reference," V : 3241, 3244.

Silas Deane died at Deal, England, August 23, 1789.

We are not able to give the names of the signers of this compact, nor is it possible to state the exact number of those who made the journey from Wyoming Valley to the West Branch. Col. John Franklin—who presumably knew the facts—stated in writing*, a few years after the occurrence, that “Maj. William Judd, and Joseph Sluman, Esq., and about eighty others, went on to the said West Branch in a peaceable manner in the month of September [1775].” It is quite certain that there were no women or children in the party.

Under the date of September 21, 1775, William Maclay, Esq. (mentioned on page 759, *ante*), wrote from Sunbury to Col. Joseph Shippen (previously mentioned in these pages several times), Secretary of the Provincial Council, at Philadelphia, in part as follows†:

* * * “The Congress, at the last meeting, ordered the memorials respecting the Connecticut intrusion to lie on their table to the next meeting, on the 5th of September. In the meantime their Delegates were directed to enjoin a peaceable behavior on their people. The 5th of September is come and past; the injunction, therefore, is no longer binding, according to their mode of reasoning. We never had more rumours [than at present] about them and their designs. Samuel Wallis‡ has just now been with me respecting the conduct of one [John] Vincent, who lives near Mr. Moody. This man was some time ago appointed a Connecticut magistrate, and is now at Wyoming in order to pilot down 300 of them to the West Branch. His son was with him, and is returned, and gives out that his father only waited until the armament would be ready. Wallis says he has taken some pains to examine into the story, and for his part verily believes it to be true. If so, we shall soon hear of them. They have lately been at great pains to enlist their adherents into the 24th, or Butler’s, Regiment.

“It is highly probable that every motion of the people at Wyoming is in consequence of orders from the Colony of Connecticut. If so, it is incontrovertible that they intend, *per fas et nefas*, to possess themselves of the country. It seems mysterious that they should be so intent upon pushing their encroachments so far southward into the Susquehannah settlement while the lands west of Wyoming are quite unoccupied and quite disregarded. Perhaps a west line from the most southern settlement they can effect, by art or force, may be contemplated by them, as the boundary of their future empire; that is, in case they intend to leave Pennsylvania a name or place at all among the Colonies.”

On Tuesday, September 26, 1775, Thomand Ball wrote from Sunbury to Colonel Shippen at Philadelphia in part as follows§:

“William Maclay, Esq., being at present so much indisposed as renders him incapable of writing, I have the honour, by his directions, to inform you that a party of the Connecticut intruders—supposed to be a detachment from Colonel Butler’s regiment, consisting, as nearly as can be conjectured, of 300 men, arrived last Saturday night [September 23d] at Freeland’s mill, on the Warrior Run, about thirteen miles distance from this town, where we are informed they immediately began to intrench themselves; and as they brought neither women nor children, but, instead of them, fortifying and intrenching tools—with the additional circumstance of some of the sellers of lands in this County, under Connecticut rights, being of the party—we cannot consider their visit as amicable. In consequence of which a Company, consisting of about fifty men, left this town at one o’clock yesterday [September 25th], in order to join other companies of the County, to meet and demand the reason of this intrusion and hostile appearance. This being wrote early in the morning, by a gentleman who is just setting off for Philadelphia, cannot at present gain further intelligence, but in a few days shall transmit you an account of their and our further proceedings. If the state of our county with regard to arms and ammunition will be satisfactory to you, Capt. [Samuel] Hunter can inform you thereof, from a letter which the bearer carries, as well as his own knowledge.”

The two foregoing letters were, immediately upon their receipt by Colonel Shippen, turned over by him to Governor Penn, who, on the 29th of September, transmitted them with a message to the Provincial Assembly. The next day the House, having taken the subject into consideration, passed the following:

“Resolved, That the Delegates for this Province be specially directed to lay the same before the Congress, with the mischievous tendency the pursuing such measures

* See Miner’s “History of Wyoming”, page 168.

† See “American Archives,” Fourth Series, III: 774.

‡ See page 653, *ante*.

§ See “American Archives,” Fourth Series, III: 807.

will have; and procure the aid of that Assembly to quiet the minds of the good people of this Province, and prevent further intrusion or extension of settlements under the said claim, until the matter shall be determined by the King and Council, to whom both sides have submitted the dispute."

On September 28th the Yankees at their encampment on the banks of Warrior Run were attacked by a force of Pennamites outnumbering them five to one. Meginness, in his "History of the West Branch Valley" (ed. of 1889), page 423, refers to the event in these words:

"Colonel Plunket, under orders from the Government, detailed a strong force of Northumberland militia* and marched to break up the settlements at Charleston and Judea. How much resistance was offered is not stated, but it must have been small, as only one life was lost and several of the Connecticut people were wounded. After burning the buildings and collecting what property he could, Colonel Plunket returned to Sunbury with a number of prisoners. * * * The expedition resulted in breaking up the Connecticut settlement, because it was not heard of again, and the Pennsylvania claimants remained in full possession of the territory."

In an original document—now in the possession of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society—which was written by Col. John Franklin a few years after the occurrence of the events therein narrated, it is stated that on the 28th of September, 1775, "immediately upon their arrival [at Warrior Run], they [the Yankees] were attacked and fired upon by about 500 Northumberland militia—one man being killed and several wounded; the party all taken prisoners, robbed of their horses and all of their furniture; Messrs. Judd and Sluman sent to Philadelphia gaol; three others confined in Sunbury gaol, and the others dismissed."†

In the possession of Mr. James Terry, previously mentioned, is an original document which was sent by the Selectmen of Westmoreland to the Hon. Roger Sherman at Philadelphia in March, 1776. This document, either as a whole or in part, has never heretofore been printed, but by the courtesy of Mr. Terry we are able to give the following extracts:

"Bill of the value of the goods taken by the Authority of Northumberland County, Pennsylvania, September 28, 1775, on the Warrior's Run near the West Branch of the Susquehanna, from the following persons: *William Judd*, 1 gun, £3; seal-skin bullet-pouch, 12s.; bullets, 2s. *Joseph Sluman*, large pistol, 20s.; saddle, 50s. *Peter Finch*, 1 gun, 30s.; powder-horn and lead, 2s. 6d. *Ephraim McCoy*, 1 gun, £2 8s.; horn, bullet-pouch, and ammunition, 12s. *Phineas Nash*, 1 gun, £2 14s.; powder-horn and bullets, 6s. *Simon Spalding*, 1 mare, £12; saddle, £1; gun, £2; powder, 3s.; 2 lbs. bullets, 1s. 6d.; pouch and horn, 3s. *Timothy Smith*, 1 saddle, 50s.; gun, £3; ammunition, 8s. *Parshall Terry*, mare, £8 2s.; gun, 39s.; saddle, 30s.; bridle, powder, lead and horn, 7s. *John Murphy*, horse, £10; saddle and bridle, 30s.; rifle, £3; curious powder-horn, shot-bag and knife, 15s.; powder and lead, 5s. 8d. *Justus Gaylord*, gun, £5; powder, horn and lead, 4s. *Jonathan Weeks*, 1 gun, £2 8s.; horn and pouch, 3s.; powder and lead, 3s. 4d.; shirt and pair of trousers, 12s. *John Jameson*, horse, £12; gun, £2 5s.; saddle and bridle, 25s. *Jonathan Hunlock* and *Jacob Ely* (in company), 2 horses, £26; 2 saddles and bridles, £4 19s.; blanket and hatchet, 10s.; new rifle, £4; 1 gun, £2; ammunition-horn and bag, 5s. *Amos Draper*, 1 gun, £1 15s.; horn and pouch, 6s.; lead and powder, 6s. *Thomas Parke*, rifle, £4 4s.; horn and powder, 6s.; bullet-pouch & lead, flints, steel, knife, hook & line, 14s. *Phineas Peirce*, horse, £12; saddle, £3; bridle, 6s.; rifle, £6; shot-bag and horn, £1; powder & lead, 12s.; expences in gaol 10 days—unlawfully detained—£1 10s. *Hallet Gallup*, 1 gun, £4; pouch, powder and lead, 3s. *Richard Inman*, 1 mare, £12; saddle & bridle, £2; 1 gun, £3 10s.; 1 bell, 6s.; bullet-pouch and ammunition, 10s. *David Inman*, 1 rifle, £3 10s. *William Buck*, gun & ammunition, £3. *Charles Gaylord*, gun, powder and lead, £2 2s. *George Dorrance*, 1 mare, saddle & bridle, £22; gun and ammunition, and Colony Law Book, £4 8s. *John Hyde*, 1 gun, £1 4s. *Stephen Fuller*, 1 gun, & ammunition, £1, 16s. * * * * Total, £646, 4s. 2d."

* In 1790 Robert King of Northumberland County presented an account against the State of Pennsylvania for services performed. The following is one of the items of the account: "1775, September 25. To sundry services rendered by order of William Cook, Esq., Sheriff, against a party of Yankees assembled at Vrieland's [Freeland's] Mill, viz., from 25th to 28th, both days included, £1 10s."—"Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, XVIII: 698.

† It may be remarked here that Major Judd and Mr. Sluman were detained in jail until the following December—until after the adoption by Congress, on December 20th, of the resolution printed on page 856—while the three men who were imprisoned at Sunbury were held only ten days.

This attempt of the Connecticut settlers at Wyoming to take possession—openly and aboveboard, under the auspices of The Susquehanna Company—of the lands on the West Branch of the Susquehanna, aroused very strong feelings of disquietude and antagonism in the Pennsylvania claimants to those lands—many of whom resided in Philadelphia. Some of these claimants, as has been heretofore shown, owned Pennsylvania titles to lands in Wyoming Valley also, and these men, in particular, were doubly incensed against the Yankees. In consequence, a number of the claimants held a meeting at Philadelphia, October 9, 1775, effected an organization (subsequently known as the Pennsylvania Land-claimants' Association), and took action as follows :*

"WHEREAS, It is necessary to assist the inhabitants of Northumberland and Northampton Counties in protecting their property and preserving the peace of those counties, *We hereby promise* to pay the sums annexed to our respective names for that purpose, when called upon by the Treasurer of the committee appointed to receive the same, or any other person authorized by the said committee.

Turbutt Francis,	£50.	Henry Keppele, Jr.,	£20.	Matthias Slough,	£15.
Edwd. and Jos. Shippen,	40.	John Musser,	10.	Charles Stewart,	30.
James Tilghman,	25.	Reuben Haines,	50.	David Shakespeare,	12.
Tench Francis,	25.	John Vandenn,	20.	Owen Biddle,	10.
Andrew Allen,	20.	John and Jesse Lukens,	20.	William Sitgreaves,	10.
John Cox,	20.	Robert Morris,	25.	Edward Milnor,	10.
William Smith,	20.	Samuel Meredith,	25.	Samuel Garrigues,	10.
		John Maxwell Nesbitt,	20."		

To effect the designs of these Pennsylvania land-claimants the following committee was appointed: Joseph Shippen, Jr.,† James Irvine, Turbutt Francis‡, William Sitgreaves, Thomas West, the Rev. William Smith§, D. D., John Lukens||, Samuel Meredith¶, John Cox, Henry Keppele, Jr., and Robert Harris. This committee subsequently requested "Jasper Yeates, Esq., Sebastian Graaf, Esq., the Rev. Thomas Barton and Mr. John Witmore, Jr., to solicit and receive subscriptions in Lancaster County" in aid of the project on foot; and under the date of October 12, 1775, at Philadelphia, the committee addressed to the Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania the following memorial**—the original being in the handwriting of the Rev. Dr. Smith.

"The memorial of the Subscribers, being a Committee for [the Freeholders] of the Counties of Northumberland and Northampton, Respectfully Sheweth:

"That a large number of the Freeholders of the counties of Northumberland & Northampton having lately met together to consider of the most effectual Means for preserving the Peace of those Counties, protecting the private Property of the Inhabitants, and repelling the hostile Invasion of a Number of lawless Intruders from Connecticut, who, taking an unjust advantage of the Calamities of the Times, have long been threatening to overrun those Counties, & have of late made a most violent & daring attempt to settle themselves on the West Branch of Susquehannah, but were happily repulsed by the public spirited & brave Inhabitants in the Neighborhood of Sunbury; and it being considered further that the Residents in those Counties could not support the Expence of defending that Part of the Province against those Intruders without the public assistance—

"Your Memorialists were appointed a 'Committee to solicit such public assistance & to devise such measures as may be most effectual for the Peace & Safety of the said Counties', and have accordingly opened a Subscription & obtained considerable Sums of Money for that Purpose, but find the Counties wholly unprovided with Powder & Lead for their own Defence, which necessary Articles cannot be procured but by the Direction and Authority of your Committee. Your Memorialists conceiving, with all Humility, that *Protecting the Inhabitants of the Province against all hostile Invasion whatsoever* is directly within the Design of your appointment, Do Pray—

"That you will be pleased to order a proper Quantity of Powder and Lead for the purposes aforesaid, and to give such other Directions in the Premises as you shall judge proper; and your Memorialists shall ever pray, &c."

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, XVIII: 617.

† See note, page 361, Vol. I.

‡ See page 489, Vol. I.

§ See page 782.

|| Mentioned in note "§," page 724, and elsewhere.

¶ Gen. SAMUEL MEREDITH, the first Treasurer of the United States—serving from September, 1789, till October, 1801.

** See Egle's "Historical Register", II:151.

This memorial is, in a way, a remarkable document, for it is not what it purports to be—a petition from *inhabitants* of the counties of Northumberland and Northampton for relief and protection from a common enemy—but is a request from a private association of land-claimants (some of them citizens of New Jersey, others of the counties of Lancaster and Chester, Pennsylvania, but the majority of Philadelphia) for public munitions of war with which to fight the citizens of a neighboring and friendly Colony.

Under the date of October 13, 1775, this same committee of the Pennsylvania Land-claimants' Association addressed to William Plunket, William Maclay, Samuel Hunter, Robert Moody and Michael Troy, the Justices of the Courts of Northumberland County, a communication reading as follows* :

"As a large number of the freeholders of your county have chosen us a committee to devise the most effectual means for strengthening your hands in the defence of the county against the hostile invasions of the Connecticut intruders, and as we have collected a considerable sum of money for that purpose, and *obtained an order for some powder and lead*, we desire that you will be pleased to meet Colonel Francis and Mr. Lukens, two of our committee, at Harris' Ferry, on Saturday, the 21st of this month, at which time and place they will acquaint you fully with the application we wish to be made of the contributions, &c., and take your advice therein for preserving the peace of the county, supporting the laws and defending private property. As Messrs. Francis and Lukens take this journey on purpose to meet you, we pray you will not disappoint them or us."

In the Continental Congress on October 7, 1775, a Delegate from Pennsylvania presented the resolution which had been passed by the Pennsylvania Assembly on the 30th of September, preceding†, and on motion the following was voted: "*Resolved*, That the same be referred to the Delegates from Pennsylvania and Connecticut, who are desired to report on Monday next." One week later the Delegates from Connecticut informed the Congress that they had met some of the Pennsylvania Delegates in order to take into consideration the matter referred to them; but, not being able to come to any agreement with them—and as the disputes between the people of the two Colonies on the waters of the Susquehanna had proceeded to bloodshed, and, as they apprehended, might be attended with very dangerous consequences, unless speedily prevented—they moved that "a committee be appointed out of the other Colonies, to take this matter into consideration." Whereupon, on October 17th, the following committee was appointed: John Rutledge of South Carolina, Samuel Chase of Maryland, Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, James Kinsey of New Jersey, and Stephen Hopkins‡ of Rhode Island.

By the Pennsylvania Assembly, at Philadelphia, October 25, 1775, there was received a memorial signed by the following-named members of the Pennsylvania Land-claimants' Association: The Rev. William Smith, D. D., Henry Keppele, Jr., Tench Francis, William Sitgreaves, Robert Harris, Francis Allison, John Cox, Samuel Meredith and Reuben Haines. This memorial read in part as follows §:

"That the late House of Assembly, taking into consideration 'the intrusion of a number of people into this Province, under a pretended claim of the Colony of Connecticut, to the great annoyance of the good people of this Province, did specially direct their Delegates to lay the same before the Congress, with the mischievous tendency the pursuing such measures will have, and to procure the aid of Congress to quiet the minds of the good people of this Province, and prevent further intrusions and extension of settlements

* See Johnson's "Historical Record," III:178.

† See page 842.

‡ See page 263, Vol. I.

§ See "American Archives", Fourth Series, III:1770.

under the said claim, until the matter shall be determined by the King in Council, to whom both sides have submitted the dispute.'

"That the honourable Congress were pleased to appoint five of their body as a committee to hear the parties, and to devise some effectual means for answering the aforesaid purposes; and the said committee, being attended by your Memorialists on the part of the freeholders of the counties of Northumberland and Northampton, and by the Connecticut Delegates in behalf of the claimants and intruders from that Colony, did condescend, with great patience and candour, to hear what was offered on each side, declaring, that as it was not the intention of the Congress to take upon them the decision of any matters touching the merits of the controversy, it would be sufficient for the parties to confine themselves to such points only as might enable the said Committee to answer the purposes of their appointment, namely, to 'devise some way by which the recommendation and authority of Congress may be reasonably interposed for keeping the peace till a decision of this matter, agreeable to the aforesaid request of Assembly.' " * * * *

Then followed a history of The Susquehanna Company's claim—an account of the Indian deed, and references to the various attempts of the New Englanders to establish themselves in the Wyoming region. Then the memorial continued as follows :

"That the peace of the Province has for several years past been constantly interrupted by these intruders, endeavoring to extend their settlements, and to draw off our inhabitants to their party by every undue means in their power; tempting some of the lowest of them with offers of commissions, civil and military; and others, particularly those who hold as tenants, to become landlords themselves, by offers of the lands on easier terms than those of Pennsylvania. That their late attempt to extend themselves westward at least fifty miles from Wyoming, to the West Branch of Susquehannah, was attended with the most provoking circumstances of treachery, as well as want of sympathy for the distresses of their Country, or regard for publick union. Because, in May last, after actual hostilities had commenced between Great Britain and the Colonies, the Assembly of Connecticut made a new law, extending their jurisdiction to the said West Branch of Susquehannah, and thereby exciting their people to make further intrusions upon us, which was most ungenerously attempted by them, in an hostile manner, the latter end of September last, in open disregard of the injunctions of the Continental Congress, at a time when they thought our people were least expecting them and least prepared to receive them; many of the best men of the County being absent in the publick service as riflemen.

"That upon this state of the matter, and in the present temper of the frontier inhabitants of this Province, whose minds are so justly inflamed against those intruders, as a set of men who have made repeated attacks on their property, and to whose future engagements no faith can be due, your memorialists took the liberty to suggest to the worthy committee of Congress their apprehensions that the said frontier inhabitants—now considering themselves under the necessity of repelling force by force—can be no way quieted, or the publick peace preserved, 'but by the Connecticut people yielding up the lands of which they have taken forcible possession, and retiring within their old bounds east of New York, there patiently to wait the decision of the controversy by that authority to which both sides have submitted, and which may soon be expected.'

"The reply made to these arguments appeared to us too evasive and inconclusive to trouble your honourable House with a recital of them. Upon the whole, instead of acquiescing in our proposal to withdraw these intruders, the Connecticut Delegates gave in the following written proposal, calculated, under the sanction of the Congress (if it could be had), to obtain for their people a still stronger establishment in a tract of land almost as large as all Connecticut; thereby delivering them the quiet possession and use of lands, honestly purchased and paid for, to an immense value, by multitudes of good people belonging to all parts of our Province.

" 'FORM OF A RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS PROPOSED BY THE CONNECTICUT DELEGATES.

" 'Whereas, It is represented to this Congress that some disturbances have lately happened among the people inhabiting the lands in controversy between the Colony of Connecticut and the proprietors of the Colony of Pennsylvania, which, unless speedily quieted, may interrupt the harmony and weaken the union of the confederated Colonies, when their united efforts are necessary for the defence of their common rights and liberties; and that the peace of said inhabitants cannot be preserved, nor offenders duly punished there, by the civil authority of the Colonies of Connecticut and Pennsylvania, or either of them, by reason of their interfering claims of jurisdiction; and the Assembly of the Colony of Pennsylvania and the Delegates of the Colony of Connecticut have requested the interposition and advice of the Congress in the premises—

" 'Resolved, That in the opinion of the Congress it is expedient, for preserving the peace of said Colonies, that a temporary line of jurisdiction be fixed between them; and therefore recommend for the present, and until there shall be a legal settlement of said controversy, or some other regulation established, that the Colony of Connecticut con-

fine the exercise of its jurisdiction (at the place in controversy) to that part of a township incorporated by the Assembly of that Colony by the name of Westmoreland, that lieth east of a meridian line beginning at latitude 41° north, at the distance of fifteen English miles west from the East Branch of Susquehannah River, and from thence running north to the north line of the lands in controversy; and that the Colony of Pennsylvania forbear to exercise jurisdiction within those limits, unless the south limit of said town include any of the inhabitants who settled and hold under the claim of the Proprietors of Pennsylvania; that then those inhabitants remain under the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania, and that all the inhabitants on said controverted lands be suffered peaceably to occupy the lands now in their actual possession.

"*Provided nevertheless*, That nothing contained in this temporary provision shall any way affect or prejudice the legal title or claim of either party to any of the said lands. And it is further recommended that all persons who have been arrested only for attempting to enter upon and take possession of any of the vacant or uncultivated lands in controversy, be forthwith released, and that all their effects be restored to them. And that for the future all concerned carefully avoid whatever may tend to disturb the peace or interrupt the harmony and friendship that ought at all times, and more especially the present, to subsist among all true lovers of their country.'

"On the foregoing proposal it was observed, first, by your memorialists, that the bounds pointed out would extend the jurisdiction of Connecticut not only over the Wyoming lands, and fifteen miles west of Susquehannah, but also eastward to Delaware [River], over the Minisink and other lands settled and governed under Pennsylvania for fifty years past. They further observed an affected obscurity, and the use of ambiguous words in the proposal, where it ought to have been explicit and clear. * * The like ambiguity was observed with respect to the words 'actual possession', they affecting to consider all lands on which no persons live, as vacant and free for their people to sit down upon; and we considering all lands for which we have paid, and which have been surveyed off to us, as our actual possession, which no man has a right to enter upon without leave, whether we occupy them or not. * * *

"As to a temporary line of jurisdiction, your memorialists declared it to be a matter which they could neither consent to nor have any concern in advising. * * * Some other mode should be agreed upon, * * either, (1st) That those intruders who have so justly alarmed their neighbors should *withdraw*, as originally proposed to the Committee of Congress by your memorialists; or, (2d) That a plan should be devised for preventing their further extension of settlements, the introducing any more of their people, or any way molesting the inhabitants of this Province in their persons or property, till a determination of the controversy by the King in Council, with some proper security that they will abide by that determination, and in the meantime submit to the laws of Pennsylvania. * * *

"We pray you would take the premises under your wise consideration, and advise us whether the peace of this Province can be best preserved by the first or second of the above propositions, or whether any other plan might be more agreeable to you; and as the settlement as well as execution of any plan of this kind may be attended with difficulties and delays, of which these intruders may wish to take advantage, as usual, we further pray that the inhabitants of the said two counties of Northumberland and Northampton may in the meantime be duly strengthened and supported for the defence of their property against all such invasions and insidious attempts as that lately made by them."

On October 26th the foregoing memorial was taken up by the Assembly and was referred to a committee of the House for consideration and report. John Dickinson and Robert Morris of Philadelphia, William Rodman of Bucks County, Benjamin Bartholomew of Chester County, George Ross of Lancaster, James Ewing of York, John Montgomery of Cumberland, Henry Chreist of Berks, George Taylor of Northampton, and Bernard Dougherty of Bedford composed this committee, and on October 27th they reported "that they had taken the said memorial into their serious consideration, and are [were] satisfied that the matters and things therein represented are [were] justly stated, and deserve the attention of the House." In the afternoon of the same day the House took up the memorial, and the report of the committee, together with certain resolutions of a former Assembly (passed January 13, 1774)*, and, after some debate, adopted the following†:

"*Whereas*, It appears that the said Connecticut intruders, in contempt of the authority of this Province, and to the great annoyance of its peaceable inhabitants, do still continue their intrusions and invasions of private property, and particularly in the

* See page 781, *ante*.

† See "American Archives," Fourth Series, III: 1780.

latter end of September last, regardless of the publick union, and taking an ungenerous advantage of the calamities of the times, did attempt to extend their settlements to the West Branch of the Susquehannah, near fifty miles from Wyoming; wherefore,

"*Resolved*, That the inhabitants of the county of Northumberland, settled under the jurisdiction of this Province, were justifiable, and did their duty in repelling the said intruders and preventing the further extension of their settlements.

"*And Whereas*, The jurisdiction of the counties of Northampton and Northumberland is extended by Acts of Assembly to the north bounds of this Province, and the matter in controversy between Connecticut and this Province is submitted to the determination of the King in Council; wherefore,

"*Resolved*, That to admit or agree to any temporary line of jurisdiction between the inhabitants of this Province and the said intruders would be sacrificing the just rights and powers of this Government, would prejudice the cause in question, and be injurious not only to the Proprietaries of this Province—who have already refused to agree to any such temporary line—but likewise to all those who have purchased and hold lands in these parts, under the faith and sanction of our laws.

"*Resolved*, That those Connecticut intruders having, in a forcible and hostile manner, obtained their possessions in this Province, ought, for the preservation of the peace thereof, to surrender up those possessions, and wait for a proper and legal decision of their claim.

"*Resolved, nevertheless*, That this House will acquiesce in any plan that shall be recommended by the honourable Continental Congress, agreeable to the request of the late House, whereby those intruders may be permitted to enjoy their present settlement till a determination of the controversy by the King in Council; provided assurance be given that they will abide by that determination, and in the meantime introduce no more settlers upon the controverted lands, and submit to the laws of this Province.

"*Resolved*, That if such an agreement cannot be obtained, this House will concur with the Governour in every reasonable measure for protecting and supporting the inhabitants of the said counties of Northampton and Northumberland in the defence of their property and just rights."

At Sunbury, under the date of November 1, 1775, Edward Shippen Burd wrote to his father, Col. James Burd*, at Tinian, as follows†:

"Arrived here day before yesterday. * * There was a great talk here of going against the Yankees when I came up, but it has subsided a good deal. The snow and the severity of the weather coming, has made it a little discouraging. The Assembly and Governor are determined that the laws of this Province shall be executed at Wyoming; the consequence of which will be a scuffle. When the attempt will be made I cannot tell, but I believe the Justices are chiefly against it. At present, whether the Yankees will not by delay grow too strong to be attacked, I cannot say."

At Lebanon, Connecticut, November 3, 1775, there was a meeting of the Governor and the Council of Safety‡ of Connecticut, when letters from Westmoreland were read, in which it was stated that "Pennites [*sic*] from about the West Branch of the Susquehanna," armed, to the number of about 500, were about to set out on an expedition to "cut and drive off the Connecticut settlers from Wyoming." The matter was thoroughly discussed by the Council, and being considered as "having a most dangerous tendency to break the Union of the Colonies—probably being a plan concerted by enemies, with that view"—the Governor was desired to write to Congress about the matter "and endeavor to have the matter healed and each side remain quiet in their own limits."§ Therefore, at Lebanon, under the date of November 11, 1775, Governor Trumbull wrote to the President of Congress. His letter—which was read in Congress on November 20th—was in part as follows:||

"I have been informed that disturbances have happened at Westmoreland, on the Susquehannah River—some of the Connecticut people going to the West Branch; whether

* See page 360, Vol. I.

† See "The Shippen Papers", published in 1855.

‡ At the session of the General Assembly of Connecticut held in May, 1775, the Assembly appointed Matthew Griswold, Eliphalet Dyer, Jabez Huntington, Samuel Huntington, William Williams, Nathaniel Wales, Jr., Jedidiah Elderkin, Joshua West and Benjamin Huntington a committee to assist the Governor, when the Assembly was not in session, "to order and direct the marches and stations of the inhabitants inlisted and assembled for the special defence of the Colony; * * and to give order for furnishing and supplying said inhabitants, so inlisted, with every matter and thing that may be needful to render the defence of the Colony effectual." * * In a short time this committee came to be called the "Council of Safety", and it was, indeed, the forerunner of the historic Council of Safety described on page 283, Vol. I.

§ See "Colonial Records of Connecticut," XV: 179.

|| See "American Archives", Fourth Series, III: 1530.

prudently or not, it was done without direction of Government and, I believe, without any from the Company. They were attacked by claimers under Mr. Penn, fired upon, their effects taken from them, and some imprisoned. This Colony have asserted their claim to those lands, the case is carried to England, and properly pursued there; and from a letter from our agents, lately received, there appears a probability that Commissioners will be appointed in this country to hear and determine the case, with liberty to either party to appeal. I lament that *interested individuals*, joined with the enemies of the rights of the Colonies, have at this time such an handle to cause division and mischief between these two Colonies on that head.

"It is far from our design to take any advantage in the case from the present unhappy difference with Great Britain. Our desire is that no advantage be taken on either side; but at a proper time, and before competent judges, to have the different claims to those lands litigated, settled and determined; in the meantime, to have this lie dormant until the other all important controversy is brought to a close. The wisdom of the Congress, I trust, will find means to put a stop to all altercations between this Colony and Mr. Penn, and the settlers under each, until a calm and peaceable day. The gun and bayonet are not the constitutional instruments to adjust and settle real claims; neither will insidious methods turn to account for such as make them their pursuit."

In Congress, on November 4th, the committee appointed October 17th (see page 845, *ante*) brought in their report, which was read, whereupon, on motion, Congress came to the following resolution*:

"The Congress, considering that the most perfect union between all the Colonies is essentially necessary for the preservation of the just rights of North America; and being apprehensive that there is great danger of hostilities being commenced at or near Wyoming, between the inhabitants of the Colony of Pennsylvania and those of Connecticut—

"*Resolved*, That the Assemblies of the said Colonies be requested to take the most speedy and effectual steps to prevent such hostilities.

"*Ordered*, That Mr. Thomas McKean and Mr. Silas Deane be a committee to wait upon the Honourable House of Assembly of Pennsylvania, now sitting, with a copy of the above resolution.

"*Ordered*, That a copy of the above be transmitted, by express, to the magistrates and people of Pennsylvania and Connecticut on the waters of Susquehannah."

Delegates McKean and Deane immediately waited on the Pennsylvania Assembly with a copy of the foregoing resolution of Congress, and three days later Representative John Dickinson† brought a verbal message from the Assembly to the Congress "desiring to know on what evidence the Congress grounded the apprehensions of hostilities being commenced at or near Wyoming, between the inhabitants of the Colony of Pennsylvania and those of Connecticut."‡ In the Assembly, some two weeks later (*viz.*, November 23d), the Speaker laid before the House a letter from Samuel Hunter§, Esq., and others, of the county of Northumberland, dated Sunbury, November 20, 1775, acquainting the House that two of the magistrates and the Sheriff of the said county had lately had an interview with Zebulon Butler and some others of the principal men among the Connecticut settlers at Wyoming; had read the late Resolves of the Pennsylvania Assembly to them, and inquired whether they would peaceably submit themselves to the laws of Pennsylvania. "To which they answered, they despised the laws of that Province, and never would submit to them unless compelled by force; and that if the Government of the said Province thought it advisable to use such means with them, they should be ready to meet them at any hour they pleased. That the said magistrates and Sheriff, having received a great deal of threatening and abusive language from the common people, returned home by another way, apprehending that if they came back the same road they had gone up, it must be with great risk to their lives."|| The House ordered this communication to be laid on the table.

* See "American Archives", Fourth Series, III:1906.

† Author of "The Farmer's Letters", referred to on page 548, Vol. I.

‡ See "American Archives", Fourth Series, III:1911.

§ See note "†" on page 664.

|| See "American Archives", Fourth Series, III:1799.

Two days later (*viz.*, November 25th) Governor Penn, at Philadelphia, wrote "to William Plunket and his associate Justices of the Peace, in and for the county of Northumberland," a letter reading as follows:*

"I have just now received a message from the Assembly, founded on a letter addressed to them from the county of Northumberland, respecting the Connecticut settlers at Wyoming, requesting me to give orders for a due execution of the laws of this Province in the counties of Northumberland and Northampton. In consequence thereof I do most cheerfully order you to use your utmost Diligence and Activity, in putting the Laws of this Province in Execution throughout the county of Northumberland; and you may depend on the Faith of the House and my concurrence with them, that every proper and necessary Expence that may be incurred on the Occasion will be defrayed."

After the failure of their expedition to Warrior Run the New Englanders in Wyoming managed, by the aid of spies, and in other ways, to keep themselves informed as to the movements of the Pennamites. The present writer has in his possession an original anonymous letter which was written at or near Sunbury, December 10, 1775, concerning some of the doings of the Pennamites at that time, was addressed to Zebulon Butler, and was received by him some days later. In view of subsequent happenings the information contained in this letter is interesting. With numerous changes in spelling, punctuation, and the use of capital letters, the document in question is as follows:

"Sir—You may depend upon what I write to be facts, as I have taken great pains to inform myself as I have ridden through the country, and I think it my duty to inform you. Sir, keep this letter secret, and do not discover the author, for it would undo me here in my business. You may surely depend upon their [the Pennamites] coming up to Wyoming, for they will not be stopped by the Congress, but are now mustering their men at Shamokin. They came down from Big Island yesterday, and from the Indian Lands and Muncy, and I believe they will muster between 200 or 300 men about here. How many they will get [from] down the river and the forks of the Schuylkill I don't know, nor how many from Northampton County; but I will assure you that they will immediately be on their march. By what I can learn they expect to meet the men from Northampton County at Fishing Creek.†

"Sir, you may depend on their plundering you of all your effects, for they are determined to rob and plunder the country; and you will find them as inhuman as the Devil. For God's sake put yourselves in readiness, and fight for your lives and fortunes. Take special care of your enemies up ye river. There is letters sent down almost every day. Your good friend (?) John Young has been down with a packet of letters from Wyoming. The Pennamites up the river have engaged to join with these people whenever they shall come; and a number more that live among you. Put no faith nor trust in the Strouds, for they are your enemies; for they have entered into league with the Pennamites, and bonds of indemnity are given by the best gentlemen in Philadelphia to free him [Colonel Stroud] from his indictments, and this was done at Harris' Ferry about three weeks ago, and letters have been since sent down from him.

"Sir, this you may depend on to be truth. You need not depend on anything that the Congress has done, for the Governor of Pennsylvania is a Tory, I believe, and would do all that lies in his power to break the union of the Provinces, and has ordered them [the Pennamites] to go in the very face of the Congress. Your enemies are implacable. They say the Yankees won't fight; that you are all cowards and dare not fight. But in the name of God convince them of their mistake, and give these infernal dogs their deserving. I have received intelligence since I began to write that one hundred men have passed yesterday and to-day from above Muncy."

At his home in Kingwood, Hunterdon County, New Jersey, under the date of December 13, 1775, Charles Stewart (see page 459, Vol. I) wrote to Governor Penn at Philadelphia as follows‡:

"In pursuance of your Honour's letter (of 25th *ultimo*) to the magistrates of Northampton County—which was delivered to George Taylor, Esq., in Philadelphia—he and I met at Easton on the 28th, where the contents were made known to Messrs.

* See "Pennsylvania Archives", Fourth Series, III:518.

† At the mouth of Fishing Creek, on the Susquehanna, about one mile below the present borough of Bloomsburg, Columbia County, Pennsylvania.

‡ See "American Archives," Fourth Series, IV:251.

§ A resident of Easton, Pennsylvania, a Judge of the Northampton County Courts, a Delegate to the Continental Congress, and a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

[Lewis] Gordon*, [Peter] Kachlein† and [John] Van Campen‡. The Justices Nicholas DePui and Garrett Brodhead were wrote to attend at Easton, but did not come. In a day or two after, writs were renewed against the New England people who had been formerly indicted, and Mr. Taylor furnishing ammunition for the occasion, Mr. Sheriff proceeded over the [Kittatinny] mountain, where some time was spent in collecting a posse. Meantime I sent a proper person to examine the situation of Fort Park§, with directions to return and meet Mr. Sheriff, who accordingly did, and reported (what was found afterwards true) that the Yankees [at Lackaway] would make little or no resistance; therefore, those that were found were taken. About one-half got out of the way. Mr. Sheriff returned forthwith, without demolishing any part of the fort, and the prisoners were forty miles on their way to Easton when an express from Fort Augusta [at Sunbury] arrived, with intelligence that the Sheriff and posse of Northumberland had not yet moved up the river, and wanted to get *some assistance from Northampton County*. This account embarrassed us exceedingly.

"The prisoners were told, when they met me, terms would be made; and, declaring their willingness to do any and everything, I produced to them the enclosed paper [see next page], which they readily executed. I sent a man back with them to see that they performed what further promises they made, *viz.*: to cut down the stockades of the fort, and to collect all the settlers that had hid or fled and get them to sign a copy of the enclosed, and send it to Easton at Court next week, with their principal men, where they propose to take leases for their respective improvements, or purchase—which some of them say they mean to do, if possible. Silas Park, who is the only one amongst them who stood indicted, had gone to Wyoming the day before the Sheriff got up. Had he been taken, I would not have consented to his stopping short of prison. The rest we had, in fact, no process against, except a warrant in which their names, as they gave them in, were inserted.

"Notwithstanding Yankees have so often deceived me, I really expect those men will appear at Court and gladly come under lease. If they do not, I flatter myself the paper they have signed will operate against them hereafter, and be a foundation for calling on them again. At any rate, I beg leave to assure your Honour I did it for the best, and was cautious of giving no reason to censure us for cruelty. I also thought treating those people tenderly might facilitate the expedition of the Northumberland Sheriff at Wyoming. I sent an express to them, informing them of what was done, and a copy of the terms. I likewise sent a duplicate of the writ, attested under the seal of Mr. Gordon's office, that they might have all the authority that would be given them to secure the old offenders that are at Wyoming. As the party who went to Fort Park, or Wallenpau-pack, were weary at their return—some disputes having also happened among them—it was with great difficulty I could collect a party to go and join the Sheriff of Northumberland; however, about thirty set out on Monday evening and Tuesday morning, with Isaiah Jennings at their head. I expect that, if they can cross the creeks, they will be this night with the Northumberland men at Wapwallopen||, the place proposed in their letter to meet at.

"I had daily intelligence from Wyoming whilst I was over the mountain. Great divisions have arisen at Wyoming lately. Lazarus Stewart [see page 640, *ante*] has sent me repeated assurances of his neutrality, at least, and his adherents are hourly wrangling with the *real* Yankees, so that I think a surrender must ensue. John McDowel [see page 730, *ante*] and his son-in-law, Jacob Stroud, from Fort Penn, set off last Sunday to bring away from Wyoming their relations, who are numerous, and secure the moneys due them at Wyoming, which are considerable. I believe Stroud¶ will do all he can to serve the cause now, as he has lately been chosen a Colonel, and I gave him to understand he must exert himself or his cockade would be in danger—complaints having been made against him for supplying the Yankees with ammunition and arms to disturb the peace of the Province. Mr. Taylor has done everything in his power to serve Government on this occasion, and furnished the ammunition, without which nothing would have been done. Mr. Kachlein and Mr. Van Campen have also been active. I hope the Northumberland posse will succeed without shedding blood. At any rate, I am convinced they will make them submit; and a few days will bring the news. * * * If Col. Tench Francis and Mr. Taylor were appointed to treat with those people, I believe it would be answering a good purpose. I know no man so fit to talk to Yankees as Colonel Francis, and Taylor may surely be depended on. I will, if able to ride, be at Easton, but am, and have been several days, in great pain with rheumatism in my legs."

* See page 473, Vol. I.

† See page 669, *ante*.

‡ See page 692, *ante*.

§ At Parkbury, in the Lackaway District of Westmoreland—described on pages 771, 790 and 795, *ante*.

|| See page 214, Vol. I.

¶ JACOB STROUD, whose name is several times mentioned in the foregoing pages, was commissioned Captain of the Lower Smithfield Company of the Northampton County Associates May 22, 1775, and in the following August was commissioned Colonel of the Fourth Battalion, Northampton County Associates. He was still holding this latter office in October, 1776, when he was commissioned Colonel of the Fourth Battalion of Northampton County, Pennsylvania Militia.

The document referred to in the foregoing letter as having been executed December 8, 1775, by the New England settlers at Lackaway, within the bounds of the town of Westmoreland, read as follows*:

"Whereas we, the subscribers, with Silas Park and others, our associates, have riotously and in defiance of the laws of the Province of Pennsylvania, seized upon and taken possession of a tract of land surveyed for the Honourable the Proprietaries of this Province of Pennsylvania aforesaid, situate on the waters of Lackawaxen, at a place called Wallenpaupack, in the county of Northampton; for which forcible entries, riots, and other illegal acts if any, bills of indictment have been found against us. And the Sheriff and magistrates of the said county, producing His Majesty's process, or writs, upon us, we confess the legal service thereof on us severally; and do voluntarily and most cheerfully surrender ourselves to the humanity of the Honourable the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, in regard to our possessions and to the lenity of the laws of said Province in regard to our crimes, and will appear, agreeably to our recognizances, at Easton Court next term. And we do, each for himself, solemnly and voluntarily declare and promise that we will, in future, pay due obedience unto and be governed by the laws of Pennsylvania in every respect.

"We also disclaim all title to our present possessions, in pursuance of any claim or pretended right we, or any of us, may formerly have had under The Susquehannah or Delaware Companies, in Connecticut. And we covenant and promise to yield up our said possessions to the said Proprietaries, or their agents, at any time they may please to demand the same; and we do severally empower James Biddle, Esq., Attorney, or any other Attorney in the Province of Pennsylvania, to appear for us and to receive a declaration in ejectment as of any term after this date, and to confess judgment thereon, with full powers to release all errors in the said judgment. We likewise promise that we severally will avoid all future quarrels with our neighbors, and [will] unite and muster with Captain Van Etten's company; and, if necessary, are willing to march where our assistance may be required for the defence of American liberty, in the common cause; and [will] cheerfully, hereafter, obey all and every the resolutions and orders of the Continental Congress, the Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania, or the Committee of Safety, of all whom we severally and humbly crave forgiveness for past offences; and in testimony of our sincere intentions to behave becomingly in the future, we have hereto set our hands and seals this 8th Dec., 1775.

[Signed] "W. FITCH, [L. S.]

"ZADOCK KILLAM, [L. S.]

"ENOS WOODWARD, [L. S.]

"ELIJAH WITTER, [L. S.]

"HEZEKIAH BINGHAM, [L. S.]

"WILLIAM PELLET, [L. S.]

"DELIVERANCE ADAMS, [L. S.]

"AMOS PARK, [L. S.]

"MATTHEW CLASH, [L. S.]

"ABEL KIMBALL. [L. S.]"

"Test—GARRETT BRODHEAD,
JOHN VAN CAMPEN."

The Connecticut Delegates in Congress were promptly informed by the Westmoreland authorities at Wilkes-Barré of the doings of the Pennamites at Lackaway, of the unhappy situation of affairs there, and also of the threatened incursion into Wyoming Valley; and the Delegates, in turn, presented to the Congress on December 18, 1775, a memorial which they had prepared without delay, and which read in part as follows†:

"That certain persons having formed an association for the purpose of seizing on, and removing by force of arms, the people settled on the River Susquehannah under the government and protection of the Colony of Connecticut, have, in pursuance of such design, raised a large sum of money, and with the same employed agents to enlist men.

* See "American Archives," Fourth Series, IV : 252.

† The settlers at Lackaway were mainly, if not wholly, New Englanders; and, as they were settlers under the auspices of The Delaware Company (previously mentioned), they not only recognized the jurisdiction of Connecticut, but considered themselves to be bona fide inhabitants of the town of Westmoreland, Litchfield County, Connecticut. As early as March, 1774, in accordance with Connecticut law and custom, they had taken part in a town-meeting held at Wilkes-Barré, and some of them (Silas Park, Elijah Witter, Hezekiah Bingham, Zebulon Parrish, Jonathan Haskell, John Ainsley, and others) had been elected to, and had accepted, various town offices. (See page 795, *ante*.) Later, the 8th Company of the 24th Regiment, Connecticut Militia, had been organized in their midst; its officers had been established and commissioned—the Ensign of the company being Elijah Witter, one of the signers of the above document—and the rank and file of the company were, at stated intervals, as required by Connecticut law, engaging in military exercises. Hence the inhabitants of Lackaway District had refused to "unite and muster with" Capt. Johannes Van Etten's company of Pennsylvania militia, which was composed of inhabitants of the northern part of Northampton County. Captain Van Etten had been commissioned May 22, 1775, Captain of "the Delaware Company of the Northampton County Associators." He resided some three or four miles above Wells' (later Dingman's) Ferry, within the bounds of Westmoreland, and during the Revolutionary War his house was stockaded, and was known as "Van Etten's Fort."

‡ See "American Archives," Fourth Series, III : 1964-1968.

"That they have also collected a great number of blankets, shoes, firelocks, with a quantity of powder and ball, and other military stores, in this city, and conveyed the same to their agents in the country, who have therewith clothed and armed the men they have raised for said hostile purpose.

"That to induce men to engage they have, by the agents, been promised the plunder of the inhabitants they should in this manner seize on and remove, over and above the exorbitant wages given them.

"That by artful and wicked means the late resolution of Congress, respecting said inhabitants, which the honorable President sent forward for the purpose of preventing hostilities, has been represented as a forgery and a libel, propagated among the people who were solicited to join in these hostilities, fictitiously signed John Hancock, President; the purport of which was that this Congress had ordered the removal of said inhabitants.

"That the agents of said Association had proceeded to seize on large quantities of goods and stores belonging to some of the said inhabitants of Connecticut and others, which were going up the River Susquehannah to supply the said settlers in part, but that much the greater part of said goods were designed for the Indians of said Six Nations, at the head of said river.

"That the detention of said goods, the total interruption of all supplies to the Indians, and the hostile preparations making, have given the Indians the most-alarming apprehensions.

"That the different parties engaged in this hostile invasion began their march on Monday last [December 11th], to their place of rendezvous, giving out as they went that they should be 1,500 strong when collected.

"That all passes leading to and from said settlement [at Wyoming] are seized and guarded by said parties.

"That the distressed settlers have put themselves into the best posture of defence in their power, having no other alternative but to submit to plunder and ruin, with their families, or defend them to the last extremity.

"To support the truth of the above information, credible persons are ready to be examined, and many depositions are taken and ready to be produced.

"During this inquiry which the Delegates desire may be entered upon immediately, and pursued until the whole scheme be detected and the extensive mischief meditated prevented, they move that some one or more persons be instantly sent by the Congress with orders to stop all hostilities above complained of; to restore to the people on either side of this unhappy dispute their property that may be taken from them; to set at liberty all who may on either side have been taken prisoners; to direct that commerce be opened on the Susquehannah with said settlers and the Indians, and to give orders that all hostilities between the parties cease, and that every one continue peaceably to enjoy and occupy the lands he was in possession and improvement of before the late disturbance between them."

Accompanying the foregoing memorial were the following depositions, which had been forwarded by express from Wilkes-Barré to the Delegates at Philadelphia.

"STEPHEN PARRISH and MOSES TILLMAN, of Westmoreland, in the county of Litchfield and Colony of Connecticut, of lawful age, testify and say, that in the evening next following the fifth day of December instant at Lackawack District in Westmoreland, they were informed that a number, consisting of about forty armed men, were coming to take and carry away the New England people there with the deponents at Lackaway, who were there settled under the New England people's claim; and about the middle of the night the company of armed men came into Lackaway and said that they had orders, signed by the Governor of Pennsylvania, to take them off the land, and carry them to Easton jail; then took and carried away ten of the inhabitants, and said that Wyoming was all taken before that time, for there was 700 of these men gone over; and they believed that they did break open sundry chests and carried away sundry papers of consequence. And further the deponents say not.

"Westmoreland, December 10th, 1775.

[Signed] "STEPHEN PARRISH,
"MOSES TILLMAN."

"Westmoreland,
Litchfield County, ss.:

December 10, 1775.

"Then personally appeared the above Stephen Parrish and Moses Tillman and made solemn oath to the truth of the above written deposition. Before me,

[Signed] "NATHAN DENISON,
"Justice of the Peace."

"ELISHA RICHARDS of Westmoreland, in the county of Litchfield and Colony of Connecticut, of lawful age, testifies and says that on Tuesday the 5th day of December, instant, this deponent set out from Wells' Ferry*, on Delaware River, and went the road to Lieut. John Shaw's, at Shohola, on his way to Wyoming, when he was stopped nigh by the said Shaw's house by one Fuller, who was said to be Sheriff of Northampton

* See page 646, *ante*.

County; and that the said Fuller came up to him and gave this deponent a slap on the back, and told him he was his prisoner; and this deponent demanded the sight or hearing of his precept or order for so doing, when he replied he would show him by and by, and would use him well; and then the said Fuller commanded two persons of them that were with him to keep this deponent for the present. And after this, about one hour and a-half, one Capt. Alexander Patterson, with about fifty men of the number that was with the Sheriff, mustered at the said John Shaw's door, and directly marched off towards Lackawack, and I heard some of them often say they were going to assist the Sheriff to take the New England people settled at Lackawack.

"As they were going off Esquire John Van Campen, of said party, and the said Sheriff asked the said John Shaw if he would not give bail for this deponent; when the said Shaw said he would give bail that this deponent should appear at Lackawack settlement before the Sheriff the next morning, and accordingly acknowledged himself bound in a bond of £20 before the said John Van Campen, Esq. And the said John Van Campen said that the Congress had passed Acts against the New England people settled at Wyoming, and that they were very mad at them, and that they had turned the Connecticut Delegates out of the Congress on that account, and that 500 of their men was gone to Wyoming to take them off, and he supposed they had done it. And then the said Van Campen and Fuller went on toward Lackawack, after the other company, and the next day this deponent set out from said Shaw's towards Lackawack settlement, and on the way he met some of the party that set off the evening before from Shaw's, with a number of prisoners, inhabitants of Lackawack; and when I got to Lackawack, at the house of John Ainsley, I found the said Van Campen and Fuller, with the rest of the party.

"When I asked Van Campen and Fuller what further they had to do with me, the said Van Campen said he was willing I should pass on to Wyoming, if the Sheriff was willing; when the Sheriff said he was willing, if I would pay the costs. When I asked what costs, he said the costs of serving a writ on me last night. When I told him he had shown me no precept last night, nor to-day, then he made an attempt to pull something out of his pocket, and then drew back his fist as though he was going to strike me with it. * * Sundry of the women belonging to Lackawack settlement told this deponent that the party had taken nine of the inhabitants prisoners and carried them off, and said they were going to carry them to Easton jail."

[Dated at Westmoreland December 9, 1775, and sworn to the same day before Zebulon Butler, Justice of the Peace.]

"HENRY BUSH and ASHBEL ROBERTSON, both of Westmoreland, testify that they went from the town of Westmoreland on Monday last [December 4, 1775], and on Wednesday last they were at Mr. Brinker's mills at Lower Smithfield, in the Province of Pennsylvania, and that they there saw one Joseph Savage, who told them that the town of Westmoreland at Wyoming was all cut off and burnt; when we replied that we came from there on Monday last and it was not then done; when the said Savage replied again that certainly it was done by this time, if it was not done then, for he certainly knew that the people from that Province were gone up to do that, in great numbers, every road.

"And further, we were at Japack Heller's, at the Wind Gap, the same day, and he the said Heller told us that the people from their Province were gone up to Wyoming to cut off the New England people, and that there were great numbers gone up; and that about 300 people had gone from the Jerseys to Shamokin last week to join their Province people to cut off the New England people, and that he believed their towns were all in ashes by that time; and that the said 300 people from the Jerseys passed through the county of Northampton as they went to Shamokin. And further, that on our way home from said Heller's we met Shureman Fraud, of Upper Smithfield, who told us that Henry Fuller, Sheriff, and Garrett Brodhead, Esq., and Capt. Alexander Patterson had pressed [impressed] sixty men in the town of Upper Smithfield, and did press his two sons, and they did go with them, and that sixty others who they pressed did go with them, and they were gone to cut off the Lackawack settlement of the New England people."

[Dated at Westmoreland Dec. 9, 1775, and sworn to the same day before Silas Park, Justice of the Peace.]

"HARMANUS BRINK, of Shippekunk, in the county of Sussex, in the Province of New Jersey, testifies that on the 6th day of this instant December he was at the house of Lieut. John Shaw, at Shohola, at evening, where a number of men came in with prisoners from Lackawack, of the New England people settled there, and that he saw sundry of said party that he knew by name, *viz.*: Alexander Patterson, John Van Campen, Esq., John Van Allen, Isaac Jennings, Alexander Irving, Beniah Munday, John Sealy, William Smith, Joseph Smith, James Bacon, John Rinker, James Lawson, Manuel Van Allen, Daniel Decker, Gasebert Vangorde, Jacob Decker, Elias Decker, Hans Williams and [Henry] Fuller, the Sheriff of Northampton County, who went off from Shaw's with the said prisoners down towards the settlements of Pennsylvania while this deponent was at Shaw's house.

"That on Tuesday, the fifth day of this instant, this deponent remained at the house of Manuel Consolis*, in Lower Smithfield, when he saw Charles Stewart, of the Jerseys,

* Emanuel Gunsalus, or Gonzales (mentioned on pages 792 and 795, *ante*), who lived on Bushkill Creek near the Delaware River, in what is now Monroe County, Pennsylvania, where he owned a grist-mill. This was within the bounds of Westmoreland.

and one Garrett Brodhead, Esq., of said Smithfield, have one Carver, one of the New England people settled at Wyoming, prisoner, whom the said Stewart said he would carry to jail, for he was afraid he would carry news to the Lackaway people of the party that was going against them; and this deponent proposed that it was a hardship to put a man to jail for that, and offered to take him along the road towards one Colefaxe's, which they consented to."

[Dated at Westmoreland December 11, 1775, and sworn to December 12, before Zebulon Butler, Justice of the Peace.]

"DANIEL ROSS, of Westmoreland, testifies that some time about the first of November last he came to the mouth of Fishing Creek, on the East Branch of the Susquehanna River, as he was on his way from Fort Pitt to the settlement of the New England people at Wyoming, when one Capt. [John] Dolson* and one [Daniel] Fields and one Espy, who were settled near the mouth of said Fishing Creek, told me and one Abijah Harrington, who was my fellow traveler, that they were going to raise a party of men in Pennsylvania to take all the New England people off at Wyoming; and that he, the said Dolson, had orders to enlist men, and that they should have £3 a month for their pay, and all found as to board and liquors besides, and leggings, blankets and shoes; and that they further said that they might come up to Wyoming and take off any horses, cattle or any other thing from the New England people, and they would be justified in so doing by the authority of Pennsylvania.

"And then this deponent and the abovenamed Harrington enlisted under the said Captain Dolson, as soldiers, to join with others to take the New England people off from Wyoming, and signed his enlisting orders, which were signed by Dr. Plunket, Captain Hunter, Esquire Troy, and Dr. Allison; and that, some days after, I heard that Mr. Avery of Wyoming had come from the Congress by the way of Shamokin, and that he reported that the Congress had settled a line between the two parties, and that the New England people were to hold down as far as within four miles of the Point on the East Branch; that the Pennsylvania people were to hold the West Branch; and that the title was settled. Some days after I was at Shamokin, and there heard from sundry persons that the stories that said Avery told were false, and that they had letters from the Congress, and they had done nothing about it then any way; and soon after Mr. Charles Stewart came to Sunbury and brought news from Philadelphia that the Congress had given orders to drive off the New England people, and that he had brought printed papers with Mr. Hancock's name to them, and others of the Congress (as the said Stewart said), that the said deponent often heard read at Sunbury and other places there; and that it was giving the Pennsylvania people liberty to drive off the New England people from Wyoming, and that when they had got them off the Congress would dare keep them off, and that this was so understood by the whole body of the people, and so reported at Sunbury, the Point, and other places in that county.

"And that this deponent conversed sundry times with the said Charles Stewart, and that I drank several bowls of punch with him; and while I was in his company he told publicly that if any of the people then at Sunbury, or in that county, would come up to Wyoming and distress the people of Wyoming, by taking their horses or cattle, or any other thing, that he would justify them in so doing, and bear them out in it, and that they might have for their own whatever they could get in that way. And that this deponent then came up to Wyoming in company with Abijah Harrington, Daniel Fields, Joseph Disbury†, Joseph Smith, and Gaspy Reymy, and at Wyoming, near by where one Frazier lives, they got two colts; and Reymy and Smith went back with them, and the other four of the company came up to Shawnee Flats and there took two more of the New England people's horses. Fields and Harrington went back with them, and then this deponent and Joseph Disbury came up to Kingston Flats and staid there one day and two nights, and then took two horses; the said Joseph Disbury caught one and said it was his, and told me that I might take that along, and took one other horse that he said belonged to one Smith of the New England settlers, and then we returned on the said horses to Captain Dolson's, where we found all the others of the party, and all the horses.

"And the said Dolson kept three of the horses about two days; and while this deponent was gone away from Dolson's the abovesaid Smith took the three horses, as the said Dolson told me, and was gone to the Jerseys, to Powling's Kill, and was to sell the horses if he could, and then bring back the money when he came into Wyoming with the party that should come from there; and if he could not sell them he was to put them out to pasture on said Powling's Kill to be kept through the Winter; and soon after this Captain Dolson told this deponent, Abijah Harrington and one William Barr that the authorities at Shamokin had sent orders to have a party sent up to Wyoming to see if the people were intrenching in order to defend themselves, or if they were making wooden

* See page 688, *ante*.

† The location of the present town of Northumberland.

‡ In "Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania," I: 363, we read: "The famous thief, 'Joe' Disbury, was tried at Sunbury in 1784 for some of his many misdemeanors, found guilty, sentenced to receive thirty-nine lashes, stand in the pillory one hour, have his ears cut off and nailed to the post, be imprisoned three months and pay a fine of £30." The name "Joseph Disberry" appears several times in these pages, as that of a tax-payer in Kingston, and a soldier in the 24th Regiment, Connecticut Militia.

cannon* to defend with; and we set out for Wyoming and was there taken by Capt. [Samuel] Ransom, one of the constables of Westmoreland."

[Dated at Westmoreland December 11, 1775, and sworn to December 12 before Zebulon Butler, Justice of the Peace.]

Two days after the presentation of the foregoing documents to Congress (to wit, December 20, 1775), that body passed the following resolution†:

"The Congress taking into consideration the dispute between the people of Pennsylvania and Connecticut, on the waters of Susquehannah, *Resolve*, That it is the opinion of this Congress, and it is accordingly recommended, that the contending parties immediately cease all hostilities, and avoid every appearance of force, until the dispute can be legally decided; that all property taken and detained be restored to the original owners; that no interruption be given by either party to the free passing and repassing of persons, behaving themselves peaceably, through said disputed territory—as well by land as water—without molestation of either persons or property; that all persons seized and detained on account of said dispute, on either side, be dismissed and permitted to go to their respective homes; and that things being put in the situation they were before the late unhappy contest, they continue to behave themselves peaceably on their respective possessions and improvements, until a legal decision can be had on said dispute, or this Congress shall take further order thereon."

Retracing our steps to Connecticut, now, we find that the General Assembly of the Colony convened at New Haven October 12, 1775, and continued in session for two or more weeks—Col. Zebulon Butler and Maj. Ezekiel Peirce being present as the duly elected Representatives from the town of Westmoreland. Details of the skirmish between the Pennamites and the Yankees, and the defeat and dispersal of the latter, which had taken place at Warrior Run in the previous month, as hereinbefore related, were informally discussed; and it is quite probable that the action subsequently taken by the Governor and the Council of Safety‡ (several members of which body were Representatives in the Assembly as well as proprietors in The Susquehanna Company) was a result of this discussion.



A Captain in the Colonial service, circa 1774, in full-dress uniform.

The most important action, in respect to the people of Westmoreland, taken by the Assembly at its October session, was the completing of the organization of the 24th Regiment, Connecticut Militia, by the appointing and "establishing" of the various line-officers of the regiment. As noted on page 824 the Assembly had "appointed and established," and the Governor had commissioned, the field-officers of the regiment in the previous May; nearly a year prior to which time the people of Westmoreland had taken the initiative in coming "under regulations in ye military discipline." (See pages 805 and 811.) It is quite probable that the various men who were chosen line-officers about that time in the different localities, or districts, of Westmoreland, under the guidance of the duly appointed Committee of Inspection, were the same men who were established by the Assembly and commissioned by Governor Trumbull October 17, 1775, in and for the several "companies or train-bands in the 24th Regiment in the Colony of Connecticut," as follows§:

* See page 702, *ante*.

† See "American Archives," Fourth Series, III:1955.

‡ See page 848.

§ See "Colonial Records of Connecticut," XV: 152.

"*First Company*"—located in the lower half of "Wilkes-Barré District"*—Stephen Fuller, Captain; John Garrett, Lieutenant; Christopher Avery, Ensign.

"*Second Company*"—located in "Kingston District"—Nathaniel Landon, Captain; George Dorrance, Lieutenant; Asahel Buck, Ensign.

"*Third Company*"—located in "Plymouth District"—Samuel Ransom, Captain; Peren Ross, Lieutenant; Asaph Whittlesey, Ensign.

"*Fourth Company*"—located in "Pittston District"—Solomon Strong, Captain; Jonathan Parker, Lieutenant; Timothy Keyes, Ensign.

"*Fifth Company*"—located in "Hanover District"—William McKerachan, Captain; Lazarus Stewart, Jr., Lieutenant; Silas Gore, Ensign.

"*Sixth Company*"—located in the upper half of "Wilkes-Barré District" (chiefly in what is now Plains Township)—Rezin Geer, Captain; Daniel Gore, Lieutenant; Matthias Hollenback, Ensign.

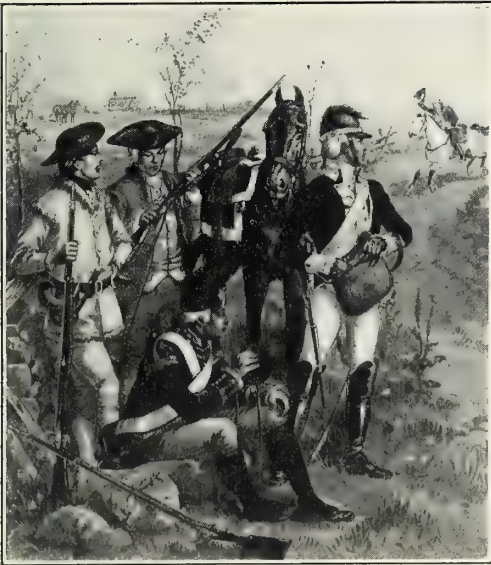
"*Seventh Company*"—located in the lower part of the "North District" (chiefly in Exeter and Providence)—Stephen Harding, Captain; Elisha Scovell, Lieutenant; John Jenkins, Jr., Ensign.

"*Eighth Company*"—located in "Lackaway District"—Eliab Farnam, Captain; John Shaw, Lieutenant; Elijah Witter, Ensign.

"*Ninth Company*"—located in the upper part of the "North District" (along the Susquehanna, chiefly at and near Tunkhannock, Mehoopany and Meshoppen)—James Secord, Captain; John DePui, Lieutenant; Rudolph Fox, Ensign.

"Some of these officers," states Charles Tubbs†, "had seen service in the French and Indian War. Capt. Eliab Farnam, of the Lackaway

company, had done a tour of duty lasting twenty-five weeks in 1758 in Capt. Nathan Whiting's company, 2d Connecticut Regiment. Lieut. Elisha Scovell had served thirty-two weeks in 1759 in Capt. Amos Hitchcock's company, in the 7th Connecticut Regiment. Lieut. Jonathan Parker had served thirty-four weeks in 1761 in the Third Company of the 1st Connecticut Regiment, commanded by Maj. David Baldwin." Captain Ransom, also, had seen service in one of the Connecticut regiments in the French and Indian War, while Stephen Fuller, before coming to Wyoming, had been for a number of years an officer in the Connecticut Militia—as noted on page 717.



Uniforms worn by independent military companies in the American Colonies in 1774-75.

(Photo-reproduction of a picture published by the United States War Department in 1894.)

* See page 794.

† In an address, "The Wyoming Military Establishment," delivered before The Tioga Point Historical Society, and published in 1903.

- It is more than probable that, owing to the unsettled and precarious state of affairs throughout the country, efforts were made during the Summer and Autumn of 1775 by the officers of the 24th Regiment to perfect themselves and their men in military exercise and discipline. And it is quite probable that the laws and regulations of Connecticut relative to the militia establishment of the Colony (see page 826, *ante*) were closely observed and, so far as was possible in a frontier and isolated settlement like Westmoreland, carefully adhered to. Each officer and man furnished his own arms and accouterments. The men were not uniformed, and it is doubtful if more than a very few of the chief officers possessed uniforms. Each of the officers, however, wore some distinctive badge of rank—as, for example, a cockade or a sash. For some years prior to the Revolution, and during the first year of the war, none of the militia organizations in the Colonies were uniformed, except those companies which were located in the principal towns and cities.

A town-meeting of the inhabitants of Westmoreland was held at Wilkes-Barré December 6, 1775, at which, among other doings, Simon Spalding was chosen Constable. But, the meeting not having finished the business for which it had been convened, was adjourned to Wednesday, December 20, "at 9 of ye clock in the forenoon, at ye house of Mr. Jabez Sill." Subsequently the Town Clerk wrote in his records: "But there was no meeting, by reason of ye Pennamites, &c." The Pennamites! Ah, yes! Earlier in the month, as we have learned, they were preparing at Sunbury to make an incursion, under a cloak of the Law, into Wyoming Valley.* The complete and easy conquest and dispersal of the Yankees who had attempted to make a settlement at Warrior Run in September, 1775, made the Pennsylvania land-claimants eager to strike a decisive blow at the Yankee settlements on the North Branch of the Susquehanna. Therefore an expedition was carefully planned and organized, and placed under the command of Col. William Plunket†,

* It may be noted here that early in November, 1775, some surveyors representing certain Pennsylvania land-claimants quietly made their way to Wyoming Valley, and, on warrants issued by the Provincial Land Office, surveyed at least six tracts of land aggregating 1,767 acres, lying along the base of Wilkes-Barré Mountain, about two miles from the Susquehanna, in what is now Plains Township. The names of the persons for whom these tracts were surveyed were: John Evans, Adam Clamper, Peter Howard, William Dawson, James Stroud and William Sheafe.

† WILLIAM PLUNKET, mention of whom is made on pages 724, 725, 738, 818 and 843, and elsewhere herein, was born about 1720 in Ireland, one of the three sons of the Rev. Patrick Plunket, a Presbyterian clergyman settled at Glennan in the county of Monaghan. Another son of Patrick Plunket was the Rev. Thomas Plunket, who in 1749 was married to Mary, daughter of Capt. David and Catharine (O'Hanlon) Conyngham of Letterkenny, county of Donegal, Ireland, and had six children, the youngest of whom was William Conyngham Plunket (born July 1, 1764), who was made Lord Plunket in 1827; was Lord Chancellor of Ireland, 1830-41, and whose eldest son became Archbishop of Dublin.

William Plunket, the subject of this sketch (who was, as indicated above, a first cousin of Lord Chancellor Plunket), was graduated at the University of Dublin, and immigrated to America about 1747 or '48. He was married June 3, 1749, to Esther, daughter of John Harris of Harris' Ferry (now Harrisburg, Pennsylvania) and sister of John Harris, Jr., the founder of Harrisburg, and in 1751 settled in the new town of Carlisle, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, where he engaged in the practise of medicine, and where he was still located at the breaking out of the French and Indian War—referred to on page 343, Vol. I. June 12, 1756, Dr. Plunket was commissioned Lieutenant in Capt. John Hambright's company in the Pennsylvania Regiment (see notes on pages 339, 360 and 428, Vol. I) commanded by Col. William Clapham. In the following July Lieutenant Plunket was with his company in camp at Shamokin. At Fort Augusta (Sunbury), under the date of August 14, 1756, Colonel Clapham (who was commandant at the fort, then in course of erection) wrote to Governor Morris of Pennsylvania as follows (see "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, II: 745): "I have put Lieutenant Plunket under an arrest for mutiny, and only wait the return of Captain Lloyd, the Judge Advocate, to have him tried by a General Court Martial."

Dr. Plunket was commissioned Surgeon of the Second Pennsylvania Battalion (commanded by Colonel Clayton) September 7, 1763, and in the Autumn of 1764 took part in Bouquet's campaign against the western Indians. For this service he subsequently participated in the Provincial land-grants on the West Branch of the Susquehanna, receiving from the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania 600 acres in Buffalo Valley. In 1769 he seems to have been residing at Shamokin—as indicated by the letter of Charles Stewart printed on page 488, Vol. I. About that time he took up 367 acres of land on the East Branch of Fishing Creek, several hundred acres on Wyalusing Creek (in what is now Bradford County), and large tracts in other localities—chiefly in that part of the Province which subsequently was erected into Northumberland County. At an early date he became quite pronounced, and later remarkably active, in his antagonism to The Susquehanna Company's settlers at Wyoming and elsewhere—as is indicated by the facts concerning him recorded on pages 488 and 768 herein. About 1770

who purposed conquering and subjugating the men of Wyoming without delay.

Some 600 or 700 well-armed and -equipped men were soon enlisted in various localities, and embodied at Sunbury; and, in order that the proposed expedition might have imparted to it a civil rather than a military character, this small army was denominated the "*posse comitatus* of Northumberland." Moreover, it was to be accompanied on its march by William Scull—the newly-elected Sheriff of Northumberland County—within whose jurisdiction the Wyoming lands lay, according to Pennsylvania law. (See page 724.)

About the time Plunket began active preparations for his expedition Benjamin Harvey, Jr., of Plymouth District, and another Yankee settler and trader of Wyoming Valley, who had been at Middletown* with their bateaux and had obtained supplies of merchandise for their respective stores, were slowly and laboriously poling their laden boats up the Susquehanna towards home. When they came to Sunbury they were seized by the Pennsylvanians and thrown into jail there with other Yankee prisoners (who had been taken but a short time previously), while their boats and cargoes were confiscated. When Plunket was ready to proceed up the river a quantity of provisions and military stores was loaded into these confiscated boats and several others. In the bow of the leading and largest boat a small field-piece was mounted, ready for action on board, or to be landed if necessary, and in this boat Benjamin Harvey, Jr., was placed, with orders to pilot the flotilla of the

he removed to what is now Montour County, and settled on a large tract of land north of Chillisquaque Creek, to which he gave the name "Soldier's Retreat." Upon the organization of Northumberland County in 1772 he was appointed and commissioned President Judge of the Courts of the County, as noted on page 724.

Judge Plunket was one of the two representatives from Northumberland County in the Provincial Convention which was in session at Philadelphia for six days in January, 1775. Gen. Joseph Reed was Chairman of the convention, and among the influential citizens of the Province who were present as members of the convention were: John Dickinson, Charles Thomson, Thomas Mifflin, Samuel Meredith, George Clymer, Jacob Rush, Sharp Delany, Anthony Wayne, John Bayard, Thomas Hartley, George Taylor, Peter Kachlein, John Okely and Jacob Arndt. Among the various resolutions unanimously adopted by this convention was the following: "That this convention most heartily approve of the conduct and proceedings of the Continental Congress. That we will faithfully endeavor to carry into execution the measures of the association [the Congress] entered into and recommended by them, and that the members of that very respectable body merit our warmest thanks by their great and disinterested labors for the preservation of the rights and liberties of the British Colonies."

As early as August, 1775, Judge Plunket was serving as Colonel of the 51st Battalion of Pennsylvania Associators—one of the three battalions in Northumberland County; Samuel Hunter, of Sunbury (previously mentioned), being Colonel of another of these battalions. March 13, 1776, Colonel Plunket was commissioned Colonel of the 3d Battalion of Northumberland County in the "Pennsylvania Associated Battalions" (the reorganized militia of the Province); and in the following July he was one of the delegates from Northumberland County present at the convention of delegates from the Pennsylvania Associated Battalions which met at Lancaster and chose two Brigadier Generals to command the Associators, and adopted certain rules and regulations—one of which was: "We will march under the direction and command of our Brigadier Generals to the assistance of all or any of the free, independent States of America." (See "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, XIII : 253, 258, 267, 268; XIV : 322.)

The late Dr. W. H. Egle stated in his *Notes and Queries*, Third Series, III : 153, that at the beginning of the War for Independence Colonel Plunket "entered heartily into the contest, * * but for some cause or another—possibly at the instigation of his Wyoming enemies—he was arrested as being inimical to the principles of the Revolution. He was afterwards released, as nothing treasonable could be proved against him. Sabine, in his 'American Loyalists', imputes crimes to Colonel Plunket which he had neither fact nor foundation for." Details of these alleged crimes, together with some other cock-and-bull statements concerning Colonel Plunket, are quoted in Miner's "History of Wyoming," pages 179 and 180.

Four daughters were born to Colonel Plunket and his wife Esther, as follows: (i) *Elizabeth*, who became the wife of Samuel Maclay, who was a United States Senator from Pennsylvania in 1803-'08, and was a brother of the Hon. William Maclay mentioned on page 759 and other pages herein. (ii) *Isabella*, who became the wife of William Bell, and resided in Elizabeth, New Jersey. (iii) *Margaret*, who became the wife of Isaac Richardson of New York. (iv) *Esther*, who became the wife of Capt. Robert Baxter, of an Irish cavalry regiment, who came to America after the Revolutionary War; but who, after the death of his wife (which occurred one year after her marriage), returned to Ireland. In 1812 he was living in Glasslough, in the county of Monaghan.

After the close of the Revolutionary War Colonel Plunket removed to Sunbury, where he died in May, 1791.

* Middletown, Pennsylvania, is on the left bank of the Susquehanna, about nine miles below the city of Harrisburg. For a number of years in the latter half of the eighteenth century it was not only the chief market-town for nearly all the settlements on or near the Susquehanna River, but a very extensive trade was carried on by the Quaker and Scots-Irish merchants there with the Indian nations and with the western traders. A well-constructed highway ran from Middletown through the counties of Lancaster and Chester to Philadelphia, distant eighty-five miles "as the crow flies."

expedition to its destination. There was a second field-piece mounted in one of the other boats.

The formidable preparations being made at Fort Augusta caused considerable uneasiness and excitement among the people at Wyoming, and the seizure of the Wyoming traders and their goods and the arrest of the settlers at Lackaway intensified matters. Therefore an express, carrying the depositions printed on pages 853 and 854, was sent from Wilkes-Barré to Philadelphia to make known the condition of affairs to the Connecticut Delegates in the Congress then in session, while at the same time preparations were made at home to oppose the threatened invasion. By virtue of his rank as the chief militia officer in Westmoreland, and by reason of his extensive experience in actual warfare, Col. Zebulon Butler was given charge of the preparations for defense, as well as command of the inhabitants who responded to the call to arms. Neither the 24th Regiment nor any one of the companies composing it was ordered out, as a militia organization, to oppose the on-coming Pennamites; but the inhabitants of Westmoreland generally were summoned to this duty. The men who responded were mainly—in fact, almost exclusively—enrolled members of the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th and 6th Companies of the 24th Regiment. The members of the 7th, 8th and 9th Companies dwelt too far away to be made useful in this emergency; and, at any rate, the 8th Company was just then in a state of innocuous desuetude owing to the occurrences which had taken place at Lackaway a few days previously, as hereinbefore narrated. It is quite probable, however, that Capt. Silas Park and several other inhabitants of Lackaway District, who were in Wilkes-Barré about the middle of December, remained here and took part in repelling the invading Pennamites.

It is a well-ascertained fact that all the male inhabitants of Wyoming Valley who had fire-arms, and were able to bear them, held themselves in readiness to aid in opposing the invaders. Scouts, sent out every day, reported the progress of the Pennamites—who had taken up their line of march from Fort Augusta about the 15th of December; the weather then being mild and the river free from ice, which was quite unusual at that season of the year. On December 20th (the day on which the inhabitants of Westmoreland were to assemble in town-meeting, and the very day when Congress passed the resolution printed on page 856) it was learned that the invaders had arrived opposite the mouth of Nescopeck Creek, some nineteen miles below Nanticoke Falls (see page 35, Vol. I), but that they were advancing slowly on account of the snow which had fallen and the ice which was gathering in the river. Colonel Butler mustered his available force—which numbered about 400 men—on Saturday, December 23d, and marched to the left bank of Harvey's Creek (see page 54, Vol. I), where he encamped for the night on a level stretch of land near the river.

At the westernmost end of the plantation then owned by Benjamin Harvey, Sr., there was a small, sheltered pool, or bay, in the river, on the shore of which Mr. Harvey had built a rude wharf. The place was known as "Harvey's Landing," and there the owner kept his bateaux, and there their loading and unloading was attended to, for Nanticoke Falls (one-quarter of a mile farther up the river) not being navigable, it was impossible to get past them with a laden boat, either going up or down stream. The vanguard of Colonel Plunket's expedition arrived

at "Harvey's Landing" shortly after the Yankees had gone into camp above Harvey's Creek.

Early Sunday morning (December 24th) Ensign Mason F. Alden (see page 500, Vol. I), in command of a detail of eighteen men, was directed by Colonel Butler to remain on guard at Harvey's Creek. Capt. Lazarus Stewart (see page 640), with twenty men, was detached to the east side of the river, above the falls, with orders to lie in ambush and prevent the landing on that shore of any boat's crew. Colonel Butler, with the remainder of his force, then retired up the river about a mile to a point of natural defense on the plantation of Benjamin Harvey, Sr., a few rods west of his dwelling-house and store. There a precipitous ledge of rocks extended from the Shawanese Mountain in a south-easterly direction almost to the bank of the river, a distance of nearly half a mile. The land in the vicinity was well covered with forest trees, and the road from Harvey's Creek to the village of Plymouth passed between the lower point, or end, of the ledge and the river bank. The Yankees took up their position at this rocky rampart, and wherever it was defective for their complete defense they erected breastworks of logs and stones.

Later in the morning of Sunday, about eleven o'clock, Ensign Alden, being apprised at the mouth of Harvey's Creek of the approach of the Plunket expedition, retired with his men up the river and joined Colonel Butler. Deploying his column on the flat just abandoned by the Yankees, Plunket directed a spirited advance in pursuit of Alden, not doubting but that the main force of the settlers was near, and that the hour of conflict had arrived. In less than thirty minutes the advancing line was halted by Plunket, who was at its right, in front, and was heard to exclaim, "My God! what a breastwork!" Scarcely had these words been uttered when there came a discharge of musketry, crackling from end to end of the long-extended rampart, and giving no uncertain notice that this unlooked-for barricade was well garrisoned. One of Plunket's men—Hugh McWilliams*—was killed and three others were wounded, while the whole body of invaders was thrown into great confusion, and, without returning the fire of the Yankees, immediately retreated to Harvey's Creek. They then brought two of their boats from Harvey's Landing past Nanticoke Falls by land, and made preparations to cross the river in detachments, in order to march by way of the eastern shore against the village of Wilkes-Barré—the chief objective point of the expedition.

After nightfall both boats, well filled with soldiers, started across the river some distance above the falls. In the bow of the first boat sat Benjamin Harvey, Jr., still held a prisoner by the Pennamites and acting as pilot under compulsion, while Colonel Plunket himself occupied a place in the second boat. When the boats had nearly reached the opposite shore, they were, without warning, fired upon by Captain Stewart and his men who were concealed in the thick woods on the bank. Two or three men in the first boat were wounded, one of whom, Jesse Lukens†, subsequently died. All the occupants of this boat would have

* He was an inhabitant of Northampton County, and is said to have been a soldier in the Provincial army under General Braddock at the time of the latter's defeat and death.

† JESSE LUKENS, extracts from whose diary are printed on page 813, *et seq.*, was, as previously noted, the son of John Lukens, who was Surveyor General of Pennsylvania from 1761 till his death in 1789. Jesse Lukens was born August 8, 1748, and, says John F. Meginness in the "Official Report of the Centennial Anniversary of Lycoming County, Pennsylvania" (1896), "early displayed a taste for surveying and did much work [at and near Williamsport] for Samuel Wallis. [See page 653, *ante.*] He took up land for

been killed, probably, had not Benjamin Harvey, Jr. (apprehending that he himself was in peril), called to the Yankees to desist from firing. Colonel Plunket, it is said, lay down in the bottom of the boat to avoid the shots that were fired at him. The boats were hastily and excitedly backed astern into the channel of the river, whereupon, having got within the suction of the falls, they shot down through them and the rapids below—fortunately without mishap—and were brought to in the pool at Harvey's Landing. Thus ended the occurrences of Sunday.

Early in the morning of Monday—which was Christmas-day—the Pennamites, who had bivouacked on the flat at the mouth of Harvey's Creek, were astir. Colonel Plunket having formed his men in two divisions, again marched up the river to the breastworks, or "rampart rocks," held by the Yankees. While one division stormed the works, the second division ascended the mountain on their left and attempted to turn the right flank of the Yankees. The conflict lasted, with frequent cessations, during the greater part of the day, and on the side of the settlers some three or four men were killed and three times as many wounded. Towards the close of the day Colonel Plunket, finding the position of the Yankees too strong to be carried, withdrew from the field and immediately began his retreat down the west side of the river. He was pursued for some miles by Captain Stewart and his party on the east side, with a view to capture one of the boats of the expedition. But Benjamin Harvey, Jr., who was on board, still a prisoner, called to them not to fire, lest they might injure their friends; and so they returned and let the retreating army pass down without further pursuit. On their way down the river all the settlers under The Susquehanna Company whose homes were located along the route of the Pennamites were plundered by the latter*.

A view is herewith given† of a small part of the rocky ledge which, at Christmas-tide more than a century and a-quarter ago, so well served the needs of the Wyoming settlers. Large portions of the ledge have been blasted down and removed from time to time within the last one hundred years, in order to make way for roads and other improvements, but there still remains a considerable part of the sometime rampart. "Rampart Rocks" was the name given to this historic ledge subsequently to the battle of December 25, 1775, and upon some of the early surveys and maps of that locality this name will be found. (See the map in the July, 1830, issue of Silliman's *American Journal of Science and Arts*—Vol. XVIII.) Col. H. B. Wright, in his "Historical Sketches of Plymouth," published in 1873, states (page 107): "More than fifty years ago I remember seeing a large flat rock, set up on edge between two trees, near the natural breastwork upon this battlefield. It stood between two chestnuts, and as the trees grew it became firmly imbedded between them. This was pointed out to me by my father as 'one of the barricades of the early settlers of the valley, in a battle that had been fought on that ground many years before.'"

himself in Buffalo Valley, Pennsylvania, in 1769. He accompanied Colonel Plunket's ill-advised expedition from Sunbury against the Yankees at Wyoming as a spectator." However, the inscription on his tombstone states that he died December 25, 1775, "of a gunshot wound received from the Connecticut intruders, when in company with the Sheriff and magistrates of Northumberland County on a journey to Wioming in order to support the laws of his country." [See Johnson's "Historical Record," VIII: 226.]

* The facts relating to the Plunket expedition and the battle of "Rampart Rocks," recited in the foregoing account, have been drawn from Miner's "History of Wyoming," Stone's "Poetry and History of Wyoming," Wright's "Historical Sketches of Plymouth," and other sources.

† Views of some of the other localities mentioned in the foregoing account of the battle of "Rampart Rocks" will be found facing pages 48, 54, 55 and 312, Vol. I.



VIEW OF "RAMPART ROCKS,"
From a photograph taken in 1899 by the author.

Under the date of December 27, 1775, Col. Zebulon Butler wrote from Wilkes-Barré to a friend in Hartford, Connecticut, as follows*:

"We have lately had a visitation by a body of Tories, under the command of one Plunket—they pretended, by orders from Penn. Be that as it will, the bottom of it is torism. As we were threatened with death and destruction, we had no other way but to fight. They had 600 or 700 men, two cannons, &c. I marched with about 400 of my regiment, which I thought enough for 700 of such wretches. As soon as they came in sight they fired without saying a word, and rushed to surround us. Our people met them with as much resolution, and a very heavy fire ensued. We soon drove them, killed a number, and drove one wing of the body into the mountain; the main body retreated. This was on the 24th December. At night they attempted to cross the river, to destroy our settlements where the men were chiefly drawn off. I sent a party to receive them, and just as their boats came to shore, with about one hundred men, our people poured in the shot upon them, at about three rods distance, and obliged them to retreat and make off as well as they could. By the best accounts we can get they had fifty or sixty killed and wounded. We had two killed and three wounded, one of whom is since dead. Our enemies are all gone off, I believe for the Winter."

Under the date of December 30, 1775, at Sunbury, "William Scull, Sheriff, Samuel Harris, Coroner, William Plunket, Samuel Hunter, Michael Troy and John Weitzel" wrote to Governor Penn at Philadelphia as follows†:

"In pursuance of your Honour's letter of the 25th ult. the magistrates of this county delivered into the hands of our Sheriff warrants and other legal processes against a number of persons residing at Wyoming in this county, who have been charged on oath with the most illegal practices, and some of them with the greatest crimes. The Sheriff, apprehensive of resistance, judged it prudent to raise the posse of the county, and a body of near 500 men accompanied him to the neighborhood of Wyoming, where they were met by some people from Wyoming (one of whom was said to be an officer). To these men the intention of the Sheriff and his posse was sufficiently explained, and the strongest assurances given that no violence or molestation should be offered to any person submitting to the laws. The Sheriff proceeded, however, but a little farther, when he was most unexpectedly fired upon—one man [Hugh McWilliams] killed, and three others dangerously wounded. It was soon found impossible to force a passage on that side of the river, as the narrows, naturally strong, had been fortified with the greatest care, and were lined with numbers of men, to whom ours bore no reasonable proportion.

"An attempt was made to cross the river, with design, if possible, to arrive at the settlement of the persons against whom process had issued, without further molestation. This attempt was, for greater secrecy, made in the night. When the boats had nearly reached the opposite shore, and were entangled in a margin of ice too thin to bear the weight of a man, they were, without any previous challenge, fired upon repeatedly by a party from the top of the bank. Jesse Lukens received a mortal wound, of which he is since dead. Sundry others narrowly escaped. As a landing could not be effected, the boats returned. Baffled in this second attempt, the weather being intolerably severe, and receiving information that the persons we wished to arrest were the chief in command in their breastworks, it was thought advisable to desist from any further attempt. The boat with the wounded men was fired on while within gunshot; a constant fire was kept up on our men from the opposite side [of the river], while they retreated through a long narrows. One man only, however, was wounded—in the arm." * * *

Governor Penn transmitted to the Provincial Assembly the foregoing letter, with an explanatory message, in which he stated, among other things: "As a considerable expense must have arisen on this attempt to execute the laws of the Government, I doubt not you will readily make provision for defraying it."‡

* See "American Archives," Fourth Series, IV : 470.

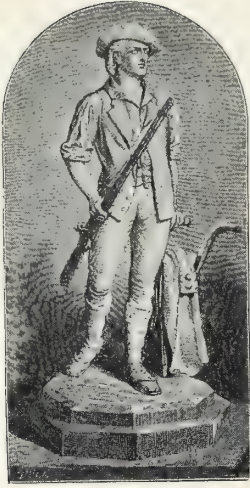
† See *ibid.*, page 1473.

‡ Fourteen years after the Plunket expedition occurred the following bill was paid by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania:

"The Province of Pennsylvania To Capt. Thomas Gaskin,

	Dr.		
	£	s.	d.
"For a large boat lost returning from Wyoming in the expedition with Dr. William Plunket,	18	0	0
To six large socket poles lost at the same time,	2	5	0
To 12 days' service of myself, @ 3s. 9d. per day,	2	5	0
To 12 days' service of two boatmen, @ 2s. 6d. per day,	3	0	0
To finding myself and hands provisions,	2	15	0
"December, 1775.	£28,	5s.	0d."

In 1790 the following accounts relative to the Plunket expedition were rendered against the Commonwealth. (See "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, XVIII: 696, 698.)



The General Assembly of Connecticut convened in special session December 14, 1775, and among the important Acts passed by it was one for raising and equipping a body of "minute-men," to be held "in readiness for the better defence of the Colony." The Act provided that one-fourth part of the militia of the Colony should be forthwith selected by voluntary enlistment, with as many other able-bodied, effective men, not included in any militia roll, as were inclined to enlist—"to stand in readiness as minute-men for the defence of Connecticut and the rest of the United Colonies." The officers and men were directed to equip themselves with arms and ammunition prescribed by existing law, and they were required to come together once a fortnight for half a day's muster and drill. Owing to the comparative smallness

of the population of Westmoreland, and the large extent of territory over which the people were scattered, the Assembly declared that this Act should "not extend to include or affect the 24th Regiment of Militia." It was at this session that the Assembly passed the resolution relative to the manual-exercise to be thereafter used by the militia of the Colony—as noted on page 827, *ante*.

At this same session the Assembly enacted the following important law relative to Westmoreland.*

"That the town of Westmoreland in this Colony shall be bounded east by the River Delaware, south by a line of latitude just 41° north from the equator, and extend west on said line to the termination of fifteen English miles west of the East Branch of the River Susquehanna; from thence to run northerly a straight line to the forks of the River Tioga, and continuing the same course to the north line of this Colony, which shall be the west line of said town and of the county of Litchfield. And said town is bounded north by the north line of this Colony, as described in the Charter from King Charles II.*

(1) "The State of Pennsylvania Dr. to William Sayres, for sundries furnished the Troops on the Wyoming Expedition, by order of the Magistrates of Northumberland County, in the year 1775.

	£	s.	d.
"To 69½ galls. Rum, @ 6s. 9d.,	23	9	1½
23 galls. Whiskey, @ 4s.,	4	12	0
4 lbs. Candles, @ 1s. 3d.,		5	0
2½ lbs. Tallow, @ 10d.,		2	1
1 bolt Tape,		3	6
4 lbs. Coffee, @ 1s. 7d.,		6	4
2 loaves Sugar, 31 lbs., @ 2s.,	3	3	0
5 lbs. Sugar, @ 11d.,		4	7
7 lbs. Soap, @ 1s.,		7	0
2 pairs Shoes, @ 10s.,	1	0	0
1 pair Leggins,		11	3
Cash to the wounded,	1	5	0
Do. for firewood for the wounded,	1	2	6
Sundries furnished the different Companies and wounded, by order of Squire Allison and [former] Sheriff Cook,	41	10	7

(2) "Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to Robert King, 1775

	£78,	1s. 11½d."
	Dr.	
	£	s. d.
December 14. To a canoe lent Samuel Maclay, Esq., for public Service. Broke in the ice before returned,	1	10
" 18. To a wagon, horse and driver, and finding the same for four days, hauling ammunition and stores from Northumberland to Fishing Creek, by order of Samuel Hunter, Esq.,	2	8 0
To my pay as Lieutenant of militia, under the Command of Col. William Plunket, from December 12, 1775, to January 3, 1776, both days included—being twenty-three days,	7	13 4
1776 January To hauling twenty-one loads of firewood, by order of Dr. Benjamin Allison, Esq., for the use of the men wounded at Wyoming, and then under the care of Dr. Allison,	2	12 6

"Total, £14, . . . 3s. 10d."

* See "Colonial Records of Connecticut," XV: 107.

"*And Whereas* part of the land contained in said Charter is claimed by the Proprietaries of the Colony of Pennsylvania, * * and a number of persons are settled on part of said lands under said claim; and also numbers of persons are settled on other parts of said disputed territory under the title of this Colony, who are included within said town of Westmoreland; and in order to preserve the peace of said inhabitants, and harmony and friendship between the Colonies, pursuant to the advice of the Honorable Congress of the United Colonies until the controversy concerning the title of said lands can be settled and determined,

"*It is Resolved*, That all the present inhabitants on said disputed territory shall remain quiet in their present possessions, without molestation from any person or persons under the jurisdiction of this Colony; provided they behave themselves peaceably toward the inhabitants settled under the claim of this Colony; and provided the persons belonging to this Colony who have been lately apprehended on said lands by some of the people of Pennsylvania be released, and all the effects—as well of those who have been already released as those now in custody—be restored to them. And all persons are hereby strictly forbid making any further settlements on said lands without special license from this Assembly, or giving any interruption or disturbance to any persons already settled thereon. This temporary provision to remain in force during the pleasure of this Assembly, and shall not affect or prejudice the legal title of this Colony or of any particular persons to any of said lands in controversy."

A copy of this Act having been brought to the attention of the Continental Congress, that body passed on December 23, 1775, the following:

"*Whereas* the Colony of Connecticut has, by a certain Act of their Assembly, resolved that no further settlements be made on the lands disputed between them and Pennsylvania, without license from the said Assembly; *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Colony of Connecticut not to introduce any settlers on the said lands till the further order of this Congress, until the said dispute shall be settled."

Four days after the battle of "Rampart Rocks" (to wit, December 29, 1775) the inhabitants of Westmoreland assembled at Wilkes-Barré in town-meeting, and several resolutions were passed in consequence of the Pennamite invasion and battle. One of them was: "That Mr. Christopher Avery be chosen Agent for this town, to proceed forthwith to his Honor, the Governor of this Colony, and lay our distressed case before him." Obadiah Gore, Jr., was appointed to repair to Philadelphia to "lay before the Honorable Continental Congress [an account of] the late invasion made by the *Tory party* of the Pennsylvania people." It was also voted "that Titus Hinman and Peren Ross be appointed to collect the charity of the people for the support of" the widows Baker, Franklin and Ensign. The husbands of these women had fallen in the recent battle. How many more married men (whose circumstances were such that their widows would not need the aid of contributions), or how many unmarried men, were slain on that occasion, the town records do not disclose. Miner states that "it is probable six or eight were killed in all, and three times that number wounded."

At this same town-meeting it was voted that in payment of taxes corn should be received at the rate of two shillings a bushel, rye at three shillings, and wheat at four shillings; that is, thirty-three, fifty and sixty-six cents in American money of to-day. According to a return made to the General Assembly of Connecticut in December, 1775 (see "Colonial Records of Connecticut," XV:215), "the sum total of the list of the polls and ratable estate of the town of Westmoreland for the year 1775" amounted to £10,520.6s.

* See the map facing page 790 for the bounds here described.





CHAPTER XIII.

LOYALISTS IN WESTMORELAND—THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE UNDER WAY—INDIAN CONFERENCES AT WILKES-BARRÉ—ENLISTMENTS IN WESTMORELAND FOR THE CONTINENTAL ARMY—OLD FORTS STRENGTHENED AND NEW ONES ERECTED—THE TWO “WESTMORELAND, OR WYOMING, INDEPENDENT COMPANIES”—THE COUNTY OF WESTMORELAND, “IN THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT,” ERECTED OUT OF THE WYOMING REGION.

“Freedom, prime blessing of this fleeting life,
Is there a man that hears thy sacred name
And thrills not to the sound with loftiest hope,
With proud disdain of tyrant whips and chains?”
—“*Speech of Arminius to his Soldiers*” (*Knicht*).

“How many tears have been shed, how much blood has been spilled, to nourish the tree of Freedom, the tree of Knowledge, or the tree of Life Eternal, and been forgotten!”

Early in 1776 a vigilance committee, or a “Committee of Inspection” as it was called, was established in Westmoreland, in pursuance of a recommendation made by the Continental Congress that such a committee should be appointed in every town, and that persons “hostile to the cause of liberty” should be arrested. These “hostiles,” who were, in fact, *Loyalists*, soon came to be generally known and spoken of as *Tories*.^{*} The words “Tory” and “Pennamite” seem to have been synonymous to the New Englanders in Westmoreland, with few exceptions. To their minds, apparently, all Pennamites were Tories. In reality, however, such was not the case.

^{*} It need hardly be said that when the Colonies revolted against the authority of Great Britain there were still many Americans who remained firm in their allegiance to the Crown, and even took up arms against their former friends. They were the so-called “Tories.” Others, again, with fully as much sympathy for the royal cause, were deterred from openly aiding it through cowardice, because of religious principles—as was the case with many of the Quakers—or for various other reasons. These reasons, however, did not prevent many of the Loyalists from giving secret aid and information to the enemy—thus rendering themselves even more dangerous and difficult to deal with than those who had openly taken up arms. They were but wolves in sheep’s clothing.

The following definition of a Tory was given at Philadelphia in 1775 by one of the former “Paxtang Rangers,” mentioned on pages 426 and 641. “A Tory is a thing whose head is in England and its body in America, and its neck ought to be stretched.”

The following “Ode to Tories” was printed in Towne’s *Evening Post* in 1776.

“Ye Tories all, rejoice and sing
Success to George, our gracious King!
Ye faithful subjects, tribute bring,
And execrate the Congress.

“Prepare! Prepare! My friends, prepare
For scenes of blood—the field of war.
To th’ royal standard we’ll repair,
And curse the haughty Congress.

“O goddess, hear our hearty prayers!
Confound the villains by the ears,
Disperse th’ plebeians, try the peers,
And execute the Congress!”

Miner states (in his "History of Wyoming," page 189) that this measure of establishing a Committee of Inspection "became the more pressingly necessary, as, with the breaking out of the war, and the prohibition on the part of Connecticut of any further emigration to Wyoming, there had come in strange families of interlopers from the Minisinks*, from Westchester, New York, from Kinderhook, and the Mohawk, connected with neither Pennsylvania nor Connecticut, and between whom and the old settlers there was neither sympathy in feeling, nor community of interests—Wintermutes, Van Gorders and Van Alstyne†. A path of communication was opened by the disaffected between New York and [Fort] Niagara‡, to strike the Susquehanna twenty miles above Wilkes-Barré. Some of those new and unwelcome settlers soon made their sentiments known, and disclosed their hostility to the American cause, while others for the time remained quiet, though subsequent events showed the purpose of their emigration to the Susquehanna. This view is attested by the fact that in January, 1777, Mr. Hageman, being examined before the Committee of Inspection, said, 'that riding with Mr. S——§ they spoke of the people coming in up the river to join the enemy—as a familiar and well-understood matter. He, Hageman, observed that the Yankees would go up and take their arms from them. S—— replied [that] he was the man, if it were done, who would see that they were returned to them.'"

"John Secord," says Miner, "who had settled up the river near thirty miles above the Valley, was known to harbor suspicious persons, and was suspected of acting as a spy, and giving intelligence to the enemy. Several British prisoners confined at Lebanon, Connecticut, had made their escape, *viz.*: Captain Hume, Lieutenants Richardson, Hubbage and Burroughs, with their servants. Having a pilot, they struck the river twenty miles above the Valley, and were supposed to have been directed to and entertained by Secord, furnished with provisions, and aided in their flight to Niagara. The Committee caused him to be arrested; but he petitioned Congress, complaining of the outrage on his rights, and by their order was liberated. * * * Two of the Van Gorders—Philip and Abraham—were taken by the Committee and sent to Litchfield for trial. Andrew Adams, Esq., was employed to conduct the prosecution, but the issue we have not been able to learn. About the same time eight or ten persons were arrested and sent to Hartford for trial, but were dismissed. Doubts have been expressed whether there was not more zeal than discretion in these proceedings. With the faint lights before us it is impossible to form an opinion upon the subject entirely satisfactory. Certain it is, such an influx of strangers was deemed, and not without reason, extraordinary. Some of them, it is known, immediately opened communications with the enemy. The issue showed that they were all enemies in disguise. We are not prepared to say, therefore, that the people were to blame in taking the most energetic measures to remove or overawe the more avowedly disaffected—especially when the recommendations of Congress are considered."

* See page 189, Vol. I.

† Craft, in his "History of Bradford County," states (page 62): "In 1776 there were living in the neighborhood of Standing Stone three or four brothers by the name of Van Alstyne, who were connected by marriage with the Wintermutes of Wyoming. * * * Near them was John Pensil, whose reported inhumanity, in murdering his own brother Henry in cool blood at the battle of Wyoming, has given him the name of 'the Fratricide,' and covered his memory with infamy."

‡ See page 298, Vol. I.

§ ADONIJA HANBROUGH.

At Wilkes-Barré, January 6, 1776, there was held an adjourned town-meeting of the inhabitants of Westmoreland, at which Col. Zebulon Butler acted as Chairman and Solomon Strong as Clerk. Among the several resolutions adopted at that time was the following, relating to the Pennamites settled some thirty or forty miles above Wilkes-Barré.

"*Voted*, That Solomon Strong and Robert Carr and Nathan Kingsley be a committee to proceed up the river immediately and let the people know that the inhabitants of Westmoreland are not about to kill and destroy them and take any of their effects, as is reported; but that they may keep their effects, and continue in peace on reasonable terms—*provided* they conform to the laws of the Colony of Connecticut and the Resolves of the Honorable Continental Congress, and confirm their intentions by signing the subscription-paper for that purpose that said committee will produce."

The meeting then adjourned to January 10th, at 10 o'clock in the morning, at the dwelling-house of Solomon Johnson—which was in the town-plot of Wilkes-Barré.

The Westmoreland records do not contain any account of the results of the visit of the committee directed, as abovementioned, "to proceed up the river" to interview the Pennamites residing there; but in a petition by Capt. Alexander Patterson of Northampton County (a very active Pennamite, and always more than unfriendly to the New Englanders at Wyoming),* presented to the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1803, and printed at Lancaster in 1804, we have a very positive and vigorous statement relative to this matter. There are some misrepresentations therein, and it is quite probable that the whole account is exaggerated. It reads as follows:

"In the year 1776 there were a number of inhabitants settled near Wyalusing, under the Pennsylvania title; among them, two Pawlings, Secords, Depew, Vanderlip, and others. The Yankees at Wyoming, sixty miles distant, being more numerous, insisted that the Pennsylvania settlers should come to Wyoming and train and associate under Yankee officers of their own appointment. As may be supposed, the proposal was very obnoxious to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, and [they] very properly refused, alleging that they would associate† by themselves, and would not be commanded by intruders, &c. This gave a pretext to the Yankees for calling them Tories. They therefore went in force, tied the Pennsylvania settlers and brought them to Wyoming, with all their movables, and confined them in a log house, until the Indians who lived in the neighborhood of Wyoming‡, and who loved the Pennsylvanians, came to Wyoming and requested that the Pennsylvania people should be released, declaring that they would complain to Congress if they were not. They were released, and on their return without property were ambushed and fired upon by the Yankees. The event of all this was that the Pennsylvania people were so harassed by the [New England] intruders that they were driven to seek an asylum with the Indians, and at length to retire to Fort Niagara for protection."

At Philadelphia, under the date of January 19, 1776, the Hon. Roger Sherman wrote to Col. Zebulon Butler at Wilkes-Barré concerning the fight at "Rampart Rocks" and the reported doings of the committee sent up the river to interview the Pennamites. The letter read in part as follows§:

"We have had an account of an attack on our people by some of the Pennsylvanians||, who were repulsed with the loss of two men killed; but we have heard nothing from the Connecticut people relative to that action, or whether they sustained any loss. There is a report here that your people have given some disturbance to the settlers under Pennsylvania. I should be glad of a particular account from you of the situation of affairs relative to that unhappy controversy, which tends to weaken the Union of the Colonies at the present alarming crisis. I hope you will do all in your power to prevent

* See page 854.

† That is, attend muster and drill as "associators," or militia.

‡ At Sheshequin and Tioga Point.

§ From the original draft of the letter in the handwriting of Mr. Sherman, now in the possession of Mr. James Terry of Connecticut, and heretofore unpublished.

|| The Plunket expedition.

any disturbances being given to the settlers under Pennsylvania by our people, and that the resolutions of the Congress be duly observed. You will observe that the Assembly of Connecticut have shortened the western limit of Westmoreland. I would advise that no jurisdiction be exercised over the settlers under Pennsylvania within the limits of said town, if any one be contrary to their mind. * * *

"You will observe that the Congress have recommended that all the effects taken and detained from any persons on the controverted lands be restored. It will be proper to apply to the magistrates, who took cognizance of that matter, for restitution; or to the Sheriff who had the goods in custody. And if they are not restored, that the case be represented to the Congress."*

In February, 1776, the authorities of Northumberland County, headed by Colonel Plunket, were still smarting because of their defeat at and humiliating retreat from "Rampart Rocks"; and, at a meeting of the Committee of Safety of Northumberland County, held at Northumberland February 8th, it was resolved that it was the opinion of the committee "that a petition be presented to the Honorable Assembly of the Province, setting forth the late murder of two of the Sheriff's posse, near Wioming, for attempting to act in conformity to the laws."† At a subsequent meeting of the Committee, held February 26th, the form of the petition to the Assembly, "relative to the Connecticut intruders," was approved, ordered to be copied, and circulated for signatures.‡

In the Pennsylvania Assembly, March 6, 1776, the following documents were received and read and ordered to be laid on the table. "A representation from John Secord, in behalf of himself and other inhabitants of Pennsylvania at or near Wyoming; a memorial from a number of inhabitants of the county of Northumberland, respecting Wyoming disputes; and sundry other papers relative to that subject." On March 15th the Speaker laid before the House "an extract of a letter from Zebulon Butler, Esq., of Westmoreland, dated February 28, 1776, together with depositions of Jeremiah Bickford and John Schufeldt§, relative to the late disturbances at Wyoming; which were read and ordered to lie on the table." A week later a memorial from John Secord—in behalf of himself and a number of other settlers on the Susquehanna above Wyoming,§ and accompanied by an affidavit made by John Salmon||—was received by the Continental Congress, read, and referred to a committee. Taking into consideration on April 15, 1776, "the report of the committee on the petition of John Secord¶, Congress *Resolved*, That a certified copy of said petition be transmitted to the Governor of Connecticut; that he be requested to cause inquiry to be

* This last paragraph refers to the seizure by the Pennamites of the personal effects of some of the Yankees at Warrior Run in September, 1775, as previously detailed; which effects had not yet been returned to their owners or accounted for in any way.

† See "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, XIV : 339.

‡ He resided in Wilkes-Barré, and was a son or brother of Peter Schufeldt, who, in 1770, came, it is probable, from Schoharie, New York, and settled on the Susquehanna at what is now Asylum, Bradford County. In 1776 or '77 Peter Schufeldt sold out to James Forsythe and removed to the West Branch, where he was killed by Indians in June, 1778.

§ See page 867.

|| Mentioned on page 645, *ante*, and elsewhere.

¶ According to Craft (in his "History of Bradford County") John Secord made his first home in Westmoreland on the west side of the Susquehanna, nearly opposite the mouth of Tunkhannock Creek, in what is now Wyoming County. Of his early history or place of emigration nothing definite is known. In 1777 he removed to Tioga Point, where he cleared seven or eight acres of land immediately at the "Point", erected a small house and a barn, and in 1778 had a small stock of cattle. There he remained most of the time until after the battle of Wyoming, when he removed to New York State. Subsequently to 1785 he is said to have emigrated to Canada. "In the Spring of 1778," says Craft, "his son James, leading a band of Tories and Indians on an expedition for plunder as far as Wyalusing, sent forward his father to reconnoiter the village and see if any Yankee soldiers were there. Entering the house in which Mrs. [Amos] York was living he asked for something to eat. While she was getting the food in readiness her son reported that three men were approaching on horseback. Secord, in alarm, begged Mrs. York to secrete him, which she did, and after the men had crossed the river Secord informed Mrs. York of the approaching expedition, but said: 'Mrs. York, you have saved me, and I will save you.' He returned to his son and reported a strong force of Yankees in the settlement, and the hostile party beat a rapid retreat." In June, 1785, John Secord was living in New York, at which time he sold to Matthias Hollenback his title and interest in and to the land at Tioga Point where he had formerly dwelt. There are some further references to John Secord in Egle's "History of Pennsylvania," pages 430 and 495.

made into the truth of the facts therein stated, and, if found true, that it be recommended to him to cause restitution to be made to the petitioner."

A large number of men from the different districts of Westmoreland assembled at Forty Fort, in the Kingston District of the town, on March 6, 1776, when the following document was drawn up and signed*:

"Whereas the inhabitants of this town have of late been invaded by a large number of Tories, which, by the blessing of God we have repulsed; but, notwithstanding, are threatened with another invasion. And as we are also a frontier town, and liable to be attacked by the Indians if a war should be commenced between them and us, we do think that it is our duty to be in readiness at an hour's warning, if an invasion should happen, to engage our enemies, invaders or intruders; and we, the undersigners, do freely and with cheerfulness engage in the common cause as soldiers in the defence of liberty, under the direction of the honourable Continental Congress, or Colony to which we belong; and do freely and of ourselves inlist to go with TIMOTHY SMITH† and Lieut. LAZARUS STEWART‡ as officers over us; and we will submit ourselves to be ruled, governed, and ordered by them as officers, when they shall receive commissions for that purpose, either from our Governor or the honourable Continental Congress, and we receive such bounties and moneys, clothes, &c., as shall be allowed to us as soldiers.

Mason Fitch Alden,
Caleb Atherton,
Thomas Baldwin,
Rufus Baldwin,
Stephen Burritt,
Oliver Bennet,
Elijah Brown,
Nathan Bradley,
Nathaniel Church,
Gideon Church,
Nathan Cary,
Peleg Cook,
Benjamin Cole,
Ezer Curtis,
John Cary,
Robert Dorrance,
David Darling,
William Davidson,
Samuel Ensign,
Daniel Franklin,
Elisha Fish,
Justus Gaylord, Jr.,

Obadiah Gore, Jr.,
Silas Gore,
Dethick Hewitt,
Ezekiel Hamilton,
Thomas Hill,
Lebbeus Hammond,
Oliver Hammond,
Ebenezer Heberd,
James Hopkins,
Francis Hopkins, Jr.,
Thomas Heath,
Eglon Hatch,
Abraham Hamester,
Israel Inman,
Richard Inman,
William Jackways,
Benjamin Jenkins,
Josiah Kellogg,
William Kellogg, Jr.,
Job Kelly,
Daniel Lawrence,
Edward Lester,

Constant Matthewson,
Elijah Matthewson,
John Murphy,
Asahel Nash,
Thomas Park,
Josiah Pascoe,
Phineas Peirce,
Elisha Satterlee,
Constant Searle, Jr.,
James Smith,
Timothy Smith,
Jedidiah Stephens, Jr.,
Lazarus Stewart, Jr.,
Heman Swift,
Samuel Tubbs,
John Tubbs,
Elijah Walker,
Isaiah Walker,
Stephen Whiton,
Asaph Whittlesey,
William Welch,
James York."

The foregoing and the two following documents were sent without delay to the Continental Congress, where they were read on March 12th and ordered to be laid on the table.

"WESTMORELAND, March 8, 1776.

"Hon. JOHN HANCOCK, President of Congress.

"Sir: The inhabitants of this town being sensible of the blessings of liberty, and desirous of taking a share in defence thereof by risking their lives and fortunes in the service of the honourable Continental Congress; it seems they could think of no better way of testifying their attachment to the common cause than by meeting together this day and making choice of us as their officers—desiring at the same time we should apply immediately to the honourable Continental Congress for commissions, that we may be in readiness to march, if your Honours call for us, at the shortest notice. If your

* See "American Archives," Fourth Series, V: 127, 128. The names of the signers have been arranged alphabetically by the present writer.

† See page 718, also note "†" on page 759.

‡ LAZARUS STEWART, 2d, or, most commonly, "JUNIOR," was born in 1741, the son of John and Frances Stewart of Hanover Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. He came to Wyoming in 1770 in the company of settlers headed by his cousin, Capt. Lazarus Stewart, mentioned on page 640. Lazarus Stewart, 2d, was married in 1776 to Dorcas, daughter of Timothy and Jemima (*Scovill*) Hopkins of Plymouth District in Westmoreland, and they settled in Hanover, on what is now known as the "Old River Road," not far from the present Wilkes-Barré and Hanover boundary-line. In 1776 Lazarus Stewart, 2d, was Lieutenant of the 5th Company, 24th Regiment, Connecticut Militia. (See page 857.) He took part with this company in the battle of Wyoming, July 3, 1778, and fell on the field. He was survived by his wife Dorcas (who died subsequently to 1802) and one child, Frances (born December 12, 1777), who was married in 1812 to George Sively (born in 1789; died in 1854), and died October 3, 1855. The original inventory of the estate of Lazarus Stewart, 2d, made November 25, 1780, by John Franklin and Jonathan Fitch, and aggregating £515, 12s. 8d., is now preserved in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

Honours please to honor us with commissions—as the people were pleased to choose us their officers—we will use our utmost skill and ability, in conjunction with the other troops in the Continental service, to subdue the enemies of American liberty.

“We have, therefore, despatched Mr. WILLIAM STEWART with copies of the instrument to which we have subscribed and bound ourselves by, with a list of the names of those who made choice of us, and by whom the honourable Congress will please to send such commissions, and instructions how to draw sustenance, money, clothes and arms and ammunition for the men.

“We are, Sir, with due regard to truth, your Honour’s obliged humble servants,
[Signed]

“LAZARUS STEWART,
“TIMOTHY SMITH,
“DETHICK HEWITT,
“PHINEAS PEIRCE.”

“TO THE HONORABLE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, AT PHILADELPHIA:

“We certify that a company of men met together in Kingston District, in the town of Westmoreland, on Susquehannah River, and in the Colony of Connecticut, and there chose Lieut. LAZARUS STEWART their Captain, Messrs. TIMOTHY SMITH, First Lieutenant, DETHICK HEWITT, Second Lieutenant, and PHINEAS PEIRCE*, Ensign; and they have obliged themselves by an instrument in writing, to which they have signed their names, with the men who chose them officers, to march at the shortest notice to any part that your Honours or honourable Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut (to which they belong) may direct, to defend the liberties and privileges of America; and [we] do think them suitable persons to officiate in that station in which they have been chosen, and do accordingly recommend them to your Honours.

“Given under our hands, this 8th day of March, 1776.

[Signed] “NATHAN DENISON,†
“JOHN JAMESON,‡
“WILLIAM STEWART.§”

It is quite probable that the signers of the last of the three foregoing documents composed the Westmoreland Committee of Inspection then in office.

At that time the attention of Congress was being particularly directed to the preparations required for the defense of the seaboard, and it became necessary for the town of Westmoreland to take steps to provide its own munitions of war. Accordingly, “at a town-meeting legally warned, and held in Kingston District March ye 10, 1776,” it was unanimously voted “that ye first man that shall make fifty weight of good saltpeter or niter in this town shall be entitled to a bounty of £10 lawful money, to be paid out of ye town treasury.” At the same meeting it was voted “that ye Selectmen be directed to dispose of ye Grain now in ye hands of ye Treasurer or Collector, in such way as to obtain powder and lead to ye value of £40, if they can do ye same.” While the men were thus making preparations for warfare the women of Westmoreland were not inactive. They “fanned the spark of freedom into a flame by their approving smiles,” and with their own hands—just as their sisters in another part of Litchfield County were doing at that very time||—assisted in the manufacture of needful ammunition. They took up the lower floors of their houses (where there were no cellars), dug out the earth, put it into casks and ran water through it (as ashes are leached). Then they put wood-ashes into another cask and made lye,

* See the last paragraph of the note on page 711, *ante*.

† See page 788.

‡ See a subsequent chapter for a sketch of his life.

§ WILLIAM STEWART (born in 1739; died in Hanover, Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, July 14, 1803) was an elder brother of Capt. Lazarus Stewart, previously mentioned. Coming to Wyoming in the company of Hanoverians led by the latter, he acquired an original share in the ownership of Nanticoke—later Hanover—Township, as previously described. (See pages 644 and 677.) In August, 1778, he was appointed by Col. Zebulon Butler “Commissary of Purchases and Issues for the Wyoming Garrison.” This office he held until September 20, 1780, when he was succeeded by Hugh Foresman. In May, 1781, William Stewart was appointed by the General Assembly of Connecticut “an Assistant Commissary of Purchases for the county of Westmoreland,” and this office he held till the close of the year 1782. Then, or a few years later, he removed from Wyoming Valley to Hanover, Dauphin County, Pennsylvania. His name appears often in these pages. In 1793, being the owner of Lot No. 27, 1st Division, of Hanover Township, Luzerne County, Mr. Stewart had the same surveyed and plotted into streets and town-lots, and sold thirty-six of the lots. He named the town-site “Nanticoke,” to commemorate the original name of the township in which the land lay (see page 515, Vol. I), and thus the present flourishing borough of Nanticoke had its beginning.

|| See page 285, Vol. I.

which they mixed with the water that had been run through the earth. This mixture they boiled and set aside to cool, when saltpeter rose to the surface. This was pulverized with sulphur and charcoal, and gunpowder resulted. Yes, the hearts of the women of Westmoreland burned with the same pure flame which animated the bosoms of their brothers, their husbands, their fathers and their sons! And subsequently, when Congress called for the severance of their domestic relations by ordering away the military companies raised here for their defense,

“The wife whose babe first smiled that day,
The fair, fond bride of yestereve,
And aged sire and matron grey,
Saw the loved warriors haste away,
And deemed it sin to grieve.”

At Wilkes-Barré, under the date of March 27, 1776, Christopher Avery, Samuel Ransom, George Dorrance, John Jenkins and Solomon Strong, Selectmen of the town of Westmoreland, wrote to the Hon. Roger Sherman at Philadelphia relative to the troubles which the Westmorelanders had recently had with the Pennamites, and declared that they were “not yet over.” Continuing, the Selectmen stated*:

“Mr. John Hageman and M. Hollenback are the two gentlemen that have suffered the most on account of having their goods taken, of any individuals in this town.† They are going to Congress with petitions to see if they can get anything—to enable them to come at their estates again; and they will take with them a petition from the persons that were robbed of their guns and horses at Warrior Run last September, in order to have that introduced at the same time. * * * The guns and horses taken from those people at Warrior Run are much wanted here by them people, and they may be wanted possibly for to defend with against another army of Invaders—if by any means they can again put on *resolution* enough to come again. The want of *that* was more the occasion of their defeat than the want of men, money or arms, which we hear they are petitioning for to their own Assembly. * * *

“The town of Westmoreland, as a Town, does not intend now to petition the Congress in respect to the damages they have sustained as a town from those insulting Invaders; but have begun pursuit of their [Connecticut] Government to take the thing upon themselves and make a claim on Pennsylvania Government for damages to this town for the sum of about £4,000 lawful money. We conclude that is what they ought in equity to pay us on account of their encouraging those Tory invaders to come against us as they did—which was the occasion of their coming and shedding innocent blood here, and doing us damage; and that being done contrary to orders of Congress.” * * *

Accompanying this letter was one of even date from Col. Zebulon Butler to Mr. Sherman. It read as follows‡:

“*Honoured Sir* :—This will be handed you by Messrs. Hollenback and Hageman who wait on the Congress for help on account of goods taken from them at Shamokin. They are young gentlemen that follow the business of trading at this place from Philadelphia and other places, and have behaved themselves very well and to the acceptance of the inhabitants in general. I hope they will have justice done them. As they have no chance in the county where their goods are detained, they are obliged to apply to a higher board. I have not heard yet what the Congress have done with respect to the Pennsylvanians refusing to return our effects. A list of those that lost, enclosed I send you by their desire, with each man's sum annexed to his name.§

“We have reported accounts from different parts of Pennsylvania that there is design forming to attack us again; but what gives us the greatest alarm here is an account that Pennsylvania Assembly are raising 1,500 men for the defence of the Province, and some of the parties have said they were to drive the New England people from Wyoming. It is humbly and earnestly requested of your Honour to let us know by the [first] opportunity what that 1,500 men are raising for—if it is known publicly; but if it is a

* See the original letter, heretofore unpublished, in the possession of Mr. James Terry of Connecticut, previously mentioned.

† MATTHIAS HOLLENBACK and JOHN HAGEMAN were partners in a trading and mercantile business carried on at Wilkes-Barré. For a portrait of Mr. Hollenback, and a sketch of his life, see a subsequent chapter.

‡ See the original draft of the letter in Colonel Butler's handwriting, now in the possession of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, and heretofore unpublished.

§ See the list, in part, on page 843, *ante*.

secret thing, we may depend upon mischief. Your Honour's compliance with the last request will greatly oblige a large number of dependent people, one of whom is, Sir,

"Your most Obed't Humble Servant,

[Signed]

"ZEBⁿ BUTLER."

So far as any records disclose, the only action taken by Congress with reference to the foregoing communications was the adoption on April 15, 1776, of the following:

"Resolved, That it be again recommended to the settlers at Wyoming and the Susquehannah River, as well those under Pennsylvania as those under Connecticut, to cultivate harmony, to consider themselves as jointly interested in the event of the American cause, and not, by mutual acts of violence or oppression, to injure the union that happily subsists between all the Colonies, and on which their welfare so much depends."

In fact, at that period Congress had on hand, to be attended to promptly, more important matters than the taking cognizance of and attempting to settle quarrels prevailing between the inhabitants of certain sections of two particular Colonies or Provinces. By the early Spring of 1776 the uppermost thought in men's minds throughout the American Colonies had come to be: *Independence of Great Britain, a more perfect union of the Colonies, and the establishment of a local government for each!* March 17, 1776, amid much disorder and pillage, 11,000 British troops, with about as many hundred Americans, retired from Boston. The siege of that city—which had lasted under the personal direction of Washington for about six months—was over; and with the departure of Lord Howe's fleet for Halifax the British went finally out of New England, and it was entirely free from the enemy. March 26th the General Assembly of South Carolina adopted a constitution for the temporary government of that Province. April 12th North Carolina's Legislature voted that her Delegates in the Continental Congress be empowered "to concur with the Delegates of the other Colonies in declaring independency."

May was a month of unusual agitations throughout the Colonies. Early in the month the Massachusetts House of Representatives called upon the people of the Province to assemble in town-meetings, and instruct their Representatives as to whether, if the Continental Congress should declare the Colonies independent of Great Britain, they, the inhabitants, would "engage with their lives and fortunes to support them in the measure." The General Assembly of Connecticut assembled at Hartford on the 9th of May, and one of the first Acts passed by the Assembly provided for the "raising of two regiments of troops within the Colony, for the special defence of the same." John Jenkins, Sr., and Capt. Solomon Strong were in attendance as Representatives from Westmoreland, and Miner says ("History of Wyoming," page 190) that they had received from their constituents "express orders to request the Assembly to demand of the Pennsylvania Government £4,000 for losses sustained by their invasion; and if necessary, to pursue the matter before Congress. As no further notice of the subject appears upon the records, and as it is certain no compensation was received, it is presumed that prudential considerations induced the General Assembly to decline interfering." Late in this session a petition* was presented by Representative Jenkins, signed by himself and dated June 1, 1776, setting forth that Westmoreland was more than one hundred miles distant from any powder-mill in the Colony of Connecticut, and, as the inhabitants of said town were desirous of having a powder-mill erected there,

* Document No. 63 in the volume of MSS. entitled "Susquehannah Settlers, 1755-1796," mentioned on page 29, Vol. I.

praying that liberty be granted Christopher Avery, Samuel Ransom, George Dorrance and John Jenkins, Sr., Selectmen of the town, to erect a powder-mill for the purpose of making gunpowder, which, in the opinion of the memorialist, could "be made of the natural production of said town, and to the great advantage of both the public and private [citizens]." The Assembly granted the prayer of the petitioner.

At this session the Assembly made the following appointments of Westmoreland officials. Zebulon Butler, Joseph Sluman, Nathan Denison, Abel Hine, William Judd, John Jenkins, Sr., and Uriah Chapman, of Westmoreland, to be Justices of the Peace in and for Litchfield County during the ensuing year; Joseph Sluman to be Judge of the Court of Probate for the district of Westmoreland, and Lemuel Gustin, of Westmoreland, to be Surveyor of Lands in and for Litchfield County. At the same time the Assembly established, and the Governor subsequently commissioned, Robert Carr as Captain and Nathan Kingsley as Lieutenant of the 9th Company, 24th Regiment, in the room, respectively, of James Secord and John De Pui (sometimes spelled "Depew"), who were suspected and accused of Tory proclivities.

June 14th the Assembly resolved, unanimously, that the Connecticut Delegates in the Continental Congress be instructed to propose to that body "to declare the United American Colonies free and independent States, absolved from all allegiance to the King." Four days later, by desire of the Assembly, Governor Trumbull issued his noted "Proclamation for Reformation," sometimes referred to as "Connecticut's Declaration of Independence." It was printed in the shape of a broadside, and many copies were distributed throughout the Colony. It read in part as follows*:

* * * "God Almighty has been pleased, of his infinite Mercy, to succeed our Attempts, and give us many Instances of signal Success and Deliverance; but the Wrath of the King is still increasing, and not content with employing all the Force which can be sent from his own Kingdom to execute his cruel Purposes, has procured, and is sending, all the Mercenaries he can obtain from foreign Countries, to assist in extirpating the Rights of America, and with theirs, almost all the Liberty remaining among Mankind.

"In this most critical and alarming Situation, this and all the Colonies are called upon and earnestly pressed by the honourable Congress of the American Colonies * * * to raise a large additional number of their Militia and able Men, to be furnished and equipped with all possible Expedition, for Defence against the soon expected Attack and Invasion of those who are our Enemies without a Cause. In chearful Compliance with which Request * * the General Assembly of this Colony have freely and unanimously agreed and resolved that upwards of 7,000 able and effective Men be immediately raised, furnished and equipped for the great and interesting Purposes aforesaid. * * *

"I DO, THEREFORE, by and with the Advice of the Council, and at the Desire of the Representatives in General Court assembled, issue this *Proclamation*, and make the solemn Appeal of said Assembly to the Virtue and public Spirit of the good People of this Colony. Affairs are hastening fast to a Crisis, and the approaching Campaign will, in all Probability, determine forever the Fate of America. * * *Be exhorted to rise*, therefore, to superior Exertions on this great Occasion; and let all that are able and necessary shew themselves ready in behalf of their injured and oppressed Country, and come forth to the Help of the Lord against the Mighty, and convince the unrelenting Tyrant of Britain that they are resolved to be Free. Let them step forth to defend their Wives, their little Ones, their Liberty, and everything they hold sacred and dear, to defend the Cause of their Country, their Religion, and their God. Let every one, to the utmost of their Power, lend a helping Hand to promote and forward a Design on which the Salvation of America now evidently depends. Nor need any be dismayed. The Cause is certainly a just and a glorious one. God is able to save us in such Way and Manner as he pleases, and to humble our proud Oppressors. The Cause is that of Truth and Justice. He has already shewn his Power in our Behalf, and for the Destruction of many of our Enemies. Our Fathers trusted in him and were delivered. Let us all repent, and thoroughly amend our Ways. * * * And while our Armies are abroad, jeoparding

* See "Colonial Records of Connecticut," XV: 450-453.

their Lives in the high Places of the Field, let all who remain at Home cry mightily to God for the Protection of his Providence, to shield and defend their Lives from Death, and to crown them with Victory and Success.

"And in the name of the said General Assembly I do hereby earnestly recommend it to all, both Ministers and People, frequently to meet together for social Prayer to Almighty God for the outpouring of his blessed Spirit upon this guilty land. * * * All the Ministers of the Gospel in this Colony are directed and desired to publish this Proclamation in their several Churches and Congregations, and to enforce the Exhortations thereof by their own pious Example and public Instruction."

At the close of the American Revolution it became a proverb that independence had been achieved equally by the sword of Washington and the pen of Thomas Paine. Up to January, 1776, Washington had protested his loyalty to the Crown; but on the 10th of that month Paine's "Common Sense" was published at Philadelphia, and three weeks later Washington wrote from Cambridge to Joseph Reed at Philadelphia of the "sound doctrine and unanswerable reasoning contained in the pamphlet 'Common Sense'." Through this pamphlet—which had a wide circulation—the whole country was electrified with the spirit of independence and liberty, and so cogent was the reasoning of Paine that his conclusions were quite generally accepted. During the ensuing months other patriotic essays penned by Paine were published, and one of them—which came from the press about the time Governor Trumbull's "Proclamation for Reformation" appeared—attracted much attention. It was entitled "The Day of Freedom," and the opening paragraphs were as follows:

"These are the times that try men's souls. The Summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly; 'tis dearness only that gives everything its value. * * *

"The heart that feels not now, is dead; the blood of his children will curse his cowardice, who shrinks back at a time when a little might have saved the whole, and made them happy. I love the man that can smile in trouble, that can gather strength from distress, and grow brave by reflection. 'Tis the business of little minds to shrink; but he whose heart is firm, and whose conscience approves his conduct, will pursue his principles unto death." * * *

Just as in the days of opposition to the Stamp Act, nearly ten years previously (see page 591, Vol. I), patriotic poetry of various degrees of quality now flooded the press; and some of it accomplished as much as Trumbull's proclamations and Paine's essays in stiffening the backbones and arousing the enthusiasm of many citizens, here and there, who, fearing a traitor's doom, held back shrinkingly from the perilous step leading to revolution and independence. The following stanzas, extracted from the *Pennsylvania Packet* (Philadelphia) of May 13, 1776, represent one grade of this poetry.

"Americans, awake! awake!
Your liberty, your all's at stake;
Behold your foes—huge, angry swarms—
Proclaim loud war. To arms! to arms!

"Then bend your bows! your arrows bright
Shall pierce like rays of morning light.
Prepare for war! It is no crime!
It's virtue, and it is high time.

"Raging, Brittania's haughty Lords
Have charg'd their arms and drawn their
swords;
They call you rebels, cowards, knaves,
And doom your unborn babes for slaves.

"Swift to the field, ye heroes, fly,
Nor fear to sweat, to bleed, or die;
The glorious cause demands your breath;
Freedom is cheap, though bought with
death.

"'Union!' aloft Urania sings,
And beats the air with golden wings.
Great WASHINGTON prepares the way,
Nor can he doubt to win the day."

The poets, the essayists and the orators did their work, and finally the link binding the Colonies to the mother country was severed by the adoption of the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776 (as mentioned in the note on page 355, Vol. I); by its publication and the subsequent burning of the King's arms at the State House in Philadelphia on the 8th of July, and by the reading of the Declaration on the 10th of July at the head of each brigade of the Continental army posted at and near the city of New York.

Governor Trumbull's proclamation of the 18th of June reached Wilkes-Barré about the first of the next month, and nearly three weeks later a broadside containing the Declaration of Independence arrived here. We may rest assured that these two broadsides were carefully read and re-read by those who had access to them, and that for some time thereafter their contents formed much food for serious thought and discussion throughout the whole extent of Westmoreland.

Early in the Summer of 1776—say in June—Captain Weisner came to Wyoming Valley, where, with the aid of Obadiah Gore, Jr., he enlisted a number of men for the Continental service (as noted on page 833), and marched them hence to White Plains, New York. Among these recruits were several men who, just as Lieutenant Gore himself, had been enrolled in the company of volunteers which, in the previous March, offered its services to Congress (see page 870)—but apparently without avail. About this same time (June), says Miner, "Capt. Solomon Strong enlisted part of a company at Wyoming. The number is supposed to have been inconsiderable—not exceeding eight or ten. These being the first enlisted men, took with them the best arms that could be obtained. That a man should have left the Valley, or that a musket or rifle should have been taken, is matter of surprise."

The population of Westmoreland numbered at that time about 2,900. Chapman says 5,000; Stone says (in his "Poetry and History of Wyoming") about 2,500; and Miner says "the number did not exceed 2,500." The Hon. Benjamin A. Bidlack*, in an address delivered at Wilkes-Barré February 22, 1839, said†:

"According to the estimate of Colonel Stone in his '*Thayendanegea*, or the Life of Brant,' the population of the Wyoming settlements at the commencement of the war numbered 5,000 souls. From the most extensive research and information that can now be had on the subject, it is thought that the estimate of Colonel Stone is too large by nearly one-half. In 1773 there were only 430 taxables, which, multiplied by six, would give only about 2,500 inhabitants, including men, women and children. Of this number it cannot be supposed that more than 400 would have been capable of bearing arms."

John Jenkins, Sr., in a letter to the Pennsylvania Commissioners (see Chapter XXI), written at Wilkes-Barré in April, 1783, said‡:

"In 1776 our numbers were increasing, at which time we were required by the State [of Connecticut] to number the inhabitants of this place, who, according to *our best remembrance*, amounted to upwards of 6,000 souls; so that at the time Independence was declared we had got to be very numerous, and were still increasing until the fatal 3d of July, 1778."

Either Mr. Jenkins' recollection was very defective, or he indulged in some wild guesswork, or, perhaps, was prompted by some ulterior motive, when he assumed that the population of Westmoreland was upwards of 6,000 in 1776. At the beginning of 1774 the population was 1,922 (see page 791), and, taking everything into consideration, an

* See a subsequent chapter for a sketch of his life.

† See the *Republican Farmer and Democratic Journal* (Wilkes-Barré), March 6, 1839.

‡ See the "Trumbull Papers," Massachusetts Historical Society.

increase of 1,000 souls in the ensuing two and a-half years would be reasonably probable. Moreover, the rate-bills, or tax-lists, for the various districts of Westmoreland, prepared by the Listers of the town in August, 1776, contain 488 names*. Multiplying this number by six

* These original tax-lists are now in existence, and copies of them will be found printed in "Proceedings and Collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," V : 209-218. The names contained in the lists are as follows:

WILKES-BARRÉ DISTRICT.
Richardson Avery,
Richardson Avery, Jr.,
Christopher Avery,
William Avery,
John Abbott,
Elias Bixby,
Thomas Brown,
Jesse Bissell,
James Bidlack, Jr.,
Asa Burnham,
Zebulon Butler,
Elisha Blackman,
Stoddart Bowen,
Benjamin Bailey,
Isaac Bennet,
Aaron Bower,
Asa Bennet,
Moses Brown,
Joseph Crooker,
Benjamin Clark,
Samuel Cole,
Eleazar Carey,
William Dorton,
William Dunn,
William Dunn, Jr.,
Robert Durkee,
Thomas Durkee,
Anderson Dana,
William Davidson,
Douglass Davidson,
Daniel Downing,
Henry Elliot,
John Foster,
Stephen Fuller,
Jonathan Fitch,
Cornelius Gale,
Peregrine Gardner,
Daniel Gore,
Obadiah Gore, Jr.,
Rezin Geer,
James Green,
Elias Green,
James Gould,
John Garrett,
John Hageman,
Joseph Hageman,
Simeon Hyde,
John Hyde,
Asahel Hyde,
Samuel Hutchins,
John Hollenback,
Matthew Hollenback,
Howlet Hazen,
Robert Hopkins,
Gamaliel Irasdel,
Solomon Johnson,
William Judd,
Ebenezer Lane,
Thomas McClure,
Thomas Neal,
Martin Nelson,
William Nelson,
Aaron Pixby,
Thomas Pickard,
Ebenezer Parks,
William Parker,
Junia Preston,
Ebenezer Phillips,
Thomas Porter,
Jeremiah Ross,
Jacob Shufeldt,
Josiah Stanburrough,
Adonijah Stanburrough,
John Staples,
James Staples,
Joseph Staples,
Josiah Smith,
Isaac Smith,
Isaac Smith, Jr.,
James Stark,
William Stark,
Asa Stevens,
Darius Spafford,

Jabez Sill,
Elihu Waters,
Ephraim Wheeler,
John Wheeler,
Peter Wheeler,
John Williams,
Thomas Williams,
Jonathan Weeks,
Jonathan Weeks, Jr.,
Philip Weeks,
Edward Walker,
William Warner,
Abel Yarrington.

KINGSTON DISTRICT.

James Atherton,
James Atherton, Jr.,
Asahel Buck,
William Buck,
Aholiab Buck,
Richard Brockway,
Asa Brown,
Benjamin Budd,
Thomas Bennet,
Jeremiah Baker,
John Bass,
Henry Bush,
Kingsley Comstock,
Samuel Cummings,
Elias Church,
Gideon Church,
Amaziah Cleveland,
Nathan Denison,
Amos Draper,
George Dorrance,
John Dorrance,
Thomas Foxen,
Stephen Fuller, Jr.,
William Gallup,
Lemuel Gustin,
Asa Gore,
Obadiah Gore,
Silas Gore,
Samuel Gordon,
Peter Harris,
Elijah Harris,
Dethick Hewitt,
Levi Hicks,
John Hammond,
Dudley Hammond,
Amariah Hammond,
Egdon Hatch,
Ezekiel Hamilton,
Esther Follett,
Benjamin Follett,
Eliphalet Follett,
John Fish,
Asahel Jearoms,
William Kellogg,
Jesse Lee,
James Legget,
Nathaniel Landon,
Peter Lowe,
Robert McIntire,
Winchester Matthewson,
Seth Marvin,
John Murphy,
Phineas Peirce,
Timothy Peirce,
Ezekiel Peirce,
John Peirce,
Noah Pettibone,
John Perkins,
Isaac Phillips,
Ashbel Robinson,
Elias Roberd,
Elias Roberd, Jr.,
Timothy Rose,
Elijah Shoemaker,
Benjamin Skiff,
John Smith,
William H. Smith,
Timothy Smith,
Lockwood Smith,

Benedict Satterlee,
William Searle,
Constant Searle,
Luke Swetland,
Jedidiah Stevens,
Joshua Stevens,
Roasel Stevens,
Thomas Stoddart,
Ebenezer Skinner,
Elisha Swift,
Parshall Terry,
Parshall Terry, Jr.,
John Tubbs,
Lebbeus Tubbs,
Isaiah Walker,
Israel Walker,
Parker Wilson,
Ozias Yale.

PLYMOUTH DISTRICT.

Amos Amesbury,
Asahel Atherton,
Caleb Austin,
Samuel Ayres,
James Bidlack, Sr.,
Joshua Bennet,
Henry Barney,
Benjamin Cole,
Daniel Colton,
Jeremiah Coleman,
Jesse Coleman,
William Churchill,
Jonathan Churchill,
Thomas Carscadden,
Daniel Denton,
Gilbert Denton,
Frederick Eveland,
Daniel Finch, Sr.,
James Frisbie,
John Franklin,
Jonathan Forsythe,
Philip Goss,
Philip Goss, Jr.,
Solomon Goss,
Nathaniel Goss,
Bazabel Gurney,
Joseph Gaylord,
Charles Gaylord,
Justus Gaylord,
Aaron Gaylord,
Zachariah Hartsouf,
Benjamin Harvey,
Silas Harvey,
Timothy Hopkins,
Thomas Heath,
John Heath,
Jonathan Hunlock,
William Hurlbut,
Crocker Jones,
Benjamin Kilbourn,
Rufus Lawrence,
Ephraim McCoy,
Nicholas Manvil,
David Marvin,
Matthew Marvin,
James Nesbitt,
Jonathan Pritchard,
Noah Petebone,
Samuel Ransom,
Josiah Rogers,
Peren Ross,
Daniel Roberts,
Hezekiah Roberts,
James Roberts,
Ebenezer Roberts,
Elisha Richards,
William Reynolds,
Thomas Sawyer,
Simon Spalding,
Oliver Smith,
William Stewart,
Obadiah Scott,
Daniel Sherwood,
Robert Spencer,

John Tillbury,
Matthias Van Loon,
John Van Why,
Asaph Whittlesey,
Samuel Williams,
Rufus Williams,
Elihu Williams,
William White,
Nathan Wade.

HANOVER DISTRICT.

Prince Alden,
Mason Fitch Alden,
Eber Andrews,
Jeremiah Bickford,
Isaac Bennett, Jr.,
Peleg Burritt,
Isaac Campbell,
John Commer,
James Cook,
Peleg Cook,
Nathaniel Davenport,
Samuel Downer,
Samuel Ensign,
John Ewing,
James Forsythe,
John Franklin,
Roasel Franklin,
Daniel Franklin,
Andrew Freeman,
Isaac Fitchett,
Wait Garrett,
Titus Hinman,
Nicholas Hoffman,
Ebenezer Hebard,
William Hibbard,
Cyprian Hibbard,
Richard Inman,
Elijah Inman,
David Inman,
Robert Jameson,
John Jameson,
William Jameson,
John Jackson,
James Lasley,
George Liquors,
Edward Lester,
William McKerachan,
Jacob Morris,
Benjamin Potts,
Lazarus Stewart, Jr.,
Lazarus Stewart,
William Smith,
Levi Spencer,
James Spencer,
Edward Spencer,
Caleb Spencer,
Solomon Squire,
Benjamin Shaw,
John Sharar,
Robert Young.

PITTSSTON DISTRICT.

Noah Adams,
Isaac Adams,
Daniel Allen,
James Brown,
James Brown, Jr.,
David Brown,
Jeremiah Blanchard,
James Bagley,
Isaac Baldwin,
Rufus Baldwin,
Ishmael Bennet,
Caleb Bates,
Samuel Billings,
Thomas Cooper,
Daniel Cash,
Eber Crandall,
John Carr,
Barnabas Carey,
Timothy Howe,
Abraham Harding,
Thomas Harding,

(according to the rule observed by those who manipulate vital statistics), we have 2,928, which may be accepted as the probable number of inhabitants in Westmoreland in the Summer of 1776. It should be noted, however, that the names of the Rev. Jacob Johnson of Wilkes-Barré and the Rev. Noah Wadhams of Plymouth do not appear in these lists; and it may be that the names of others are missing (for example, that of Lieut. John Jenkins, Jr., is not to be found)—men who, for one reason or another, were, in like manner as ministers of the gospel, relieved from the payment of taxes. Further, a considerable number of those whose names appear in these lists were, at the time the lists were made up, unfriendly to the New Englanders and to the Connecticut Government; and later some of them proved to be downright Tories, who, of course, could not be expected to take up arms against Great Britain.

The fact should be distinctly impressed upon the mind of the reader that, in the Summer of 1776, Wyoming Valley—the chief and most thickly populated locality in the small section of the town of Westmoreland which was then inhabited—was, in every respect, an isolated, frontier settlement. The most northern outlying settlements of any consequence under the Government of Pennsylvania which were nearest to Wyoming Valley were Easton and Bethlehem, about sixty-five miles distant, and Sunbury, some sixty miles down the Susquehanna, at the confluence of the North and West Branches of the river. Intervening between Wyoming Valley and Easton were the Great Swamp, including the “Shades of Death” (see page 329, Vol. I), and the range of the Kittatinny Mountains beyond. A bridle-path—“the Pennamites’ Path” described on page 646—stretched its narrow course through this dreary region; but extreme necessity only could oblige a

PITTSTON DISTRICT.
(Concluded.)

Stephen Harding,
Benjamin Hempstead,
Richard Halstead,
Isaiah Halstead,
Jeremiah Hogeboom,
Eton Jones,
Joseph Leonard,
Obadiah Munson,
James Moore,
Ebenezer Marcy,
Samuel Millard,
Timothy Pearce,
Jonathan Parker,
John Ryan,
Michael Rood,
David Sanford,
Ephraim Sanford,
Solomon Strong,
Aaron Stark,
Elijah Silsby,
Samuel Slater,
Samuel Slater, Jr.,
John Stafford,
William Shay,
David Smith,
Zachariah Squire,
Eleazar West,
William Williams,
Nathan Williams,
Justus Worden,
John Worden.

NORTH DISTRICT
(EXETER AND PROVIDENCE).

Nathan Albee,
Joseph Baker,
Samuel Brown,
Silas Benedict,
Daniel Campbell,
Manasseh Cady,
Stephen Gardner,

John Gardner,
Peter Harris,
Stephen Harding,
Stephen Harding, Jr.,
Lemuel Harding,
James Hadsall,
Daniel Ingersoll,
Benjamin Jones,
Nathan Jones,
Thomas Joslin,
Nathaniel Johnson,
John Jenkins, Sr.,
Timothy Keyes,
William Martin,
William Pickard,
Thomas Picket,
Joseph Slocum,
Jacob Syne,
John D. Shoemaker,
Elisha Scovell,
Ebenezer Searle,
Levi Townsend,
Isaac Tripp,
Job Tripp,
Job Tripp, Jr.,
Preserved Taylor,
Philip Wintermute,
Philip Wintermute, Jr.,
John Wintermute,
Richard West.

NORTH DISTRICT
("UP THE RIVER").

Frederick Anker,
Philip Bender,
Prince Bryant,
Jacob Bowman,
Adam Bowman,
Elijah Brown,
Philip Buck,
David Bigsby,
Jacob Brunner,
Joshua Beebe,

Cole,
Nicholas Depew [De Pui],
John Depew [De Pui],
Josiah Dewey,
John De Witt,
Stephen Farrington,
Frederick Frank,
Rudolph Fox,
Lemuel Fitch,
Edward Hicks,
Casper Hopper,
Reuben Herrington,
Andrew Hickman,
George Kentner,
Nathan Kingsley,
John Larabee,
Isaac Larraway,
Read Mallory,
Zebulon Marcy,
Thomas Millard,
Thomas Millard, Jr.,
Benjamin Pawling,
William Pawling,
Nicholas Phillips,
Abel Palmer,
Ichabod Phelps,
Elijah Phelps,
John Stephens,
Frederick Smith,
Huldrick Shout,
Henry Simmons,
Sebastian Strope,
Conrad Searle,
John Secord,
Peter Secord,
James Scovell,
Jacob Sage,
Ephraim Tyler,
Isaac Van Alstyne,
"Old" Van Alstyne,
James Van Alstyne,
Isaac Van Valkenberg,
Frederick Vanderlip,
Hendrick Winter,

Elisha Wilcox,
Henry Windecker,
Abram Workman,
John Williamson,
Thomas Wigton,
Amos York.

LACKAWAY DISTRICT.

John Ainsley,
Hezekiah Bingham,
Roger Clark,
Uriah Chapman,
Asa Chapman,
James Dye,
Stephen Edwards,
Eliab Farnam,
David Gates,
Nathaniel Gates,
Samuel Hallet,
Jonathan Haskell,
Zadock Killam,
Ephraim Killam,
Stephen Killam,
Jacob Kimball,
John Pellet,
William Pellet,
Amos Park,
Zebulon Parrish,
Stephen Parrish,
Isaac Parrish,
Silas Park,
Nathan Thomas,
Enos Woodward, Jr.,
Elijah Witter.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Joel Strong,
James Cole,
Robert Frazer,
Samuel Freeman,
Thomas Leavenworth,
Phineas Nash,
John Shaw.

person to travel it. Between Wyoming Valley and Sunbury there was easy communication by water at all times of the year, except when the river was frozen over or filled with floating ice.

Along all the upper branches of the Susquehanna dwelt the Six Nation and other Indians. They were in force at Tioga Point (which was within the bounds of Westmoreland), at Oghwaga, at Unadilla, at Chenango, or Otsiningo, and at Newtown. From Tioga Point, where they were accustomed to rendezvous, boats could—in times of high water—descend to Wyoming in twenty-four hours. Thus, it will be seen, a numerous, warlike and naturally cruel enemy—then at peace, however—was within striking distance of Wyoming on one side, while on the other dwelt embittered and disappointed foes. Thus near was danger! Thus exposed was Wyoming!

At a meeting of Governor Trumbull and the Council of Safety at Lebanon, Connecticut, July 6, 1776, it was voted, on application of Col. Eliphalet Dyer, "that the Selectmen of Westmoreland may receive at Elderkin and Wales' mill* not exceeding 200 lbs. of gunpowder—they to account to the Colony therefor at the price of 5s. 4d. per pound." At Wilkes-Barré, just one month later, and only a few days after news had been received here concerning the Declaration of Independence, the following letter was written to the Connecticut Delegates in the Continental Congress. The original letter (the body of it in the handwriting of Christopher Avery) is in the possession of Mr. James Terry of Connecticut, previously mentioned, and by his courtesy is now printed for the first time. It reads—*verbatim et literatim*—in this wise:

"To Messrs. SHEARMAN, WOLCOT, & HUNTINGTON, Delegates, &c.:

"*Gentlemen*—As it appears to us to be the Duty of Every Infant settlement when apprehensive of any Danger—altho the same may arise from want of Proper knowledge of what appears very interesting to their safety & well being—to lay the same before the Parental state from which they acknowledge they ought to receive help, inspiration and knowledge and being from Experience sensible that the safety and well being of an Infant is under the equal Care of a tender Mother as those grone to riper years: from the consideration of which we are induced: To Lay the following subject matters before you, & if thought worth notice that you will Lay the same before the Honourable the Continental Congress.

"As the Northern Army has Returned from Canady & we are informed that the Indians has failed of attending the treaty with his Excellency General Schuyler† & also there is reports from persons of integrity from the Indians up this River that they are generally going to a treaty with Johnson‡ &c., and are driving off their cattle &c. to that quarter which we apprehend is a sufficient reason to induce us to believe that without some proper steps to prevent, the Indians may be induced to ravage this Infant back settlement; for some of the Mohock tribe being Informed that Johnson was killed (which information proved false) appeared very insolent & seemed to attempt revenge on some persons therefor. We are apprehensive & have reason to fear that the trade being stoped on this river, & the want of that former friendly supply of powder and goods to take of their skins, &c., may be productive of their taking other methods to furnish themselves with blankets, &c., from that quarter; and we cant forbear mentioning we think it extremly hard to have our arms kept from us at this Critical Day, as none has been returned according to order of Congress, and the circumstances of our country & situation is such at this time that we cannot furnish ourselves with a sufficient quantity of firearms & powder & lead for the defence of this settlement in case of an attack from the Indians.

"We beg leave just to mention that there has a large number of young People gone into the service, and that Capt. Robert Durkee has obtained Liberty from a General Officer at New York§ for raising a Comp^y here to join the Continental Army there.

* See page 463, Vol. I.

† In June, 1776, by direction of the Continental Congress, Maj. Gen. Philip Schuyler held a treaty with the Six Nation Indians, for the purpose of securing their neutrality. Relative to this see Chapter XIV, *post*.

‡ Col. GUY JOHNSON, mentioned in the note on page 300, Vol. I, and on page 822, Vol. II.

§ General WASHINGTON.

Which we are and ever shall be extremely fond of forwarding at all times, but cant help mentioning our fears of being dreaned of men & arms which those that Inlist have a right to carry with them guns &c. which will naturally weaken and lesson our numbers but nevertheless shall cheerfully answer all calls from Congress, Generalls or Government, ever supposing they are best acquainted with what would be most expedient for our safety &c. As perfection cannot be expected from persons who settle new Countrys, yet we beg Leave to request the favour of a few things which we believe might be granted consistant with the general good & safety of the whole: First, we are Induced to believe that to keep a number of Companies near the frontiers at this time would be a means of preventing any insults or hostilities from the Indians or tories on the frontiers, & the grand article provisions is very plenty now & doubtless all along the frontier; and if a few Companies at discretion were stationed here and at Coshothton [Cochecton, or Cushe-tunk—*q. v.*] and at the West Branch it would certainly secure a very Important Pass, and could be supplied with provisions here; also if there were spare arms & ammunition to furnish those destitute here they could be a great help in assisting in case of need, and might be paid for with provisions, etc.

"Gentlemen, we have the greatest confidence of your zeal for the good of the Continent in General, therefore rely on your assistance in forwarding the above matters being laid before the Honourable Congress and in such way as shall be thought Best & for the obtaining their answer or conclusion on the said matters for the Quieting the minds of the People here and that the same might be Transmitted to us by Mr. Elisha Swift who we espotially send on the account of the above. In meanwhile we remain your Honours most obedient most Humble Servts

"Dated Westmoreland, [Signed]
August 6, A : D : 1776.

"ZEBULON BUTLER,	} <i>Justices.</i>
"NATHAN DENISON,	
"JOHN JENKINS,	
"CHRISTOPHER AVERY,	} <i>Selectmen.</i>
"SAMUEL RANSOM,	
"GEORGE DORRANCE,	
"SOLOMON STRONG,	
"OBADIAH GORE, JR.,	} <i>Committee of Inspection."</i>
"ELISHA SWIFT,	
"PEREN ROSS,	
"JEREMIAH BICKFORD,	

On the above date Col. Zebulon Butler wrote a personal letter* to the Hon. Roger Sherman, in which he said: "You will see by the representations from this town that we are under apprehensions of danger from the Indians, as our army has retreated to Crown Point, and every artifice using to set the Indians on us, by Johnson and Butler at Niagara." Colonel Butler also referred in vigorous language to the want of arms in Westmoreland—"those eighty guns taken" from the Westmoreland people at Warrior Run nearly a year previously not having been returned. "Our *other* property," he wrote, "though valuable, we would not mention at this day; but *our arms we cannot forbear speaking of*, as there are none to be purchased, and we a frontier, and so *unanimously willing to defend the United States of America*, at the risk of our lives."

At Philadelphia, under the date of August 20, 1776, Mr. Sherman replied to the foregoing letters in a communication to Colonel Butler, as follows†:

"I received by Mr. Swift your letter of the 6th *inst.*, with the representation made by the Authority, Selectmen and Committee of Inspection concerning their apprehension of trouble from the Indians; upon which we applied to Congress to raise some companies upon the Continental establishment. The application was referred to the Delegates of Connecticut and Pennsylvania, who reported for raising three companies in the town of Westmoreland, to be under the command of a Major—which now lies before Congress, not acted upon; also a report for raising a battalion in Pennsylvania for defence of the frontiers of that State. Since these applications were made we have had favorable accounts from the Indians that they refused to comply with the solicitations of Butler‡ and others to take up arms against the Colonies, and are determined to remain neuter. I

* See Miner's "History of Wyoming," pages 187 and 192.

† The original letter of Mr. Sherman was, in 1900, the property of the late J. Ridgway Wright of Wilkes-Barré, and is now published for the first time.

‡ Maj. JOHN BUTLER. For his portrait, and a sketch of his life, see Chapter XIV.

don't know what will be finally done about raising troops to defend the frontiers, but if any are raised in Pennsylvania 'tis probable you will be allowed to raise three companies. We shall pay proper attention to the affair, and if anything is done about it shall give you the earliest notice. I hope your people will have restitution of their effects, taken at the Warriour's Run, after the state of Pennsylvania hath settled a regular Government."

A conference of representatives from the Committees of Correspondence in the various counties of Pennsylvania was held at Philadelphia in June, 1776, when it was unanimously resolved "that the present Government of this Province is not competent to the exigencies of our affairs, and that it is necessary that a Provincial Convention be called for the express purpose of forming a new Government in this Province, *on the authority of the people only.*" The Declaration of Independence following soon after gave the old Provincial Government a mortal blow, and arrangements were immediately made for the holding of a general convention of representative men of the Province. The delegates to this Constitutional Convention met at Philadelphia July 15, 1776, and organized by electing Benjamin Franklin President, George Ross Vice President, and John Morris and Jacob Garrigues Secretaries. The convention completed its labors September 28, 1776, by making a "Declaration of Rights," and by adopting Pennsylvania's first Constitution,* which went into immediate effect, without a vote of the people, and continued in force until the adoption of a new Constitution in September, 1790. The executive power of the State, under its Constitution, was vested in a "Supreme Executive Council," to be composed

* In order that certain references and statements in subsequent pages may be more readily understood, and because copies of the Constitution of 1776 are not of easy access to general readers, we print here some sections of the Constitution in full, and other sections in substance.

"CHAPTER I. * * * Whereas the inhabitants of this Commonwealth have, in consideration of protection only, heretofore acknowledged allegiance to the King of Great Britain; and the said King has not only withdrawn that protection, but commenced and still continues to carry on, with unabated vengeance, a most cruel and unjust war against them, employing therein not only the troops of Great Britain, but foreign mercenaries, savages and slaves, for the avowed purpose of reducing them to a total and abject submission to the despotic domination of the British Parliament, with many other acts of tyranny, * * * whereby all allegiance and fealty to the said King and his successors are dissolved and at an end, and all power and authority derived from him ceased in those Colonies. * * *

"CHAPTER II. Section 1. The Commonwealth or State of Pennsylvania shall be governed hereafter by an Assembly of the Representatives of the freemen of the same, and a President and Council, in manner and form following:"

Section 2. The supreme legislative power shall be vested in a House of Representatives of the freemen of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Section 3. The supreme executive power shall be vested in a President and a Council.

Section 5. The freemen of the Commonwealth and their sons shall be trained and armed for its defence, under such regulations, &c., as the General Assembly shall by law direct; preserving always to the people the right of choosing their Colonel and all commissioned officers under that rank, in such manner and as often as by the said laws shall be directed.

Section 7. The House of Representatives shall consist of persons most noted for wisdom and virtue, to be chosen, &c.; nor shall any member, while he continues such, hold any other office, except in the militia.

Section 9. The members of the House of Representatives shall be chosen annually by ballot by the freemen, on the second Tuesday in October, and shall meet on the fourth Monday of the same month, and shall be styled "The General Assembly of Representatives of the Freemen of Pennsylvania," and shall have power to choose their Speaker, the Treasurer of the State, and their other officers, &c. * * *

Section 10. Each member, before he takes his seat, shall make and subscribe the following declaration, viz.: "I do believe in one God, the Creator and Governor of the Universe, the rewarder of the good and punisher of the wicked. And I do acknowledge the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be given by Divine inspiration."

Section 19. For the present the Supreme Executive Council shall consist of twelve persons chosen in the following manner: Freemen of the city of Philadelphia and of the counties of Philadelphia, Chester and Bucks to choose one person for the city and one for each of the counties, for three years; the freemen of the counties of Lancaster, York, Cumberland and Berks to elect one person for each county, to serve two years; the freemen of the counties of Northampton, Bedford, Northumberland and Westmoreland to elect one person for each county, to serve one year. Thereafter, in each vacancy, a Councilor to be chosen for three years. "By this mode of election and continual rotation more men will be trained to public business, there will in every subsequent year be found in the Council a number of persons acquainted with the proceedings of the foregoing years, whereby the business will be more consistently conducted, and moreover the danger of establishing an inconvenient aristocracy will be effectually prevented. * * * The President and Vice President shall be chosen annually by the joint-ballot of the General Assembly and Council, of the members of the Council. * * * In case new additional counties shall hereafter be erected in this State, such county or counties shall elect a Councilor or Councilors. * * * The Council shall meet annually, at the same time and place with the General Assembly. * * * The President shall be commander-in-chief of the forces of the State, but shall not command in person, except advised thereto by the Council."

Section 20. Courts of Sessions and Common Pleas, and Orphans' Courts, shall be held quarterly in each city and county.

Section 30. Justices of the Peace shall be elected by the freeholders of each city and county respectively; that is, two or more persons may be chosen for each ward or district, as the law shall

of members elected (but not on a general ticket) by the counties. The members of the General Assembly ("Representatives") and the members of the Council ("Councilors") were to meet together once a year to choose from the Councilors, by joint-ballot, a President and a Vice President. The Assembly and the Council (under the new Constitution) met in Philadelphia November 28, 1776, and elected Thomas Wharton, Jr., President, and George Bryan Vice President of the Council and of the State, and John Jacobs Speaker of the House. With the election of Mr. Wharton the rule of the Penns ended in Pennsylvania; the royal and proprietary Government quietly died without a sigh, and the Commonwealth, or State, of Pennsylvania began its existence.

The Constitutional Convention, at one of its early sessions, received from certain inhabitants of Northumberland County a memorial, which was referred to a committee for consideration. On August 1st this committee reported to the Convention that the facts set forth in the memorial were well supported by evidence; whereupon the following resolutions were adopted (see "American Archives," Fifth Series, I : 709):

"Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Convention that the inhabitants of the said county, and of the county of Northampton, are greatly exposed to Indian incursions, without being able to make proper defence, on account of the scattered situation of the inhabitants; they being settled in such a manner as to be unable to afford each other necessary assistance.

"Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Convention that it will be proper to raise and keep up a body of troops for the defence of the frontier, not only of the county of Northumberland, but also of the county of Northampton—the latter county being equally exposed to Indian incursions.

"Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Convention that the defenceless situation of those parts of our frontiers be made known to the Congress by the Delegates of this State; and that they further inform them that the battalion ordered to be raised for the defence of the Western frontier can afford no assistance to those two counties, and that the quota of the militia of Northampton, first required for the Flying Camp, is already marched, and the residue of the militia is about to march, agreeable to the late request of Congress; by which means they will be without the least defence, and request Congress to take those matters into consideration."

The foregoing resolutions, together with the memorial from the authorities of Westmoreland (see page 879), having been presented to Congress, were immediately referred to a committee composed of the Delegates from Pennsylvania and Connecticut. This committee brought in a report August 23, 1776, which, having been taken into consideration the same day, Congress voted as follows*:

"Resolved, That six companies on the Continental establishment be raised in Pennsylvania, and posted along the frontiers of the counties of Northampton and Northumberland, and parts adjacent, till further orders of Congress.

hereafter direct, and their names shall be returned to the President in Council, who shall commissionate one or more of them for each ward or district for seven years.

Section 31. Sheriffs and Coroners shall be elected annually in each city and county by the freemen; that is, two persons for each office, one of whom for each office is to be commissioned by the President in Council.

Section 36. "As every freeman, to preserve his independence (if without a sufficient estate), ought to have some profession, calling, trade or farm, whereby he may honestly subsist, there can be no necessity for, nor use in, establishing offices of profit—the usual effects of which are dependence and servility, unbecoming freemen, in the possessors and expectants; faction, contention, corruption and disorder among the people. But if any man is called into public service, to the prejudice of his private affairs, he has a right to a reasonable compensation. And whenever an office, through increase of fees, or otherwise, becomes so profitable as to occasion many to apply for it, the profits ought to be lessened by the Legislature." * *

Section 44. A school or schools shall be established in each county by the Legislature, for the convenient instruction of youth, with such salaries to the masters paid by the public as may enable them to instruct youth at low prices. And all useful learning shall be duly encouraged and promoted in one or more universities.

Section 47. Provides for the election in October, 1783, and in October of each seventh year thereafter, of two persons in each city and county of the State, to form a body to be called the "Council of Censors;" * * "whose duty it shall be to enquire whether the Constitution has been preserved inviolate in every part; and whether the legislative and executive branches of the Government have performed their duty as guardians of the people, or assumed to themselves other or greater powers than they are entitled to by the Constitution. For these purposes they shall have power to send for persons, papers and records; they shall have authority to pass public censures, to order impeachments," &c.

* See "The Journals of Congress," II : 306, 307.

"That suitable persons be recommended to Congress by the [Constitutional] Convention of Pennsylvania for a Lieutenant Colonel and Major to command the said forces; and that the said Convention appoint the Captain and subalterns.

"That two companies on the Continental establishment be raised in the town of Westmoreland, and stationed in proper places *for the defence of the inhabitants of the said town and parts adjacent*, till further orders of Congress; the commissioned officers of the said two companies to be immediately appointed by Congress.

"That the pay of the men, to be raised as aforesaid, commence when they are armed and mustered, and that they *be liable to serve in any part of the United States*, when ordered by Congress.

"That the said troops be enlisted to serve during the war, unless sooner discharged by Congress."

Three days later (Monday, August 26) Congress proceeded to the election of sundry officers, when Robert Durkee and Samuel Ransom "were elected Captains of the two Companies ordered to be raised in the town of Westmoreland"; James Wells and Peren Ross were elected First Lieutenants, Asahel Buck and Simon Spalding Second Lieutenants, and Heman Swift and Matthias Hollenback Ensigns "of the said companies."*

The battle of Long Island, disastrous to the Americans, was fought August 27, 1776 (as noted on page 485, Vol. I), and that same day, at Philadelphia, Congress resolved "that Zebulon Butler, Esq., be appointed to supply the two companies, ordered to be raised in the town of Westmoreland, with provisions; and that he be allowed therefor at the rate of 1-12th part of a dollar† per ration, until further orders of Congress." The same day Congress voted "that the Secret Committee be directed to send to Captain Durkee 200 lbs. of powder and a proportionable quantity of lead for the use of the Westmoreland Companies."‡

Returning now to Wilkes-Barré we find that under the date of August 17, 1776, Col. Zebulon Butler sent a letter hence to the Hon. Roger Sherman, reading in part as follows§:

"You will see by the enclosed depositions a late attempt has been made on a man of this settlement by some Indians. We have since searched the woods around where the mischief was attempted, and can find nothing, only some few tracks. You'll see by the deposition they wanted a prisoner, as they offered him quarter; but he chose rather not to trust them. As there is frequent passing from the Indians on this river to Niagara, we have heard that Johnson and Butler has offered bounty for scalps. That, perhaps, might be their design, or to get a prisoner for intelligence. On the whole, you'll see the reason there is to suppose danger, and I make no doubt that all [the steps that may be] necessary will be taken by the Congress for the defence of the frontiers. *But Oh! our arms, our guns, that are kept from us!* Eighty or ninety as good soldiers as the American States have are without arms in this place, but relying on the goodness of Congress." * * *

The depositions referred to in the foregoing letter were made at Wilkes-Barré August 17, 1776, before Nathan Denison, Justice of the Peace.|| Parker Wilson deposed that on August 15th he was out walking near his home, seven miles west of the Susquehanna River, in Kingston District, opposite Wilkes-Barré, when, declared the deponent,

* About that time a prominent and efficient Brigadier General of the Continental army wrote as follows to a member of the Congress: "All the discerning officers of the army see the necessity of having *good officers* in it. * Old men without experience are utterly unfit for the army. They want ambition, which is the life and soul of a soldier. Nor are they fit for it if they have seen service, unless they are men of genius capable of improving the service. Otherwise they are a burden to it. They are useless old boys who pride themselves in having seen service—but without profiting by it. If you would have officers and soldiers, the former must be men of condition in the country, or men who have a sense of honour, and whose class in life is respectable. These are necessary qualifications, among others, to make the officer. Where these meet in men of genius, those they command will be soldiers; but without it, they will only be men."

† About ten and a-half cents in American money of to-day.

‡ See "The Journals of Congress," II : 307.

§ See the original draft of the letter in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

|| Contemporary copies of the original depositions are now in the possession of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

"I saw an Indian about ten rods distant from me, and he gave an Indian holler and three more Indians ris up from behind a logg. I then walkd very fast, upon which they fired two guns at me. Then I made the best of my way to the house, and as I went in at ye door one musquett ball was shott into ye side of ye house just over my head. I then took my gun and fired at them, they at this time not being more than eight rods distant from me, and got themselves behind sum trees and continued firing att me the best part of half an hour, and I att them, in which time one of them spoke to me and offered me quarter (he spoke good English), but I refused. In which time I supposed I had wounded or killed one of them, and there came two of the party and took the wounded one & carryed him off, which gave me an oppertunity to make my escape to the inhabitence and Reported as above written."

Dethick Hewitt and Ezekiel Hamilton deposed as follows: "After the above deponent had made his report Colonel Denison gave orders for us to go with the above said deponent to the place where he was attacked, to make what discoveries we could, whilst a larger party were getting ready to follow after. When we came to the house we discovered where several musket balls and large shot struck the house, and several balls that the deponent says he fired at Indians had struck the tree; and in the plowed ground we saw tracks of moccasins."

So far as is disclosed by documentary testimony, the abovementioned attack was the first one made by Indians on a white person at or near Wyoming Valley subsequently to the massacre of October 15, 1763, described on page 430, Vol. I. In the circumstances Colonel Butler, though not officially authorized to do so, thought proper to send without delay a messenger with a letter to the Indians at Tioga Point and at Chenango, or Otsiningo*—who were supposed to be particularly friendly to the Westmorelanders—to inquire as to the meaning of the attack on Wilson, and to ascertain, if possible, the future intentions of the Indians towards the inhabitants of Westmoreland. This was done about the 20th of August, and a few days later a town-meeting was "legally warned," to be held at Wilkes Barré. The following paragraphs are from the original records of the town of Westmoreland:

"At a town-meeting legally warned and held in Westmoreland, in Wilkesbarre District, August ye 24th, 1776, Colonel Butler was chosen Moderator for ye work of ye day.

"*Voted*, It is the opinion of this meeting that it now becomes necessary for ye Inhabitants of this Town to erect a suitable Fort, or Forts, as a defence against our common enemy. * * *

"August 28th, 1776, this meeting is opened and held by adjournment.

"*Voted*, That ye three Field Officers† of ye Regiment in this Town be appointed as a committee to view the most convenient places in said town for building Forts for ye defence of said town, and determine on some particular spot or place or places in each District for that purpose, and mark out the same.

"*Voted*, That the abovesaid Committee do recommend it to the people in each part—as shall be set off by them [the committee] to belong to any Fort—to proceed forthwith in building said Forts, &c., *without either fee or reward from ye said Town.*"

When this action was taken by the inhabitants of Westmoreland they had not yet learned of the resolutions affecting themselves which had been adopted by Congress on August 23d, 26th and 27th (see page 883); and of course it was impossible for them to have learned so soon, for those were not the days of railways and telegraphs. At that time the latest news from the seat of Government which had been received

* See pages 219, 239 and 373, Vol. I.

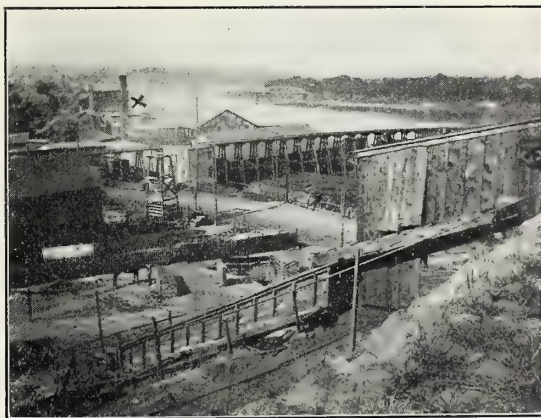
† Col. ZEBULON BUTLER, Lieut. Col. NATHAN DENISON and Maj. WILLIAM JUDD.

at Wilkes-Barré was contained in the letter of the Hon. Roger Sherman dated August 20th (see page 880), which had been brought from Philadelphia by Elisha Swift only a couple of days before the last-mentioned Westmoreland town-meeting. However, the inhabitants of Westmoreland were ever ready to prove that their love of freedom was something more than an empty profession. They had already demonstrated that they could provide ammunition almost without means, and now they were willing to serve as soldiers without pecuniary reward, and to work without pay. There was on their part no listless dependence, no waiting for aid and protection from the parent State or the General Government, but a spontaneous and an almost unanimous resolution of the whole people—men, women and youth—that they would be free, and that they would procure and protect their freedom by their own industry and energy.

The committee of field-officers of the 24th Regiment, under the powers given to it by the aforementioned vote of the town, "began its labors by a study of the needs of each township [district]; and the most advantageous sites for works of defense were carefully examined," states Sheldon Reynolds in "Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania," I: 434. "In some of the townships [districts] there were stockades or fortified places, erected at the time of the early settlement a few years before, though since then suffered to fall into decay. These, wherever it was deemed to be practicable, were ordered to be put in a good state of repair, and the best posture of defense of which the circumstances would admit."

Forty Fort (see page 774), in Kingston District, was enlarged and strengthened.*

The fort in Pittston District, which was early known as Lackawanna Fort (see pages 745 and 814), and the erection of which had been begun in the Spring of 1772 (see page 730), was enlarged and strengthened. It stood near the corner of the present North Main and Parsonage Streets, in the city of Pittston. It consisted, at that period, of three log block-houses, surrounded by a stockade built in the usual way. One of the houses had been built by James Brown of Pittston, and was occupied by him and his family in the years 1776-'78, and from that circumstance the stronghold was then and later sometimes called "Fort Brown."†



From a photograph, taken in 1901, of the locality where Pittston Fort stood.

The site of the fort (which is approximately indicated in the picture thus: X) has been marked by a monument erected in July, 1906, by Dial Rock Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution.

On the west side of the Susquehanna, a short distance above the Exeter-Kingston boundary-line (in what is now the borough of Exeter),

* For a description of Forty Fort see Chapter XV.

† For a fuller description of this fort see "Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania," I: 446.

and about three-quarters of a mile south-west of Pittston Fort, stood the stockaded log house of John Wintermute. The house had been built by Wintermute about 1773 or '74, and was stockaded in the Spring of 1776—being then occupied by the Wintermute family. Later this place became known as "Wintermute's Fort", and will be referred to more at length in a subsequent chapter.

In Hanover was the Stewart block-house described on pages 643 and 644. This building, which was then occupied by Capt. Lazarus Stewart and his family, was strengthened in the Summer of 1776.

The fort at Lackaway (see page 771), sometimes called Fort Park and again Wallenpaupack Fort, was described in the year 1845 as follows (see Miner's "Wyoming", page 467):

"This fort, which was probably somewhat primitive in its construction, was a field containing about an acre, surrounded by a trench, into which upright pieces of hewed timber were firmly fixed. The spot was selected from the circumstance of its containing a living spring. The fort was erected on the eastern side of the Sterling road, almost immediately opposite the point where the road leading through Salem, over Cobb's Mountain and along the Lackawanna to the Wyoming settlements (called the 'Old Wyoming Road'), branches off from the Sterling road. It is six miles south-west from the hamlet now (1845) marked on the maps as Wilsonville. Within the enclosed space was a block-house, also built of squared pieces of hewed timber, upon the top of which was a sentry-box, made bullet-proof. There was, beside, a guard-house standing just east of the block-house. The defences were so constructed that a rifle ball, fired from the high ground on the east into the fort, would strike the palisades on the opposite side above a man's head. After the rumors of the Indian troubles on the Susquehanna reached Wallenpaupack, the settlers constantly spent the nights in the fort. The spring, whose existence and situation governed the colonists in their selection of a stronghold, still bubbles by the wayside, and nothing but a pile of loose stones indicates to the traveler the formidable neighborhood to which it has been exposed."

Whether or not the settlers at Lackaway cut down in December, 1775, the stockade surrounding their block-house—as directed to do by the Pennamites (see page 851)—we have no means of knowing. If they did, they undoubtedly renewed it in 1776 or in 1777.

The original fortification built by the inhabitants of Plymouth was a block-house, which was erected in October or November, 1772, in compliance with directions voted at different general town-meetings.* In 1776 additions, to a considerable extent, were made to this block-house, a stockade was erected, and the structure became known as "Shawnee Fort." The place where it stood was called "Garrison Hill", the location of which is described on pages 180 and 181, Vol. I. Colonel Wright states in his "Historical Sketches of Plymouth" that the first log used in the construction of "Shawnee Fort" was hauled by Capt. Samuel Ransom, and that Benjamin Harvey, Sr., "planted the first flag upon the turret." The following item concerning this fort, written by a correspondent to, and printed in, the *Bucks County Intelligencer*, was reprinted in the *Wilkes-Barré Advocate* September 17, 1845.

"Entering a gate at the lower end of the village [of Plymouth], we struck upon the head of the celebrated flats. * * * Passing the pound gate two or three hundred yards, on a bank descending to the first platform of land on the river, we came to 'Garrison Hill'. This was the stronghold of the Shawanese† settlement, both before the Revolution and during its continuance. The garrison was constructed by building about twenty log houses, half of them on each side of the street, facing inwards. At each end of the avenue was a picket of logs, fifteen feet high, furnished with a strong gate. Through these pickets, and through the logs in the rear of each house, were holes made to fire from. In this manner it became a fortress of much strength, and a small party, thus shielded from the assailants' fire, could oppose with success an attacking force of

* See pages 735, 753 and 754.

† Plymouth was then, just as it is now, often referred to, locally, as "Shawanese," or "Shawnee."

six times their own number. In times of peril, into this enclosure was driven the live stock of the settlers and was brought the most valuable of their portable effects. A solitary cellar, daily filling up, is now the only memento left of this stronghold of a race of hardy, brave and adventurous pioneers."

At that period the majority of the inhabitants of Plymouth lived in the lower part of what is now the borough of Plymouth, near the "flats", where they carried on their agricultural operations, and Shawnee Fort was intended more particularly for the protection of those people. Farther up the river (near the intersection of the present Main Street and Gaylord Avenue in the borough of Plymouth) lived Joseph and Aaron Gaylord and their families in a block-house which they had erected in 1773. This block-house was stockaded in 1776, and became known as "Gaylord's Stockade."

Fort Wyoming, on the River Common, near the foot of Northampton Street, Wilkes-Barré, having been demolished in the Winter of



View of Public Square in 1841, looking north-east from the corner of South Main Street and the Square.

From a drawing supposed to have been made on the spot in the year mentioned.*

1774-'75 (as noted on page 818), there was no fortified structure within the bounds of Wilkes-Barré in the Summer of 1776. Nor had the inhabitants of Westmoreland yet erected either a town-hall or a jail. It was decided, therefore, after the action taken at the town-meeting held on August 28th, that a fort should be built in Wilkes-Barré large enough to include a building to be used both as a town-hall and a jail. The authorized committee selected as a site for the proposed structure the southern half of the "Diamond", or Center (now Public) Square, in the town-plot of Wilkes-Barré (see page 655); this then unoccupied four-acre field being a part of the undivided common lands belonging to the proprietors of Wilkes-Barré. The erection of the new fort—to which the name "Fort Wilkes-Barré" was subsequently given—was begun early in September, 1776, and the work was carried on in a desultory way during the next few months. After the departure of the two Westmoreland Independent Companies from the valley for the seat of war, work on the fort was discontinued for awhile, but was taken up

* At that time, and for some years later, Main Street and Market Street ran straight through Public Square without any breaks, intersecting each other at the center of the "Diamond" (where now stands the main part of the Luzerne County Court House) and dividing the "Diamond" into four triangles. In the above illustration the building with the low cupola, at the right side of the picture, was the Court House of that period. It stood in the south triangle of the "Diamond."

again in the Summer of 1777. It was not finally finished, however, until the Spring of 1778.

Miner describes Fort Wilkes-Barré in these words: "It stood where the Court House now (1845) stands, and embraced from a quarter to half an acre. It was square, built by setting yellow pine logs upright in the earth, close together, fifteen feet high, surrounded by a trench. The corners were so rounded as to flank all sides of the fort. The Court House and jail of Westmoreland were within the limits of the fortification." Sheldon Reynolds, in his description of this fort (in "Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania," I: 449), says: "The structure was in the form of a parallelogram, with flanking towers at the angles, and was provided with a single gateway opening towards the river, north-west. The sides were pierced with loop-holes to enable the garrison to deliver its fire without exposure; and one four-pound gun was mounted on the rampart, but, inasmuch as there happened to be no suitable ammunition, it served as an alarm-gun only. Barracks or huts were built along the walls within the works, which, together with the room afforded by the public buildings, were sufficient to shelter the occupants. The work



View of Public Square in 1901, looking north-east from the corner of South Main Street and the Square.

was surrounded by a ditch. The water supply was taken from a spring either within the enclosure or near at hand."

With respect to present-day landmarks, it may be stated that Fort Wilkes-Barré stood about two rods east-south-east of where now stands the monument set up in Public Square in 1881 by the Pennsylvania Geological Survey to indicate the latitude and longitude of Wilkes-Barré.

Colonel Butler received at Wilkes-Barré, September 16, 1776, a reply to the letter which he had sent to the Indians on the upper waters of the Susquehanna. The reply was brought by an Indian "runner", or messenger, and the original document is now in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. It reads as follows:

"To Mr. Col. BUTLER and the Rest of our friends at Wyoming:

"Well, Brothers, we have this day met together at Chenango to consult about the news we heard from you. We received your letter at our Fire Place at Chenango. Well, Brothers, we, the Six Nations and our Cousins, we are all glad to hear from you that you are all friends to us. Well, Brothers, we can't find out who it was that fired on your young man. If it be any of our people on this River that is wounded we shall find it out. If you find it out, send us word, &c.

"Brothers, we don't want to hurt you. We are your friends. We hope you are our friends and won't hurt us. We don't speak only out of our mouths, but out of our hearts. Brothers, you told us you haven't forgot what we told you the other day, nor we haven't forgot it either. We can't forget our old agreement, &c. Brothers, we are glad you sent us word to wash our eyes that we can see the road clear. We thank you kindly. Brothers, we are glad you told [reminded] us we were together the other day, and now you have cleared the road we can travel the road with pleasure and not be afraid. Brothers, we are glad we are not afraid of anything, for we hold the road like peaceable times. We have come out of our houses, and are all of one mind.

"Brothers, we have been to Tyoga* at the treaty, and all the Six Nations and the people were together. As for Toby's† stories we know nothing. About what the King's men‡ want we can't tell. As for Toby, we look upon him to be a child, for he knows nothing about our business. You must not mind him, for you make his belly so big to hold these stories. Only let him go about like another child, for we shall see about his telling such stories to the people. Well, Brothers, now the road is cleared we want you should travel the road, too, and send traders among us to bring powder, lead and goods, and take such things as we have to spare. As for straggling fellows that travel the road without a pass, you must take care of them. We don't mind what they say. Now, Brothers, we hope you will travel the road, for, where the road is not traveled, bushes, briars and thorns will grow up, and by and by nobody can get along. We want to have you trade freely with us. Now that you have washed our eyes we see clearly. Your powder and things are very dear. We want you should find some place where we can always find a supply of powder and lead, or else we can't live nor travel this road.

"Brothers, we understand that you are building forts. We are not scared. We don't blame you for defending yourselves these times. Well, Brothers, you tell us if there is any enemy coming against us. You will tell us of it if you know it, and we shall do the same by you, for it is hard if Brothers can't do so. The * * People are always ready to do mischief. If there is any mischief done it will not be allowed by our head-men.

"Well, Brothers, you must let all the people round about know what we have done to-day. And now we all send our respects and regards to you as friends and brothers, so farewell.

[Signed]

"KING LAST NIGHT, }
"JAMES NANTICOKE, } Chenango.||

"ISAAC, } Chiefs from

"JACOB, } Aquago.**

"CORNELIUS WESTBROOK, } Chocinote††

"JACOB TUCKHANS, } chiefs."

It is probable that all, or at least a majority of, the signers of this letter were Nanticoke Indians. As noted on page 219, the Nanticokes prided themselves on the fact that they had lived always on friendly terms with the whites.

About the 21st of September a deputation of three Indian chiefs arrived at Wilkes-Barré. They were "William Nanticoke," of the Nanticoke-Conoy tribe, "Indian Joseph," of the Onondagas, and *Narondigwanok*, or "Captain Johnson," of the Senecas, and they brought a "talk" from the "Great Head," or Council, at Onondaga.†† Miner says ("History of Wyoming," page 186) "the talk was agreed upon at Chenango by certain authorized chiefs. While it professes peaceable intentions, the tone is one of complaint. The length is too great to render proper its publication entire. A paragraph or two will give its spirit.

"Brothers, there is a great deal between us. The Devil is always putting something between us; but this is to clear your hearts, that you may speak clearly and pleasantly to us. [*A string of wampum presented.*]

"Well, Brothers, there is a great deal of trouble around you. Your lids are all bloody, but we come to clear away all suspicion, that your hearts may be pleasant. [*Three strings of wampum presented.*]

* Tioga Point.

† Toby was an Indian who, from about 1765 till 1771, lived in Wyoming Valley, in what is now Kingston Township. See pages 53 and 444, Vol. I, and page 890, *post*.

‡ The British.

§ In 1758 there was a Cayuga chief named "Last Night," whose home was in southern-central New York (see page 379, Vol. I), and in 1761 and 1769 there was a Nanticoke-Conoy chief, or king, named "Last Night" (see note on page 219, Vol. I, and also pages 369 and 397, Vol. I), who lived at Chenango, New York. In all probability it was this last-mentioned "King" whose name appears attached to the above letter.

|| The Indian village of Chenango, or Otsiningo, mentioned in the notes on pages 219 and 239, Vol. I.

¶ One of the chiefs who was at Wilkes-Barré in August, 1775. See page 828.

** Oghwaga, mentioned in the note on page 257, Vol. I.

†† These "Chocinote chiefs" were undoubtedly head-men of the Nanticoke-Conoys located at Chaght-net, Chugnuts, or Choconut (the "place of tamaracks"), an Indian town on the south side of the Susquehanna, where now stands the village of Vestal, Broome County, New York. According to the "Documentary History of New York" (VII:50) some Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Skaniadarighroonas, Chugnuts and Shawanese settled at Chugnuts in 1756. When this town was destroyed at the time (August, 1779) of the Sullivan Expedition—*q. v.*—it contained fifty houses.

‡‡ See page 117, Vol. I.

“ ‘Well, Brothers, our fire-place is almost lost, and our fire almost out. We think it hard, and desire it may be renewed, and the fire-place fixed here, that our mutual fire may give light from one end of this river to the other.

“ ‘Brothers, we are unwilling to have forts built up the river, but wish you would be content to build forts here among the lower settlers. A fort at Wyalusing will block up our new made, wide and smooth road, and again make us strangers to one another.’

“ ‘Three other paragraphs urgently desire that a ‘Fire’ may be kindled at Wyoming, ‘so that the flame and smoke may arise to the clouds,’ etc.” After complaining of some wrong done by a white man to the Indian “Toby” (previously mentioned), in connection with an exchange of cows, and demanding satisfaction, they asked for a new flag and some flour to take home with them; and requested that, as they were in favor of peace, their guns and tomahawks might be put in order. In conclusion they said: “Well, Brother Colonel Butler, you must have an Indian name. *Karondegwanah* [signifying “a great tree”] we will henceforth call you.”

The foregoing “talk” was delivered by the Indian deputies at a formal conference, held with Colonel Butler and the other civil and military authorities of Westmoreland, at Wilkes-Barré, Monday, September 23d. Two days later a reply, having been duly formulated, was delivered by Colonel Butler at a public conference held with the Indians. A contemporary manuscript copy of this reply, apparently in the handwriting of Uriah Chapman, and endorsed by Colonel Butler “Answer to Indian message, 25 Sept., 1776,” is now in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. It reads as follows, and is now published for the first time.

“ ‘Brothers, we rejoice at this interview to find your hearts are the same you heretofore declared them to be toward us. We feel the warmest affection towards our brothers. Our eyes are cleansed from all filth and dust, and we see clearly who are our friends, and rejoice at it. Our hearts are good and honest, tho as you say the devil is always putting something between us. Yet we know who those evil-minded persons are that daily spread false intelligence and endeavor to stir up jealousies in our minds towards you, and in your minds towards us. We avoid them and mind nothing what they say, and hope you will do the same. [*Three strings of wampum presented.*]

“ ‘Brothers, we are involved in trouble by the evil representations of our enemies, but we trust the Great Spirit will bless and prosper us in our opposition to the bloody minded enemies of this our great Island. You say you do not incline to take up the hatchet on either side. We rejoice at it. We do not want you to meddle in the matter, one side nor the other, but be still and quiet and keep the old chain of Friendship bright between us. The road is still open between us, and so wide and clear that any one may pass and repass unmolested. We remember the peace settled by our fathers, and mean to keep it inviolate on our part.

“ ‘Brothers, we are sorry our fire was so near out when you came among us; but it now burns bright as the noon-day sun, and our friendship is growing warmer at every interview, and we will do our part in keeping the flame alive, and are still willing you should hunt among us. [*A belt of wampum presented.*]

“ ‘Brothers, we hope you are not surprised at our building forts. It is not for fear of you and the Six Nations, our brothers, but for fear of Johnson and Butler from Niagara. That fort we think of building at Wyalusing is for your defense as well as ours; for if Butler and Johnson do come down the River we think they will likely fall upon you—in which case you can flee to Wyalusing and be safe with our people, your brothers. Therefore we hope your minds will be easy on that account, as we design your good as well as our own.

“ ‘Brothers, we are willing to have a fire-place made at this place, and will send your desire to our head-men and desire them to consent to it.

“ ‘Brothers, the case of Toby is a private matter. We will do all in our power to see him righted about the cow. The cattle taken from him when he lived at this place were taken by Ogden and his people, and we can do nothing about it. The horses were also taken by strangers to us, and the rogues are not in our power. Whatever mischief is done you by our people we will do our best to have righted, when you mention it to us; and if any evil-minded persons come among you, do not mind them, but depend upon what we write to you and say in Council, and nothing else. If Johnson or Butler or any

of their party should come among you, let us know it quick; or, if you know any mischief determined against us, send us word immediately, and we will do the same by you.

"Brothers, *Karondegwanah* (*alias* Col. Zebulon Butler) is soon going to the Great Council in Connecticut, and he will get a flag such as is used by your brothers on the great Island here. [*Three strings of wampum presented.*]

"Brothers, we will endeavor that Mr. Jones shall go and live among you, and he will make you hoes and tomahawks and mend your guns and do all other matters for you.

"Brothers, we will do something for your support in flour and other necessities, &c."

Under the date of October 1, 1776, Colonel Butler sent from Wilkes-Barré to the Hon. Roger Sherman at Philadelphia a copy of the Indian message received on September 16th, and a full report of the conference held on September 23d and 25th. Colonel Butler's letter transmitting the same read as follows*:

"*Honoured Sir:* In some of my last letters, you will recollect, I informed you I had sent a messenger among the Indians upon the head waters of the Susquehannah, and thereby informed them of an assault made upon one of our people, whose testimony has some time since been sent to you. The Indians, you will see by the enclosed messages, are disposed for peace, and think it necessary that this place be appointed to hold their council at, and, as they express it, to have a fire-place here. Their importunity was so pressing on that account that I promised them to inform the Congress and our Assembly of their request, and would beg the opinion of yourself and our other Delegates whether it is best to lay it before the Congress; and that you would be pleased to inform his Honour, our Governour, immediately what you apprehend will be best for the Colony to do, if anything, in that matter.

"The Indians, when they come here, expect presents, or at least to be supported while among us, and no one is appointed to treat with them. They come to me, and I have frequently given them, but find the burthen too great for one man to bear. They also insist upon a new flag, such as is used by the army of the United States.† They say their old flag came over the great water, and they now want a new one, as a token of their friendship to the United States. By the last papers we find that the report of Colonel Butler‡, etc., with Indians and Canadians being at Oswego, is disbelieved. By the accounts we had before received of that matter, some were much agitated here, but seem more easy at present. I expect to be at the Assembly, and shall gladly receive any information you shall think proper to send me. The Indians deny having any hand in the attack made upon Wilson, and have engaged to let us know if they make any discovery of that matter."



News of the action taken by Congress relative to the raising in Westmoreland of two military companies "on the Continental establishment" reached Wilkes-Barré about September 1, 1776, together with the commissions of the men who had been appointed to be officers of the proposed companies. Miner says that places of rendezvous, "for the enlistment of men on the terms prescribed," were immediately established in Wyoming Valley, by Captain Durkee on the east side of the Susquehanna and by Captain Ransom on the west side. Soon the peaceful vale resounded with the shrill music of martial fifes and the brisk beating of drums. The first day thirty-one men presented themselves for enlistment, and in less than sixteen days each company was recruited to the maximum fixed by the army regulations, to wit: eighty-six enlisted men. The enlistment-paper which was signed by each recruit was in the following form :

"I, ———, have this day voluntarily inlisted myself as a soldier in the army of the United States of America, in the companies ordered to be raised in the town of Westmoreland, to serve during the present war, unless sooner discharged. And I do

* See "American Archives," Fifth Series, II : 824.

† The national flag—the "Stars and Stripes"—had not yet been adopted by Congress. See note "A", page 448, Vol. I.

‡ JOHN BUTLER, mentioned at length in Chapter XIV.

bind myself to conform in all instances to such rules and regulations as are or shall be for the government of said army. Witness my hand the ——— day of ———, 1776."

In the meantime the Congress had resolved (on September 10, 1776) "that 4,000 dollars be sent to Zebulon Butler, Esq., for the use of the two companies ordered to be raised in the town of Westmoreland; he to be accountable for the same, and that the money be delivered to and forwarded by the Connecticut Delegates." The same day the Congress voted that Maj. William Judd of the 24th Regiment, Connecticut Militia, be authorized and directed to muster the two Westmoreland companies.*



Upon receiving the orders of Congress Major Judd proceeded at once to muster the companies, which was done at Wilkes-Barré September 17, 1776. Each company, as duly organized, consisted of one Captain, two Lieutenants, one Ensign, four Sergeants, four Corporals, one Drummer, one Fifer and seventy-six private soldiers.

Neither the original muster-rolls of these companies nor copies of them are in existence, so far as is known. The earliest and most authentic roll of Captain Durkee's company is printed in Pearce's "Annals of Luzerne County," page 537. As stated in the "Annals," and as shown by the original notes and manuscripts of Mr. Pearce now in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, that roll

is a copy of an original muster-roll covering the period from March 18 to May 20, 1777, and "sworn to and subscribed by Captain Durkee and Lieutenant Wells before Samuel Tuttle, Esq., at Morristown, New Jersey, August 8, 1777." The same roll is reprinted, with some erroneous additions, in "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, XI: 112. Another roll of this company—made up, evidently from memory, at some time subsequently to July 3, 1778—is printed in "Connecticut in the Revolution," page 263. Owing to its incompleteness and to other imperfections—fully discussed by the present writer in "The Harvey Book," pages 85-87—this last-mentioned roll cannot be looked upon as a very reliable record.

From the above-mentioned rolls, and certain original and reliable data in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, the present writer has prepared with considerable care the following roll of the "First Westmoreland Independent Company."

Captain, Robert Durkee†; *First Lieutenant*, James Wells, Sr.‡; *Second Lieutenant*, Asahel Buck; *Ensign*, Heman Swift; *First Sergeant*, Thomas McClure; *Second Sergeant*, Peregrine Gardner; *Third Sergeant*, Thomas Baldwin; *Fourth Sergeant*, John Hutchinson; *Corporals*, Edward Lester, Azel Hyde, Jeremiah Coleman, Jr., Benjamin

* See "The Journals of Congress," II: 329.

† ROBERT DURKEE was born November 26, 1733, at Brimfield, Massachusetts. He was the third child of Stephen Durkee (born at Gloucester, Massachusetts, June 9, 1706; died at Windham, Connecticut, August 18, 1769) and his wife Lois Moulton of Brimfield, who were married March 19, 1730, and became the parents of nine children. Stephen Durkee was the eighth child of "Deacon" John Durkee, Sr., mentioned in the last paragraph of the note on page 480, Vol. I. and therefore Capt. Robert Durkee was a first cousin of Col. John Durkee, the "founder and namer of Wilkes-Barré." Since page 480 was printed the writer has ascertained that "Deacon" John Durkee, Sr., was born in

1665 and not in 1664, as stated, and was the son of William and Martha (*Cross*) Durkee. William Durkee, who was born in 1630—presumably in England—was a mariner, and came by way of the West Indies to Ipswich, where he settled, and was married December 20, 1664, to Martha Cross.

At an early age Robert Durkee removed with his parents to Windham, Connecticut, where he continued to reside until he settled in Wilkes-Barré. As noted on page 481, Vol. I, he was married at Canada Parish, in the town of Windham, November 22, 1754, to Sarah Durkee (born August 27, 1739), a half-sister of Col. John Durkee. At that time the French and Indian War was well under way (as noted on page 297, Vol. I), and the next year (1755), in July, Robert Durkee, then in the twenty-second year of his life, enlisted as a private in the company of Capt. John Slapp of Mansfield, Connecticut, "in ye pay of New York, to be employed in conjunction with ye forces of the other Governments in building forts to ye northward of Albany." This company, including Robert Durkee, continued in service until December, 1755. In the campaign of 1756 Robert Durkee served from October till December as Second Lieutenant of the 4th Company (John Slapp, Captain) in the 3d Connecticut Regiment, commanded by Col. Nathan Whiting; and throughout the entire campaign of 1757 John Slapp served as Captain, and Robert Durkee as Second Lieutenant, of the 8th Company in the regiment commanded by Col. Phineas Lyman, mentioned on page 481, Vol. I. (See "Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society," IX : 70, 71, 133, 183.)

In the campaign of 1758 Robert Durkee served as Second Lieutenant of the 3d Company in the 3d Connecticut Regiment, mentioned in the three last paragraphs on page 481. Israel Putnam, Major of the regiment, was Captain of the 3d Company. When the company was mustered at Fort Edward, October 19, 1758, Lieutenant Durkee was "sick in hospital." In the campaign of 1759 Robert Durkee was Captain-Lieutenant of the 1st Company, 4th Connecticut Regiment, which company and regiment were each commanded by Col. Eleazar Fitch. Israel Putnam was Lieutenant Colonel and John Durkee was Major of this regiment. (See page 482.) At the beginning of the campaign of 1760 Captain Durkee was again in active command of the 1st Company, 4th Regiment, which numbered eighty enlisted men; but he was soon promoted to a full captaincy and given command of the 12th Company of the same regiment. This company was composed of four commissioned officers, four sergeants, six corporals and twenty-nine privates who had served in some previous campaign, and twenty-five privates who were serving for the first time. In the campaign of 1761 Captain Durkee served from April 1 till December 4 in command of the 10th Company, 1st Connecticut Regiment, the field-officers of which regiment were: Maj. Gen. Phineas Lyman, Colonel; Israel Putnam, Lieutenant Colonel; John Durkee, Major. The Rev. George Beckwith (previously mentioned) was Chaplain of this regiment, and Thomas Knowlton (mentioned on pages 481, 484 and 485, Vol. I) was Ensign of Captain Durkee's company, which numbered seventy-two veterans and twenty new men. Captain Durkee served from March 15 till December 15, 1762, in command of the 9th Company, 1st Connecticut Regiment, and was at the siege of Havana, Cuba, described on page 482, Vol. I. John Durkee was Major of the 1st Regiment, and Zebulon Butler was Captain of the 8th Company, in the campaign of 1762, while James Wells (see page 892) was First Lieutenant of Captain Durkee's company. (See "Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society," X : 57, 163, 215, 221, 252, 313.)

It will be seen, from the foregoing record of Robert Durkee's military services during seven years of the French and Indian War, that he was well fitted to command a company, or even a larger body, of undisciplined and inexperienced Continental soldiers in 1776. He was, at the time he was commissioned Captain by Congress, in the forty-third year of his life.

Captain Durkee was an original member of "The Company of Military Adventurers," organized at Hartford, Connecticut, in 1763, and described on page 458, Vol. I. At Canterbury, Windham County, Connecticut, January 5, 1774, Frederick Curtis of that town, "lately resident in Wilkesbarre in ye Susquehanna Purchase," conveyed to Capt. Robert Durkee of Windham, for £75, one right in the Susquehanna Purchase which he had derived from Elisha Swift of Kingston, and which comprised "House Lot No. 26, Meadow Lot No. 16, Back Lot No. 31, together with all the other divisions that shall be allotted, in Wilkesbarre." As noted on page 728, *ante*, these lots had been drawn in 1772 by John Staples, who subsequently conveyed them to Elisha Swift.

At Hartford, Connecticut, under the date of January 19, 1774, Captain Durkee wrote to Zebulon Butler at Wilkes-Barré: "I have bought a settling right in your town of Wilkesbarre and intend to be up in the Spring, as soon as the season will admit, with a team and some hands." He arrived here about the first of the following March, presumably with his wife and children, and took up his residence in a house which already stood on Back Lot No. 31. Miner, writing about 1839 of Captain Durkee, said (see "History of Wyoming," Appendix, page 49): "His residence was in Wilkesbarre on the main avenue, below General Ross' farm. The ancient house is still standing—the property including the old stone wall near where the State road turns off." In other words, Captain Durkee's home was on the south-east side of South Main Street, opposite the armory of the 9th Regiment, N. G. P., a short distance south-west of the junction of the present Hazle Avenue and Ross Street. Back Lot No. 31 extended from Main Street to the easternmost boundary of the original town, or township, of Wilkes-Barré, and contained in the neighborhood of 200 acres. The course of the present Le Grand Avenue is coincident with the north line of Back Lot No. 31.

April 1, 1774, Captain Durkee bought an additional half-right in the Susquehanna Purchase, which he sold in the following October to Jonathan Downing, Jr., of Canterbury, Connecticut, for £24, and subsequently acquired the title to Back Lot No. 36, in the town, or district, of Wilkes-Barré. This lot contained about 250 acres, and April 23, 1778, being then at Wilkes-Barré on leave of absence from the army, Captain Durkee conveyed the said lot to his eldest child, Sarah Durkee. About 1777 Captain Durkee became the owner, also, of Back Lot No. 30 in Wilkes-Barré, and this lot and No. 31 became by inheritance, in 1803, the property of Amelia Durkee, who, a few years later, disposed of 124 acres of the same to John P. Arndt of Wilkes-Barré.

Captain Durkee resigned from the Continental army in June, 1778, and hastened to his home to assist in repelling the British and Indians, by whom the inhabitants of Westmoreland were menaced. As explained in Chapter XV he reached Wyoming in time to take part in the battle of July 3d. He was wounded early in the action (see the last paragraph on page 835), and a little later was killed in cold blood by one of the enemy. Letters of administration upon the estate of Captain Durkee were granted to his widow by the Probate Court of Westmoreland June 27, 1780; Captain John Franklin being surety on a bond of £500. Some time later Mrs. Sarah Durkee became the wife of Capt. Nathaniel Landon of Kingston, an early Wyoming settler, and a land-surveyor by occupation. She died at Kingston September 3, 1803, six days after her sixty-fourth birthday, and was buried in the Wilkes-Barré burial-ground. She was survived by her husband, Captain Landon, and by her daughter Amelia Durkee.

The children of Capt. Robert and Sarah (*Durkee*) Durkee were as follows: (i) *Sarah*, born March 5, 1755; married subsequently to April, 1778, to William Young; died before 1790. (ii) *Robert*, born August 6, 1766; died at Wilkes-Barré in 1781 from nosebleed. (iii) *Amherst*, born August 20, 1768; died prior to 1790. (iv) *Amelia*, born August 3, 1772; married at Wilkes-Barré in August, 1804, to Philip Weeks of Wilkes-Barré, and some years later, says Miner, "they removed to Oquago" [Oghwaga, Broome County, New York].

‡ He was First Lieutenant under Captain Durkee in the campaign of 1762. See page 892.

Clark; *Privates*, Walter Baldwin, James Bagley, Eleazar Butler, Moses Brown, Charles Bennett, William Buck, Jr., Asa Brown, James Brown, Jr., David Brown, Waterman Baldwin (enlisted January 7, 1777), John Carey, Jesse Coleman, William Cornelius, Samuel Cole, William Davidson, Douglass Davidson, William Dunn, Jr., Daniel Denton, Samuel Ensign, Nathaniel Evans, John Foster (died January 1, 1778), Frederick Follett, Nathaniel Fry (died February 10, 1777), James Frisbie, James Frisbie, Jr. (died July 22, 1777), Elisha Garrett, Titus Garrett, James Gould, Mumford Gardner (died June 12, 1777), Abraham Hamester, Israel Harding, Henry Harding, Stephen Harding, Jr., Oliver Harding, Thomas Horsfall, Richard Halstead, John Halstead, Thomas Hill (deserted April 17, 1777), Benjamin Harvey, Jr., (died in February, 1777), Solomon Johnson (employed by the Commissary), Asahel Jearoms (died July 31, 1777), Job Kelly (died October 26, 1777), Stephen Munson (discharged May 24, 1778), Seth Marvin, Martin Nelson (deserted April 9, 1777), Stephen Pettebone, Stephen Preston, Thomas Porter, Aaron Perkins (discharged July 10, 1777), John Perkins, Jr. (died July 6, 1777), Ebenezer Phillips (discharged July 5, 1777), Ashbel Robinson (died September 25, 1777), Ira Stephens, Ebenezer Skinner, Asa Smith, Adam Showers (deserted January 18, 1777), Robert Sharar (discharged July 5, 1777), Isaac Smith, Jr., Luke Swetland (discharged January 8, 1778), Elisha Noyes Sill, Shadrack Sill, William Terry, Parshall Terry, Jr. (deserted January 11, 1777), John Tubbs, Samuel Tubbs, Ephraim Tyler, Edward Walker, Obadiah Walker, James Wells, Jr., Nathaniel Williams, Thomas Wilson.

So far as can be learned the only roll of Captain Ransom's company that has been preserved is printed on page 538 of Pearce's "Annals of Luzerne County," previously mentioned. This roll purports to be a "copy of a pay-roll of the Second Independent Company, commanded by Capt. Samuel Ransom." It bears no date, but was evidently made up in 1778, or even later, and is by no means either a complete or a satisfactory roster. However, it has been accepted as authentic, and is reprinted in "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, XI: 114, and also in "Connecticut in the Revolution," previously mentioned. With some emendations by the present writer—based on the Journals of Congress and on original, authentic data in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society—the following is the roll in question.

Captain, Samuel Ransom*; *First Lieutenant*, Peren Ross (resigned in December, 1777); *Second Lieutenant*, Simon Spalding (promoted First Lieutenant in January, 1778); *Ensign*, Matthias Hollenback (resigned in December, 1777); *Sergeants*, Timothy Peirce (promoted Ensign, December 3, 1777; promoted Second Lieutenant, January 17, 1778), Parker Wilson, Josiah Pascoe; *Privates*, Mason F. Alden, Amos Amesbury, Caleb Atherton, — Austin, Samuel Billings, Jehiel Billings, Jesse Bissell, Isaac Benjamin, Oliver Bennet, Rufus Bennet, Asa Burnham, — Colton, Gideon Church, Nathaniel Church, Price Cooper,

* SAMUEL RANSOM was born about 1735—some writers say in Ipswich, England, others say, at Middleboro, Massachusetts, and still others, at Canterbury, Windham County, Connecticut. Charles Miner, who derived his information from Captain Ransom's second son, wrote in 1845 (see "History of Wyoming," Appendix, page 27) that "Captain Ransom was born in Canterbury." This may be presumed to be correct. About 1753 or '54 Samuel Ransom and his brother John, and perhaps other members of the family, settled in that part of the town of Canaan, Litchfield County, Connecticut, which in 1758 was erected into the town of Norfolk, and there Samuel Ransom lived until some time after his marriage, when he removed to that part of Canaan where his wife's family lived.

Early in the French and Indian War—fully referred to hereinbefore—the 6th Company in the 2d Connecticut Regiment (commanded by Col. Elizur Goodrich) was officered as follows: Captain, Ben-

jamin Hinman of Woodbury; First Lieutenant, Benjamin Ruggles of New Milford; Second Lieutenant, Tarball Whitney of Canaan. The enlisted men, as well as the commissioned officers, of this company were all residents of Litchfield County. Samuel Ransom enlisted as a private in the company April 21, 1755, and served till November 28, 1755, when he was honorably discharged. In the campaign of 1756 Samuel Ransom served as a private from April 8 till November 18, in the 3d Company (Benjamin Hinman, Captain) of the 4th Connecticut Regiment (Andrew Ward, Jr., Colonel).

(Facsimile of signature written in March, 1778.)

May 5, 1756, Samuel Ransom was married to Esther Laurence of Canaan, who was born in Windham County, Connecticut, about 1739.

In the campaign of 1758 Benjamin Hinman commanded the 2d Company in the 3d Connecticut Regiment (more fully referred to on page 481, Vol. I), and was Lieutenant Colonel of the regiment. Tarball Whitney of Canaan was First Lieutenant of the 2d Company, and Samuel Ransom enlisted as a private therein April 10, 1758. Almost immediately he was promoted a Corporal, and on September 9 was promoted a Sergeant, in which grade he served until honorably discharged, November 15, 1758. (See "Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society," IX : 29, 146; X : 55.) It is quite probable that Samuel Ransom served in some or all of the subsequent campaigns of the French and Indian War, but, owing to the destruction or disappearance of many of the pay- and muster-rolls of the Connecticut military organizations of that period, no definite or authentic information can now be obtained.

At Canaan, September 3, 1773, John Ransom bought of Stephen Rice "Lot No. 10 in the Lower Tier of lots" in the township of Plymouth, in the Susquehanna Purchase; and on the 2d of the following October John Ransom sold this lot to Samuel Ransom, who, shortly afterwards, removed from Canaan to Plymouth with his wife and eight children. In November, 1773, he bought a "half-right" in Plymouth from Samuel Lee. As noted on page 795 he was elected March 2, 1774, one of the Selectmen and also one of the Surveyors of Highways of the town of Westmoreland, and in 1775 was chosen Constable of the town. He purchased certain lots of land in Plymouth from Uriah Marvin for £100, July 18, 1775, and in the Spring of 1776 was again elected a Selectman of Westmoreland. When, in the Summer of 1774, the inhabitants in the several districts of Westmoreland came "under regulations in ye military discipline," and elected officers to command the several companies then organized, in pursuance of the vote passed at the town-meeting held June 27, 1774 (see page 811), Samuel Ransom was chosen Captain of the Plymouth company. He was commissioned Captain of the 3d Company, 24th Regiment, Connecticut Militia, October 17, 1775 (see page 857), and this office he held until commissioned a Captain in the Continental service.

When, in June, 1778, it became evident that the British and Indians were meditating an attack on Wyoming, Captain Ransom resigned his commission and hastened home to aid in protecting the inhabitants of the Valley. He was one of the officers detailed by Colonel Butler just before the battle of the 3d of July to select and mark off the ground for the American line of battle. He was later assigned to a position at the extreme left of the line, with his old company, the "3d," then commanded by Capt. Asaph Whittlesey. Early in the battle Captain Ransom was wounded in the thigh by a musket-ball, and when the Americans retreated he was left behind on the field and was captured by the enemy. When the bodies of the American slain were gathered together some months later to be interred, the remains of Captain Ransom were found near the ruins of Wintermute's Fort (some distance from where he had fallen) with the head severed from the body, and the latter covered with gashes.

The widow Esther (Laurence) Ransom, accompanied by six of her children—all of whom were under fifteen years of age, fled from the Valley on the 4th of July by way of the road leading to the Delaware, and after many mishaps and much suffering arrived among friends in Connecticut. Early in 1780 Mrs. Ransom and her children returned to Plymouth, and in the assessment list for that year she was rated at £19. In the "Bill of Losses" referred to in the first paragraph on page 832, *ante*, the losses sustained by the estate of Capt. Samuel Ransom are stated at £259. Mrs. Esther Ransom was administratrix of the estate of her late husband in 1782. She is said to have been married, subsequently to this year, to Capt. James Bidlack, Sr., of Plymouth, as his second wife. It is also stated that she died in Norfolk, Connecticut, in August, 1794.

Capt. Samuel and Esther (Laurence) Ransom were the parents of the following-named children: (i) *Sarah*, born in Canaan, Connecticut, August 23, 1757; married October 23, 1776, to Timothy Hopkins of Plymouth (of whom mention is made in a subsequent chapter); died at Plymouth December 19, 1777, leaving no issue. (ii) *Samuel*, born in Canaan September 28, 1759; married at Plymouth about 1783 to Mary Nesbitt; drowned in 1807. See hereinafter. (iii) *George Palmer*, born in Canaan January 3, 1762; died in Plymouth September 5, 1850. See hereinafter. (iv) *Sybil*, born in Canaan February 5, 1764; married April 8, 1784, to Ira Stephens (born July 18, 1759; accidentally killed September 20, 1803). She died April 30, 1826. See hereinafter. (v) *Esther*, born in Canaan March 12, 1766; died at Plymouth in 1786, unmarried. (vi) *Louisa Laurence*, born in Canaan May 28, 1768; married to Arthur Frink (born in 1763; died February 21, 1847). She died at Tioga Center, New York, June 23, 1834, and about 1840 Arthur Frink was married (2d) to Rachel (Brooks) Ransom, widow of (vii) William Ransom. (vii) *William*, born in Canaan May 26, 1770; removed to Plymouth, Wyoming Valley, with the other members of his father's family, and resided there (except for a time in 1778-'79) until about 1788, when he located with his brother Samuel in Owego Township, Tioga County, New York. About 1792 he was married to Rachel, daughter of James and Mary (Johnson) Brooks (born in Hunterdon County, New Jersey, February 8, 1776; died at Tioga Center, New York, May 29, 1857). William Ransom died January 8, 1822. (viii) *Mary*, born in Canaan May 20, 1772; married in 1791 or '92 to Samuel Franklin (born in Canaan May 10, 1759), a brother of Col. John Franklin, mentioned in a subsequent chapter; settled in Huntington Township, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, near the present hamlet of Huntington Mills, where Mary (Ransom) Franklin died September 16, 1825, and Samuel Franklin died June 1, 1828. They were the parents of two sons and three daughters. (ix) *Lois*, born in Plymouth March 20, 1775; married March 28, 1793, to Stephen Bidlack (born January 5, 1773), son of Capt. James Bidlack, Jr., and his wife Abigail Fuller. (For a sketch of the Fuller family see page 717, and for one of the Bidlack family see a subsequent chapter.) Stephen Bidlack died at Spencer, New York, March 4, 1849, and his widow Lois died there March 21, 1856.

(ii) *Samuel Ransom* (born September 28, 1759, as previously noted) was a private in the 3d Company, 24th Regiment, Connecticut Militia, in 1778, and took part in the battle of July 3d, in which he had one of his arms broken by a musket-ball. He escaped after the battle by swimming the river, and diving when the savages shot at him from the shore. A day or two later he fled from the Valley, but returned early in the following October and joined the command of Col. Zebulon Butler at Wilkes-Barre. (See "Proceedings and Collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," VII : 125.) At Wilkes-Barre, March 10, 1780, by order of Colonel Butler, "ten dozen cartridges for the use of the command at Shawnee" (Plymouth) were delivered to Samuel Ransom—as is shown by the original order and receipt in the possession of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. Hav-

ing become of age in the Autumn of 1780 Samuel Ransom took charge of the farm-land belonging to his father's estate, and cultivated it for the benefit of his mother and her family. In the assessment list for 1781 he is rated at £26. About 1787 he and his brother William purchased a large tract of land on the Susquehanna River in Owego Township, Tioga County, New York, and thither they removed early in 1788. They were among the first settlers in that locality, and their home was on the west bank of Pipe Creek, not far from its mouth. Samuel Ransom was married at Plymouth (in Wyoming Valley) about 1783 to Mary (born September 18, 1765), daughter of James and Phebe (*Harrison*) Nesbitt of Plymouth. (For a sketch of the Nesbitt family see a subsequent chapter.) In 1807 Samuel Ransom was drowned in the Susquehanna near his home by the accidental upsetting of a skiff. He was survived by his wife and eight children, and subsequently Mrs. Ransom, accompanied by her younger children, removed to Portsmouth, Ohio, where she died August 11, 1824.

(iii) *George Palmer Ransom*, born in Canaan, Connecticut, January 3, 1762 (as previously noted), was in the twelfth year of his life when, with the other members of his father's family, he removed to Plymouth in Wyoming Valley, where, thenceforth, he made his home until his death. He was only a little past fourteen and a-half years of age when, September 15, 1776, he enlisted as a private soldier in the 2d Westmoreland Independent Company, commanded by his father, and two days later was mustered into the Continental service. He remained with the company through the campaigns of 1777 and 1778, until June, 1778, when he was part of the "remnant" transferred to the command of Captain Spalding—as related in a subsequent chapter. In April, 1785, George P. Ransom petitioned the General Assembly of Connecticut for back pay, etc., due him, and in his petition—which is now preserved as document "No. 170" in the volume entitled "Susquehanna Settlers," mentioned in paragraph "(3)", page 29, Vol. I—it is set forth: "That he enlisted in one of the Independent Companies raised at Westmoreland, and served from September 15, 1776, to the close of the war, in different commands. * * That being stationed at Westmoreland (or Wyoming) with the Independent Companies your petitioner, on the 6th day of December, 1780, was unfortunately taken prisoner by the savages and carried to Canada, where he remained a prisoner about eighteen months, when he deserted from the enemy and returned to Westmoreland; and after he had recovered his health he joined the 1st Connecticut Regiment and did duty till the army was disbanded." A more extended reference to the capture of George P. Ransom by the British and Indians is made in a subsequent chapter. In 1787 George P. Ransom was elected and commissioned Captain of the Plymouth company in the 1st Battalion of militia in Luzerne County, and August 17, 1793, he was re-elected and commissioned Captain of the same company—then the "7th Company in the 3d Regiment of the Luzerne Brigade of Militia," Lieut. Col. Matthias Hollenback commanding the regiment. Captain Ransom continued in command of this company until 1799, when he was elected and commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of the 2d Battalion, 35th Regiment, Pennsylvania Militia.

George P. Ransom was married (1st) August 14, 1783, to Olive Utley (born in 1760, and died in Plymouth July 14, 1793), and (2d) January 9, 1794, to Elizabeth (born in Orange County, New York, October 18, 1776), second daughter of Thomas and Keturah (*Tuttle*) Lamoreux, of Plymouth, Pennsylvania, in 1794 and later. Colonel Ransom died at Plymouth September 5, 1850, in the eighty-ninth year of his age, and his widow Elizabeth died there August 27, 1859.

The children of George P. and Olive (*Utley*) Ransom were as follows: (1) *Sarah*, born at Taunton, Massachusetts, September 11, 1784; married at Plymouth, Pennsylvania, May 1, 1800, to Joseph Steele (born at New Buffalo, Pennsylvania, October 26, 1773; died in Hanover Township, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, January 20, 1858); died April 3, 1851. (2) *Lovisa*, born at Plymouth, Pennsylvania, August 19, 1786; married about 1803 to Horace Morse (born about 1776; died September 2, 1846); died at Plymouth July 2, 1832. (3) *Esther*, born at Plymouth, Pennsylvania, October 12, 1788; married there (1st) June 10, 1810, to Abijah Smith, who was born at Derby, Connecticut, October 3, 1764, and died at Plymouth, March 6, 1826. (See a subsequent chapter for a more extended notice of Abijah Smith.) Mrs. Esther (*Ransom*) Smith was married (2d) April 15, 1827, to John Ingham (born April 10, 1782; died October 15, 1866). She died August 10, 1839. (4) *George Palmer*, born at Plymouth June 3, 1791. His death is recorded by the following quaint inscription, chiseled on his grave-stone in the old "Shupp" burial-ground, Plymouth. "In Memory of | G. P. Ransom Jr. | Who WAS killed By | A Logs Roleing | Over Him the 29 | Day of Aprill | 1824, Age 33."

The children of George P. and Elizabeth (*Lamoreux*) Ransom were as follows (all born in Plymouth, Pennsylvania): (1) *Samuel*, born January 9, 1795; married (1st) to Hannah Wrightman, and (2d) to Mabel Dodson Ramsey; died March 22, 1836. (2) *Olive*, born April 12, 1796; married August 13, 1816, to Charles Cottsworth Curtis; died August 20, 1874. (3) *William*, born December 27, 1797; married (1st) November 13, 1823, to Jane (born at Plymouth April 20, 1805; died there May 15, 1842), third child of James and Jane (*Williams*) Nesbitt. (See sketch of the Nesbitt family.) William Ransom was married (2d) December 15, 1842, to Clarissa Davenport, born at Plymouth January 28, 1814. He died in Jackson Township, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, December 17, 1881. (4) *Elizabeth*, born September 11, 1799; died February 25, 1829. (5) *Keturah*, born April 26, 1801; married March 25, 1830, as his second wife, to James Hodge (born July 5, 1795; died November 5, 1863); died November 21, 1862. (6) *Liva*, born January 9, 1804; married July 4, 1830, to Oliver Davenport (born in Plymouth February 4, 1808), son of Thomas Davenport, Jr., and his wife Mary Reynolds Bronson, and grandson of Thomas and Charity (*Lamoreux*) Davenport, all of Plymouth. Mrs. Liva (*Ransom*) Davenport died at Plymouth July 20, 1872. (7) *Thomas*, born April 19, 1806; married (1st) Nancy Ann Roushey, and (2d) Elvira Temperance Brink; died August 25, 1879. (8) *Chester*, born June 10, 1808; married (1st) Harriet Hartson Tupper, (2d) Mrs. Hester Ann Bishop, (3d) Catherine Ann Whiteneck. (9) *Eleanor*, born October 12, 1810; died February 21, 1812. (10) *Miner*, born May 14, 1813; married September 6, 1838, to Elizabeth Shonk, born March 15, 1817. (11) *Lydia*, born December 12, 1815; married September 8, 1835, to John Kridler, born August 15, 1809. (12) *Amelia*, born February 10, 1819; married September 12, 1836, to Seymour Downs, born May 31, 1817. (13) *Ira*, born October 11, 1822; married December 28, 1847, to Mary Smith, born March 12, 1830.

(iv) *Sybil Ransom*, born at Canaan, Connecticut, February 5, 1764, was in the tenth year of her life when, with the other members of her father's family, she removed to Plymouth, Pennsylvania. She was married there April 8, 1784, to Ira Stephens (born July 18, 1759), son of Jedidiah and Mary Stephens of Canaan, Connecticut. Ira Stephens was admitted a "half-share proprietor" in the Susquehanna Purchase September 10, 1785, in pursuance of a vote of The Susquehanna Company passed July 13, 1785, and which is more fully referred to in a subsequent chapter. March 15, 1796, George P. Ransom, being then administrator of the estate of his deceased father, conveyed to Ira Stephens the half-right in Plymouth which Captain Ransom had bought of Samuel Lee in November, 1773. In Kulp's "Families of the Wyoming Valley," II : 958, it is stated that the abovementioned Ira Stephens "enlisted in the Continental Line and rose to be Captain of his company. He served for seven years, and his discharge was signed by General Washington. His company was under Sullivan, and it may have been that this campaign [against the Indians, in 1779] made him acquainted with the beauty and fertility of the Wyoming Valley. He married and settled there in 1784. After three of his children were born he removed to Athens [formerly Tioga Point], Pennsylvania, where the remainder of his children were born. He owned a great deal of land in and about Palmyra, New York, and a large tract in Angelica, New York. He was killed at Angelica, September 20, 1803, in a personal difficulty concerning the Pennsylvania and Connecticut titles. He left a large family and considerable property." Mrs. Sybil (*Ransom*) Stephens died April 30, 1826.

Josiah Corning, Benjamin Cole, Benjamin Cole, Jr., William Carroll, William French, Daniel Franklin, Charles Gaylord (died July 5, 1777), Ambrose Gaylord, Justus Gaylord, Jr., Benjamin Hempstead, Timothy Hopkins, William Kellogg, Jr., Lawrence Kinney, Daniel Lawrence, Nicholas Manvil, Constant Matthewson (killed at Fort Mifflin in November, 1777), Elisha Matthewson, William McClure, Thomas Niell, Asahel Nash, John O'Neal, Peter Osterhout, Justus Porter (killed January 20, 1777), Thomas Pickett, George Palmer Ransom, Ebenezer Roberts, Samuel Sawyer, Asa Sawyer, Stephen Skiff, John Swift, Constant Searle, Jr., James Smith, William Smith, Jr., Robert Spencer (died in service prior to July, 1778), Elisha Satterlee, Isaac Underwood (discharged for disability), John Van Gorder, Thomas Williams, Azibah Williams, Caleb Worden, John Worden, Richard Woodcock, Elijah Walker.

The officers and men of these two companies furnished their own arms and accouterments; and those (if any) who supplied themselves with uniforms, procured them likewise at their own expense. At that time appropriate uniforms for the various arms of the Continental service had been adopted, but Congress had neither the money nor the facilities for equipping the troops with proper clothing of any kind; and could furnish them arms and accouterments only to a limited extent.* In 1776 many of the Connecticut troops in the Continental service were wearing uniforms, or parts of uniforms, as well as other equipments, which had been used by them or their fathers in some of the Colonial wars. This fact is disclosed, in part, by the following extract from a letter written at the city of New York and published in the *Pennsylvania Packet* (Philadelphia) of July 15, 1776.



Uniforms worn by the infantry of the Continental Line during the Revolutionary War.

(Photo-reproduction of a picture published by the United States War Department in 1894.)

"Several of the new raised regiments of Connecticut troops have arrived in town. * * Some of these worthy soldiers assisted, in their present uniforms, at the first reduction of Louisbourg,† and their lank, lean cheeks and war-worn coats are viewed with more veneration by their honest countrymen than if they were glittering nabobs from India, or Bashaws with nine tails."

The pay of Continental foot-soldiers at that time, as fixed by Congress, was as follows‡: "Captain, 26½ dollars per calendar month; Lieutenant, 18 dollars; Ensign, 13½ dollars; Sergeant, 8 dollars; Corporal, Drummer and Fifer, each 7½ dollars; Private, 6½ dollars." Each enlisted man was entitled, also, to receive upon his enlistment a "bounty" of ten dollars. The "dollars" mentioned in the Acts of Congress regulat-

* See quotation from Bryant's "History of the United States," on page 899.

† In the Summer of 1745.

‡ See "American Archives," Fifth Series, I : 865.



CONTINENTAL CURRENCY.

Issued in pursuance of resolutions passed by Congress November 2, 1776, and later.

issuing of paper money, denominated "Continental Currency," to be used as a circulating medium; and with this scrip the Continental troops were generally, if not always, paid subsequently to November, 1776.

October 31, 1776, Congress resolved: (1) "That 2,000 dollars be advanced to Col. Zebulon Butler* for the use of the two companies raised in the town of Westmoreland, he to be accountable." (2) "That leave be granted to Col. Z. Butler, or his agent, to purchase of the salt belonging to the Continent, fifty bushels, for the use of the Continental troops of Westmoreland."†

The headquarters of the two Westmoreland Independent Companies was established at Wilkes-Barré, and here Colonel Butler, as Paymaster and Commissary (see page 637), performed his duties. The men were not quartered together in barracks, but those who resided in or near Wilkes-Barré lodged and ate at their homes, while the men belonging to more remote localities were billeted upon certain householders of Wilkes-Barré. The charges for the subsistence of all, at the rate fixed by Congress (see page 883), were paid by Colonel Butler, as is shown by the following, which is a copy of an original statement in his handwriting preserved in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, and now printed for the first time.

"ACCOUNT CURRENT, DEC. 17TH, 1776.

"The States of America in acct. with ZEBUN BUTLER Comy and Paymaster to the Troops upon the Westmoreland Station, Dr.	Dollars.
"To paid bounty to 172 men @ 10 Dols each,	1720
" " inlisting fees for inlisting 172 men @ 1 & 1/3,	229 2/3
" " first month's wages to two Captains,	53 1/2
" " " " " 4 Lieuts. @ 18 Dols each,	72
" " " " " 2 Ensigns @ 13 & 1/3,	26 2/3
" " " " " 8 Sergeants @ 8 Dols,	64
" " " " " 8 Corporals @ 7 & 1/3,	58 2/3
" " " " " 2 Drummers @ 7 & 1/3,	14 2/3
" " " " " 2 Fifers @ 7 & 1/3,	14 2/3
" " " " " 152 privates @ 6 & 2/3,	964 2/3
" " Mr. [Elisha] Swift as per bill,	48
" Aaron Gaylord for bringing six hundred wait of Powder & Lead from Tomkins' to this place,	30

* October 11, 1776, while in attendance at the meeting of the General Assembly of Connecticut at New Haven, he had been appointed and commissioned by the Congress "Lieutenant Colonel in the army of the United States of America."

† See "The Journals of Congress," II : 411.

ing the pay, etc., of troops were Spanish milled dollars (see note on page 252, Vol. I), one of which was then equivalent to 7sh. and 6d. in the currencies of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and other Colonies, or to \$1.25 in American money of to-day. However, owing to the scarcity in this country at that time of Spanish milled dollars, as well as every other species of money, Congress was soon forced to provide for the

To pd. Jos. Crookes & James Devine for bringing four Hundred Wait of d ^o from Stroud's to this place,	10 $\frac{2}{3}$
To pd. Wagoner bringing 10-0-0 Wt powder & lead from Philad ^a to Stroud's & Tomkins', as per rect,	6
To pd. Rufus Lawrance for bringing 4000 Dol ^s from Philadelphia to this place,	30
To pd. for apprising Soldiers arms,	6
To commission for receiving and paying 3348 $\frac{2}{3}$ Dol ^s @ 5 p. cm.,	167 $\frac{1}{2}$
To pd. Billet for two companies to 18th Decr 1776, as per Muster Rolls, &c.,	2823 $\frac{2}{3}$
To commission for receiving and paying 2823 $\frac{2}{3}$ Dol ^s @ 5 pr. cm.,	141 $\frac{1}{4}$
To paid Major Judd for journey to Philadelphia for salt and money for the Troops, 17 Days & expences, as per Rect., 34+4 $\frac{1}{2}$ +23 $\frac{2}{3}$,	62
	6543 $\frac{2}{3}$ $\frac{9}{16}$

1776	Cr.	Dol ^s
Sept ^r , By rec ^d of the Conn ^t Delegates, by the hands of Rufus Lawrance, 4000		
Dec ^r , By rec ^d of the Cont ^t Treasurer upon an order from the Congress, pr. Maj ^r Judd,		2000
To Bal ^e Due,		543 $\frac{2}{3}$ $\frac{9}{16}$
		6543 $\frac{2}{3}$ $\frac{9}{16}$ 6543 $\frac{2}{3}$ $\frac{9}{16}$ "

The two Westmoreland Independent Companies were treated as a battalion, and Captain Durkee, in addition to commanding his own company, was also in command of the battalion by reason of his seniority in rank. As soon as the companies had been well organized the men were assembled each day at Wilkes-Barré for drill and other military tasks, and thus matters went on until about the middle of December, 1776, when Captain Durkee, tiring of his humdrum duties at Wilkes-Barré, journeyed to General Washington's headquarters, in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, to endeavor to have himself transferred to more active scenes.

At that time Washington was in sore need of more soldiers, and had been for months previously. He had been continually appealing to Congress for men who should be enlisted to serve throughout the war, and he had graphically and feelingly represented to that body how vain it was to expect him to conduct the war to a successful issue with men serving for only a few weeks or months at a time; since often on the eve of what might prove to be a decisive battle, the term of enlistment of the men having expired, they would quit the army and go home to plow and plant their fields. "The best that could be said for Washington's army [early in September, 1776] was, that it contained good material. As a whole, it was little else than a posse of armed citizens, for the most part brave and determined men, but lacking effective organization and discipline, and most of them without experience. * * The soldiers represented all classes of society. Among officers and men were clergymen, lawyers, physicians, planters, mechanics, tradesmen and laborers, mostly native Americans, of good English blood, with a sprinkling of Germans, Scots and Irishmen. Most of them were indifferently equipped. The old flint-lock piece was the common arm; bayonets were scarce, and so also were uniforms. * * The larger number of troops were in citizens' clothes. The army numbered, according to official returns, less than 20,000 men."*

On the very day that the battle of Harlem Heights was fought (following the evacuation of New York City by the American forces—as mentioned on page 485, Vol. I), which was one day prior to the mustering of the Westmoreland Independent Companies into the Continental service at Wilkes-Barré, Congress resolved that eighty-eight battalions should be enlisted as soon as possible "to serve during the present war."

* Bryant's "History of the United States," III : 494.

The quota of Connecticut was fixed at eight battalions and that of Pennsylvania at twelve, and it was enacted that a bounty of 100 acres of land and twenty dollars in money should be given to each non-commissioned officer and private who would enlist. It was also enacted that the appointment of all officers, and the providing of "arms, clothing, and every necessary, for each quota of troops," should be left to the several Colonial or State Governments; but that all officers should be commissioned by Congress. At the October (1776) session of the General Assembly of Connecticut that body passed the following vote*:

"*Resolved*, That in compliance with the resolution of the Congress of the United States of the 16th September last and of the 8th October, *inst.*, eight battalions be immediately raised out of the troops belonging to this State now in the army, and such other inhabitants of this State as will voluntarily enlist, *to serve during the war*, on the generous encouragement offered by Congress."

As mentioned on page 485, Vol. I, the battle of White Plains, New York, took place October 28, 1776, followed by the surrender of Fort Washington on November 16th and the abandonment of Fort Lee four days later. The victorious British followed up their successes in New York by closely pursuing the Americans on their retreat into New Jersey, and on November 28th Washington abandoned Newark and retreated across the Passaic River before Cornwallis. The diminution of the American army by the departure of those whose terms of service had expired, encouraged the British to pursue the remaining force with the prospect of annihilating it. The pursuit was urged with so much rapidity that the rear of the American army, pulling down bridges, was often within sight and shot of the van of the British, building them up. The American army, says Marshall, "at no time during this retreat exceeded 4,000 men, and on reaching the Delaware was reduced to less than 3,000, of whom not quite one-third were militia of New Jersey. The commander-in-chief found himself at the head of this small band of soldiers, dispirited by their losses and fatigues, retreating, almost naked and bare-footed, in the cold of November and December, before a numerous, well-appointed and victorious army."

December 2d Washington, with Lord Cornwallis pushing upon his rear, retired through Princeton to Trenton, and a few days later crossed the Delaware and went into camp near McConkey's Ferry (now Taylorsville), Bucks County, Pennsylvania, some eight miles above Trenton. "The British stopped at the Delaware; but their lines reached Burlington, within eighteen miles of Philadelphia, and from Trenton, which they held in some force, extended through Princeton to New Brunswick and their headquarters at New York. Philadelphia was stricken with utter panic. Sick and ragged soldiers poured in from Washington's camp (living evidences of what straits he was in), and had to be succored and taken care of; the country roads were crowded with vehicles leaving the town laden with women and children and household goods."†

In the midst of this general excitement and almost consternation, the Congress exhibited an alarm and indecision exceedingly injurious to the American cause, and Washington despatched Maj. Gen. Israel Putnam to Philadelphia to direct the defenses. He arrived there December 12, 1776, and immediately assumed military command of the city.

* See "Records of the State of Connecticut," I : 12.

† Wilson's "History of the American People," II : 260.

The same day the Congress, having previously voted that they would not quit Philadelphia, passed a resolution setting forth that "whereas the movements of the enemy have now rendered this city [Philadelphia] the seat of war," &c., they (the Congress) would adjourn to meet at Baltimore. Then they proceeded to get out of the city with very little delay; but before doing so they passed the following:*

"Resolved, That the two companies raised in the town of Westmoreland be ordered to join General Washington *with all possible expedition*."

News of this action of the Congress had not yet reached Wilkes-Barré on December 18th, as is indicated by the letter of Major Judd to Governor Trumbull printed in the next to the last paragraph on page 824, *ante*. A few days later, however, Captain Durkee came home post-haste, bringing the (to him) welcome orders of Congress, and immediately preparations were begun to hasten the departure of the Westmoreland companies for the front.

Arrangements having been made by Colonel Butler for pack-horses and provisions† for the use of the troops, they set out on their march from Wilkes-Barré on Wednesday, January 1, 1777, purposing to join Washington in Bucks County. Miner states ("History of Wyoming," page 195) that they "marched with the utmost alacrity; not a murmur was heard, for every man felt that the case was one of imperious necessity. Yet not one of them entertained a doubt but that, the moment affairs below the mountains were restored to a state of tolerable order, the pledge to be stationed in proper places to defend their homes‡ would be regarded in good faith, and the soldiers ordered back to the Valley." They were accompanied by Colonel Butler, and their route was over the lower road to the Delaware, or "the Pennamites' Path" (see pages 646 and 878), as far as the Wind Gap, and thence to Easton. Their progress was tedious and toilsome. The weather had been excessively cold about the 20th of December, and the upper Delaware had been frozen over. Then there was a thaw, and the river broke up and was full of floating cakes of ice when Washington crossed it with his troops at McConkey's Ferry on Christmas-day, as related on page 485, Vol. I. A few days later a heavy fall of snow followed by a hail-storm occurred throughout central New Jersey and eastern Pennsylvania. January 1st it rained hard, and in the night of the 2d the weather became intensely cold, and continued so for a number of days; for we are told that the soldiers marching towards Morristown on January 4th and 5th "suffered greatly from the cold." January 15th the Delaware was closed so that wagons crossed on the ice.

When the Westmoreland companies reached Easton they learned that Washington had crossed the Delaware, had fought the battles of

* See "The Journals of Congress," II : 466.

† The following is a copy of a statement in the handwriting of Col. Zebulon Butler, preserved in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, and now printed for the first time.

"STATES OF AMERICA TO ZEBN. BUTLER,

"For expence of Continental Troops, March from Westmoreland to Morristown, 9 January, 1777.

	Dollars.	DR.
To paid 18 pack-horses 117 miles,	147½	
" " 8 men with [the] pack-horses,	60	
" " expence for pack-horses and men,	119	
" " for soldiers' victuals on their march,	67½	
" expence of myself and horse and time,	30	
	424.	

T. Mifflin, Quartermaster General, directs settlement of above account, £159. January 13, 1777, Zebulon Butler receives of Abraham Berlin, A. Q. M. G., £159. 424 dollars @ 7sh. 6d. = £180sh. = £159.

‡ See page 383.

Trenton and Princeton (see pages 362 and 485, Vol. I), and was marching to Morristown, Morris County, New Jersey, to go into Winter-quarters. After a couple of days spent at Easton for rest and recuperation, and possibly to await further orders as to whither they should proceed, the men from Wyoming crossed the Delaware at or near Easton and marched directly to Morristown, which they reached January 9th, three days after Washington had established his headquarters there. A few days later, it seems, Captain Ransom of the Second Westmoreland Independent Company performed some service which called forth the personal thanks of General Washington, as is shown by the following extract from a letter* written by the latter at Morristown, January 19, 1777, to Adj. Gen. Joseph Reed at Princeton. "I have wrote a line of thanks myself to Captain Ransom, and when you see Colonel White please to express the sense I entertain of his conduct and those of the other two gentlemen who were with him on that occasion."

Either at Easton, or while on the march thence to Morristown, Captain Durkee's company was joined by Waterman Baldwin,† a young man just nineteen years of age, who was returning to his home in Wyoming Valley after having served a term of enlistment in one of the Connecticut regiments in Washington's army. His elder brother, Thomas, was Third Sergeant of Durkee's company. Two days after the companies went into camp at Morristown Parshall Terry, Jr.,‡ a private in Durkee's company, deserted; a week later Adam Showers,§ of the same company, deserted, and in the following April Thomas Hill|| and Martin Nelson deserted.

About the middle of January, 1777, a line of rude fortifications along the Millstone River, in the direction of Princeton, New Jersey, was thrown up and occupied by a part of the Continental army. One

* See the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, XXII : 247.

† WATERMAN BALDWIN was born at Norwich, Connecticut, January 8, 1758. He was a resident of Pittston Township, Wyoming Valley, for some twenty-five years prior to 1798, when he removed to Elmira, New York. Later, for a number of years, he was a United States Indian Agent at Starkie, New York. He died at Elmira April 21, 1810.

‡ PARSHALL TERRY, JR., was the son of Parshall Terry, Sr., who was one of the original settlers in Wyoming Valley under the auspices of The Susquehanna Company in 1762-'63 (see note "¶" on page 403, and also pages 404 and 431), and whose name is several times mentioned in these pages. He (the father) was a private in the 24th Regiment, Connecticut Militia, in 1778; took part in the battle of July 3d, and subsequently served as a militia-man at the Continental post in Wilkes-Barré under the command of Col. Zebulon Butler. (See a subsequent chapter.) Parshall Terry, Sr., resided in Kingston Township until about 1790, when he removed to Wyalusing; later going to Terrytown (in what is now Bradford County, Pennsylvania), whence he went, in 1808, to Palmyra, New York, where he lived until his death. Parshall

Terry, Jr., seems to have been mustered into service in Captain Durkee's company on or about September 17, 1776—as is indicated by his order on Paymaster Butler, herewith reproduced. The original order—save the signature—is in the handwriting of Ezekiel Peirce, and the body of it reads as follows: "Colonel BUTLER, Sir: Please to pay unto Mr. BENJAMIN HARVEY six dollars and two-thirds of my second month's wages, and this shall be your discharge for ye same."

Craft, in his "History of Bradford County, Pennsylvania," has the following to say about Parshall Terry, Jr. "Several deserters from the American army about this time [the Spring of 1777] came to reside at Tioga Point and Sheshequin. Prominent among them were Parshall

Reduced photo-reproduction of the original order referred to in the text. It is in the possession of the author.

Terry, Jr., Thomas Hill and Thomas Green—the two former having enlisted in Ransom's [sic] company at Wyoming. After [?] the company joined Washington's army Terry, who was a spirited young man, stopped on the march to fix his shoe. His Captain ordered him to fall in and go on. Some words passed. The Captain struck Terry with his sword, and Terry knocked the Captain down. Knowing well the penalty which would be inflicted for this breach of military law, he deserted and came to Wyoming, where he was married to Amy Stevens. But receiving no sympathy from his own relatives,

of these fortifications was at the village of Millstone (Somerset Court House), in Somerset County, and there the Westmoreland Independent Companies were posted with about 300 New Jersey militia, all under the command of Brig. Gen. Philemon Dickinson. At that time Somerset County lay at the mercy of the enemy, whose foraging parties went out from New Brunswick (where Howe had quartered his troops), gathering everything they could lay their hands on, and maltreating the inhabitants most cruelly whenever any resistance was offered. One day an American party destroyed some boats ascending the Raritan River (into which the Millstone flows), laden with provisions for the British at New Brunswick. The latter accordingly sent out a foraging party to collect supplies from the country—particularly from Abraham Van Nest's mill at Weston (about two miles from Somerset Court House and not far from the present towns of Somerville and Bound Brook), in which a considerable quantity of flour had been collected for the use of the American troops. The British arrived at the mill early in the morning of January 20th, whereupon General Dickinson marched his whole force of troops from Somerset Court House to the bridge across the Millstone at Weston. What took place there is described in the following letter, written at Raritan, New Jersey, January 23, 1777, and printed six days later in *The Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*, at Philadelphia.

"Last Monday [January 20] a party of Jersey militia and Pennsylvania riflemen marched to attack a body of the enemy, consisting of about 600, who were posted at a bridge at Millstone River, near Abraham Van Nest's mill, which is two miles from Somerset Court House. In order more effectually to prevent our men from crossing, the enemy had placed three field-pieces on a hill, about fifty yards from the bridge. When our men found it impossible to cross there, they went down the river, broke through the ice, waded across the river up to their middles, flanked the enemy, routed them, and took forty-three baggage-wagons, 104 horses, 115 head of cattle and about sixty or seventy sheep. We lost four or five men. We took twelve prisoners, and from the best accounts the enemy had about twenty-four or twenty-five killed and wounded. A man who came from New Brunswick this afternoon says the enemy allow that they lost thirty-five or thirty-six men, but say the rebels lost 300. There were not more than 400 of our men crossed the river. The enemy report that they were attacked by 3,000 of General Washington's troops, and were absolutely certain *they were not militia*. They were sure that *no militia would fight in that way!*"

Washington, writing to the President of Congress under the date of January 22, 1777, made the following reference to the fight at Millstone River.

"General Dickinson, with about 400 militia, has defeated a foraging party of the enemy of an equal number, and has taken forty wagons and upwards of 100 horses (most of them of the English draft breed), and a number of sheep and cattle which they had collected. The enemy retreated with so much precipitation that General Dickinson had only an opportunity of making nine prisoners. They were observed to carry off a great many dead and wounded in light wagons. * * General Dickinson's behavior reflects the highest honor on him; for, though his troops were all raw, he led them through the river, middle deep, and gave the enemy so severe a charge that, although supported by three field-pieces, they gave way and left their convoy."

who were all decided and active Whigs, he retired to Sheshequin, joined Butler's Royal Greens, was promoted to a lieutenantancy and became an active partisan during the war, after which he retired to Canada, where he was honored with several important offices under the British Government, and was subsequently drowned." Parshall Terry, Jr., was with Butler's "Rangers" at the battle of Wyoming.

§ Undoubtedly a relative of Michael Showers, a decided Tory who lived in the North District of Westmoreland, but who went over to the enemy in 1777 or '78—as is related in a subsequent chapter.

|| In the Narrative of Elisha Harding ("Collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," VII : 90) it is stated that Hill joined Butler's "Rangers" and took part with them in the battle of Wyoming. After the war he lived with the Indians in New York until they left the region of the Susquehanna, and then he lived on the Chenango until he became old and unable to maintain himself. Harding—writing in 1837—said he had seen him in the poor-house (under the care of Capt. Joseph Leonard), and there, later, he died, with "no one to mourn."

Miner (in his "History of Wyoming," page 202) says:

"The Millstone victory was, to their latest day, a darling theme with the old soldiers. * * Each man shared several dollars of prize money, and Captain Ransom sent one of the wagons to his farm, at Wyoming, as a trophy. Nor was the victory achieved without loss. Several were killed and a greater number wounded. Among the former, [Justus] Porter, a gallant young fellow, the pride of Ransom's company, was cut down by a cannon-ball."

From the effects of exposure to the icy waters of Millstone River on January 20th and to other hardships, a number of men of both Westmoreland companies were soon afterwards taken ill and sent to a general army hospital in New Jersey, where Nathaniel Fry died February 10, 1777, and Benjamin Harvey, Jr., died about the same date—both men having been privates in Durkee's company. For some time after the fight at Millstone River the Westmoreland companies were stationed at Somerset Court House, or Millstone, previously mentioned. Officially known, still, as the "Westmoreland Independent Companies," they continued to be treated as a separate or independent battalion, and Robert Durkee, as senior Captain, remained in command. At Millstone, under the date of March 28, 1777, Captain Durkee wrote to the Delegates from Connecticut in the Continental Congress, and forwarded the letter to them by the hands of Ensign Matthias Hollenback. The original letter is now in the possession of Mr. James Terry of Connecticut, previously mentioned, and by his courtesy is here printed for the first time. It reads as follows:

"Gentlemen.—The two Independent Companies, from the town of Westmoreland, have been stationed at this place since the fore part of January, and have been and are now in something of a sickly condition, and some have been wounded, and been at their own private expence for a Physitian and Surgeon, which has amounted to about 140 Dollars in the two companies already. I would propose whether it would not be reasonable for them to be Reimbursed that sum and the Companies be provided for, for the futre. And as we are Independent from any Regt^t w^d propose whether that some Reasonable allowance would not be proper for the two Sergt^s who have got warrents from the Gen^l of the Brigade to act as Q^r Master & Adjutant for the two companies. And whether it w^d not be Reasonable for some allowance to be made to some proper Person for Receiving & paying out the money to the 2 Companies. I have had the trouble and expence of it as yet, since we marched, & find it very Deficult to attend to that and my other Duties.

"If it sh^d be thought proper for a Pay Master to be appointed, I w^d Recommend Mr. JAMES GOULD* as a Man of Fidellity and ability for that Business. He is a volunteer in the Companies & Does the Duty of Clerk & keeps the Companies acct^s & could very redily do that Business.

"I am, Gent^l, your Honours most Obed^t Humbl. Servt.,

[Signed] "ROBT DURKEE."

About that time Lieut. Col. Zebulon Butler, who had been at headquarters since the 9th of January, detached on special service, was ordered to proceed to Danbury, Connecticut, take command of a detachment of Connecticut troops from the recently-organized regiments of Colonels Huntington, Wyllys† and Douglass, stationed there, and march

* JAMES GOULD, (JR.), was born in the North Parish of Lyme, New London County, Connecticut, the son of James Gould, Sr., and his wife Elizabeth Chappel, a native of Lebanon, Connecticut. James Gould, Sr., was a clothier by trade, who came from Boston to Lyme, settled there, built and operated a cloth-mill, married, and reared a family of thirteen children, all of whom in turn married and had children. James Gould, Jr., was married at Lyme in 1770 to Mary (born at Lyme July 22, 1752), second child of Jabez and Elizabeth (Noyes) Sill, then of Lyme, but later of Wilkes-Barré. (See a subsequent chapter for a sketch of the Sill family.) Mary (Sill) Gould was a younger sister of Elizabeth, wife of Col. Nathan Denison (see page 788), and two of their brothers—Shadrack and Elisha Noyes Sill—were fellow-soldiers of James Gould in Captain Durkee's company. James and Mary (Sill) Gould settled in Lyme, but about 1772 or '73 removed to Wilkes-Barré, where they made their home until the battle of Wyoming, July 3, 1778. The husband was then absent in the army, and after the battle the wife, with her four young children, fled through the wilderness to her old home in Connecticut, where she was subsequently joined by her husband upon his discharge from the army. They resided in Lyme until the death of Mr. Gould in 1810, when Mrs. Gould and her surviving children (she had borne her husband eleven children) removed to Canandaigua, New York, where she died April 22, 1847.

† Wyllys' regiment was the "3d," and, as noted on page 637, Zebulon Butler had been commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of that regiment January 1, 1777.

it to headquarters at Morristown. Lieut. Colonel Butler reached Danbury prior to April 8th, and on the 10th marched thence with his new command for New Jersey.* Early in the following May the two Westmoreland Independent Companies—still at Millstone—were attached to the command of Lieut. Colonel Butler, who was ordered to proceed forthwith to Bound Brook, New Jersey, to join the force there under the command of Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln (a few years later Secretary of War of the United States). Just at daybreak, the morning after the arrival of Butler's command at Bound Brook, "the enemy came upon them by surprise, on three sides," says Miner in his "Wyoming," Appendix, page 24. "Lincoln's horse was saddled—he mounted—ordered a retreat to a hill about a mile distant. Little execution was done by the fire of the enemy, although they were quite near, and hallooed, 'Run, you damned rebels, run!'" If the Americans knew when to run away, they also knew when to fight—as the British well knew, for they kept at a respectful distance after Lincoln's men had taken up a suitable position on the hill to which they had withdrawn.

Washington remained at Morristown from the 6th of January until the 28th of May, during which time no military movement of importance took place. His men left for their homes as soon as their terms of service expired, and as few militia entered the camp to take their places, at times it seemed as if the army would be so reduced as to be unworthy of the name. It was not until late in the Spring that the new levies reached headquarters.

At Bound Brook, under the date of May 27, 1777, General Lincoln issued the following order to Lieut. Colonel Butler:

"Sir—It is His Excellency, General Washington's orders, that you march immediately with the three detachments from Connecticut regiments, and the two companies of Wyoming men, to Chatham, there to take General Stephens' orders, if there—if not, you will send to headquarters for directions."

At Chatham, Morris County, New Jersey, under the date of May 29, 1777, Lieut. Colonel Butler wrote to General Washington as follows†:

"Pursuant to orders received from your Excellency by the hand of Major General Lincoln, I have marched with the detachments from the Connecticut regiments, and a few of the Westmoreland Independent Companies, and expect more of them will join me this day, and am now encamped upon the heights between Chatham and Springfield.‡ I find General Stephens has gone from this place, and no orders can be obtained from him as I expected. My Quartermaster waits on your Excellency, by my directions, to know your Excellency's pleasure concerning my detachment.

"Many soldiers in the Independent Companies have received no clothes since they entered the service, and are almost naked. Many of their arms are useless, and some of them lost. They are also destitute of tents, and every kind of camp equipage. I hope your Excellency will give special directions how they are to be supplied with those articles."

On May 28th Washington, with the greater part of his army, had marched from Morristown to Middlebrook, New Jersey, and taken position behind the Raritan River, about ten miles from New Brunswick. His force then numbered 7,000 Continentals, and early in June Lieut. Col. Zebulon Butler was ordered to march his command to Morristown and go into camp there. About that time there was a good deal of sickness among the soldiers in New Jersey—a disease called "camp distemper" being prevalent. Following this, those soldiers who had not had

* See "Collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," IX : 221, 222.

† See Miner's "History of Wyoming," page 203.

‡ In Union County, New Jersey; and near it, at Short Hills, the Americans were defeated in a fight June 26, 1777.

small-pox were inoculated for it. From one or the other of these ills many soldiers died at Morristown in the early Summer of 1777. Of Ransom's company, Charles Gaylord died July 5th, and Asa Sawyer, Samuel Sawyer and Robert Spencer died about the same time. Of Durkee's company, Mumford Gardner died June 12th, John Perkins, Jr., died July 6th, James Frisbie, Jr., died July 22d, Asahel Jearoms died July 31st, and Ebenezer Phillips and Robert Sharar were discharged for disability July 5th. About the middle of July, 1777, Lieut. Colonel Butler joined his regiment—the 3d Connecticut—on the Hudson. Captain Durkee still commanded the Westmoreland battalion, which was kept in constant service—wherever there was danger to be met or honor to be won—during the eventful and severe campaign of the Summer and Autumn of 1777. The battalion remained at Morristown until about the middle of August, when it joined the main body of the army in Pennsylvania.

Washington having put his army in motion, crossed the Delaware with his vanguard July 30, 1777, and encamped along Neshaminy Creek, in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, about twenty miles north of Philadelphia. On August 22d the whole army marched in good order through Philadelphia and proceeded to Wilmington, Delaware, to oppose the advance upon Philadelphia of the British under General Howe. But Washington could not withstand the latter, and retired into Chester County, Pennsylvania, where, on September 11th, the battle of the Brandywine was fought and the Americans were defeated. The British took possession of Philadelphia on September 27th, but were hardly settled there before Washington attacked them again, at their outpost at Germantown, "in the thick mist of the morning of the 4th of October, and would have taken the place had not the mist confused and misled his own troops." The Westmoreland battalion participated with great credit in both these battles.

After the battle of Germantown Washington made an effort to command the Delaware River below Philadelphia. On Mud Island, near the right bank of the river,* just below the mouth of the Schuylkill, was Fort Mifflin. It was invested by the British fleet November 10, 1777, and some heavy guns were also brought to bear upon it from a neighboring island. Lieutenant Colonel Smith of Baltimore, who commanded at Fort Mifflin, tenaciously held his ground against the overwhelming fire from the enemy's shipping. But exhaustion and a wound compelled him to retire; and it also became necessary to relieve the greater part of the overworked garrison. The Westmoreland Independent Companies were at that time posted near the Delaware at Woodbury, Gloucester County, New Jersey, south of Philadelphia, and other Connecticut organizations—among them the 4th Regiment of the Line, with Col. John Durkee in command—were stationed near by. On November 12th a detachment made up of men from the 4th and 8th Connecticut Regiments, together with a squad of Westmorelanders from Captain Ransom's company under Lieutenant Spalding, went to the relief of the Fort Mifflin garrison in command of Lieut. Col. Giles Russell of Durkee's regiment. The reinforced garrison made a determined fight so long as there was any hope of repelling the assailants. But it was impossible to hold out long against the heavy cannonading of so many vessels, surrounding the fort at so short a distance that hand-grenades could be thrown over the walls from their decks, and sharp-shooters in their tops

could pick off the gunners as fast as they could man the guns. The fight was not given up, however, until the principal officers were disabled, and 250 men out of the 400 of the garrison were either killed or wounded. On November 16th, further resistance being out of the question, the fort was evacuated at night, the men taking refuge in Fort Mercer on the other side of the river. The Connecticut detachment under Russell, which bore the brunt of the bombardment of Fort Mifflin, suffered seriously. (See the last paragraph on page 485, Vol. I.) Constant Matthewson of Ransom's company was blown to pieces by a cannon-ball.

December 4, 1777, Washington's army (including the Westmoreland Independent Companies) encamped at White Marsh, about twelve miles from Philadelphia. A few days later they moved to Valley Forge, and their march over the frozen ground "might have been tracked, from the want of shoes and stockings, from White Marsh to Valley Forge by the blood of their feet." At the latter place they went into Winter-quarters, where we will leave them for a time while we return to Connecticut and take up the thread of events there.

October 10, 1776, the General Assembly of Connecticut convened at New Haven, and was in session for upwards of two weeks. As Representatives from the town of Westmoreland, Col. Zebulon Butler and Lieut. Col. Nathan Denison were in attendance, and they filed with the Assembly a certificate dated October 4, 1776, and signed by Nathan Denison, Justice of the Peace, setting forth that John Jenkins, Jr., William Williams and John Perkins had been chosen Listers in the town of Westmoreland for 1776. They also filed a return setting forth that the sum total of the list of the polls and rateable estate of the town of Westmoreland for 1776 (the "Grand List, made on the August List for 1776") amounted to £16,996 and 13s.; which was £6,476 and 7s. greater than the "Grand List" for the previous year. (See page 865.) This return for 1776 was certified by Anderson Dana, Elisha Swift, John Jenkins, Jr., Nathan Kingsley, William Williams, William Stark, William Hibbard, Aaron Gaylord and John Perkins, Listers.

Early in the session the Assembly passed an Act assuming the functions of a State. The important section of the Act was the first, as follows:

"That the ancient form of civil government, contained in the Charter from Charles II, King of England, and adopted by the people of this State, shall be and remain the civil Constitution of this State, under the sole authority of the people thereof, *independent of any king or prince whatever*. And that this Republic is, and shall forever be and remain, *a free, sovereign and independent State*, by the name of the State of Connecticut."

Within a few days after the passage of the aforementioned Act, the following important measure was passed by the Assembly without any material opposition.

"BE IT ENACTED by the Governor, Council, and Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That the Town of Westmoreland, lying on the West side of the River Delaware in this Colony, shall be a distinct County, and be called the COUNTY OF WESTMORELAND,* and shall have and exercise the same Powers, Privileges, and Authorities, and be subject to the same regulations, as the other Counties in this State by Law have, and are subject unto, except in the Cases limited by this Act.

"That there shall be annually held in and for said County two County Courts; one on the last Tuesday of March, and the other on the second Tuesday of November. That said Court shall have Cognizance of all Criminal matters not extending to Life. That, for the trial of Criminal Cases extending to Life, the Superior Court shall be held in said County at such Times as shall be specially Ordered by the Chief Judge of said Court;

* For the bounds of the county, see the map facing page 790.

which Court, when sitting, may also hear and determine any other Criminal Cases by Law Cognizable before said Court.

"That the Judgments of the County Court in said County shall be final in all Civil Cases, from which no appeal shall be allowed; but errors in Law in any of the Judgments of said County Courts may be corrected by the Superior Court on Writ of Error, which may be brought to the Superior Court either in the County of Fairfield or Litchfield, in which case the Superior Court shall proceed to final Judgment, as has been usual in other Cases of like Nature.

"That no Inhabitant of said County of Westmoreland shall be liable to be sued, or called to answer in any Civil Action, before any County Court, Assistant, or Justice of the Peace in any other County in this Colony; nor shall any Person dwelling in any of the other Counties be liable to be sued or called to Answer in any civil Action in said County of Westmoreland.

"*Provided*, That nothing in this Act shall prevent any action being brought in the County where the Plaintiff is, when the Defendant is present, and his person Arrested in said County; or, being an absconding Debtor, hath Estate; or, [is] an Agent, Factor or Trustee in the County where the Plaintiff dwells.

"*Provided, also*, That no Criminals shall be sent from said County of Westmoreland for punishment, or Confinement, to New-Gate Prison* in the County of Hartford; but another prison shall be erected in the County of Westmoreland instead thereof."

The Assembly having passed the foregoing Act, resolved:

"This Assembly do appoint Increase Moseley†, Esq., to be Judge of the County Court of Westmoreland until the first day of June next.

"This Assembly do appoint Andrew Adams‡, Zebulon Butler, Nathan Denison and William Judd, Esquires, Justices of the Quorum§ of the County Court for the County of Westmoreland until the first day of June next; and Zebulon Butler, Nathan Denison, William Judd, John Jenkins and Uriah Chapman to be Justices of the Peace for the County of Westmoreland until June 1st next—their power and authority as Justices of the Peace for the County of Litchfield in the meantime to cease."

The Assembly also appointed Nathan Denison to be Judge of the Court of Probate of the district of Westmoreland until June 1, 1777, as the successor of Judge Joseph Sluman, who had died a short time previously. Douglass Davidson|| of Wilkes-Barré was appointed Surveyor of Lands in and for Westmoreland County, and the following officers for the 24th (or Westmoreland) Regiment, Connecticut Militia, were "established" and subsequently commissioned: John Garrett, promoted from Lieutenant, to succeed Stephen Fuller, resigned, as Captain of the First, or "Lower Wilkes-Barré," Company; Asa Stevens, Lieutenant of the same company, to succeed John Garrett, promoted; Daniel Downing, Ensign of the same company, to succeed Christopher Avery, resigned; Dethick Hewitt, Ensign of the Second, or "Kingston," Company, to succeed Asahel Buck, commissioned Second Lieutenant in the 1st (Durkee's) Westmoreland Independent Company; Frethias Wall, Lieutenant, and John Franklin, Jr., Ensign, of a new company (the "Tenth") located in Huntington and Salem.

At this same session of the Assembly the following memorial was presented. (The original is now to be seen in the volume entitled "Susquehannah Settlers, 1755-1796", mentioned on page 29, Vol. I.

* In October, 1773, the Colony of Connecticut having purchased the copper mines at Simsbury, in Hartford County, enacted: "That the subterraneous caverns and buildings in the copper mines at Simsbury, with such other buildings as may hereafter be erected and made in said caverns, or on the surface of the earth at or near the mouth of the same, shall be, and they are hereby, constituted and made a public Goal and Work-house, for the use of this Colony; and shall be called and named *New-Gate Prison*, and shall be kept and maintained at the expence of this Colony."

† See note on page 412, Vol. I. It is doubtful if he ever came to Westmoreland.

‡ ANDREW ADAMS was a well-known lawyer of Litchfield County, Connecticut.

§ As to the prerogatives and duties of Justices of the Quorum, see Chapter XXXII.

|| DOUGLASS AND WILLIAM DAVIDSON (presumably brothers) of Worcester County, Massachusetts, came to Wilkes-Barré, first (so far as known), May 14, 1774 (see page 732), and four days later purchased of Timothy Keyes, originally of New Marlborough, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, but later of Providence Township in the Susquehanna Purchase, a half-right in the Susquehanna Purchase which he had bought of Joseph Bird. Douglass and William Davidson were mustered into the Continental service September 17, 1776, as privates in Captain Durkee's company.

"To the Honorable the General Assembly of the Governor & Company of the State of Connecticut, to be Convened at New Haven in and for said State on the second Thursday of October A. D. 1776:

"The memorial of NATHAN DENISON, Esq^r, ELISHA SWIFT and PARSHALL TERRY, all of the District of Kingston in the Town of Westmoreland & the rest of the Inhabitants of said District humbly sheweth, that there is no Ecclesiastical Society *established in said Westmoreland by authority of your Honours*; that the aforesaid District of Kingston is a tract of country scituate on the western side of the River Susquehannah & contains twenty five square miles and is comodiously scituated to make an ecclesiastical Society; that said District is £4,000 upon the General List & contains 480 Inhabitants, who are Desireous of being Incorporated into an Ecclesiastical Society with the usual Powers of such society's &c.

"The Memorialists thereupon humbly move your Honours would Incorporate the said District into an ecclesiastical Society (with all the Powers Privileges and Immunities of any other ecclesiastical Society in this Colony or State), as the same is buttèd to the Eastward upon the River Susquehannah, South upon the District of Plymouth, North upon the District of Exeter, and West upon the Wilderness, that the means of Grace may be extended to this Wilderness Land in common with the other parts of this State whose example both in Church and State is the greatest of our happiness to pursue; and the Memorialists as in duty bound will ever pray.

"Dated at Westmoreland the 2nd Day of October *Annoque Domini* 1776.

[Signed] "NATHAN DENISON, } Committee in be-
"ELISHA SWIFT, } half of said District
"PARSHALL TERRY, } of Kingston."

According to the "Records of the State of Connecticut" (I:48) the Assembly forthwith took the following action on the foregoing memorial:

"*Resolved by this Assembly*, That that tract of land situate on the West side of the Susquehanna River, bounded east on said Susquehanna River, south on the district of Plymouth, north on the district of Exeter and West on the Wilderness, containing twenty-five square miles, be, and the inhabitants living within said limits are constituted, *a distinct ecclesiastical society*, with all the powers, privileges and immunities which other ecclesiastical societies by law enjoy; and said society shall be called and known by the name of the *Society of Kingston*."

The Churches of Connecticut, at the time of which we write, were Congregational. In other words, they held that the right to choose and settle its own minister, discipline its own members, and perform certain judicial functions, was vested in each individual Church. Moreover, at that period the Congregational Church was, in a sense, an Established Church in Connecticut. The statute law then in force there was: "The inhabitants of any town, or society, or parish, *constituted by this Assembly*, who shall be present at a town or society meeting, legally warned, shall have power, by the major vote of those met, to call and settle a minister among them, and provide for his support. * * And all such towns and societies shall annually grant a tax for the purpose of paying the salary of the minister." All persons were obliged by law to contribute to the support of the Church as well as of the Colony (and later the State). All rates respecting the support of ministers, or any ecclesiastical affairs, were to be made and collected in the same manner as the rates of the respective towns. The story of the Church is the story of the town in Connecticut, until the disestablishment of Congregationalism in 1835—as is shown more at length in a subsequent chapter.

It would seem, in the light of the foregoing memorial from the inhabitants of Kingston, that the Churches then existing in Wilkes-Barré and Plymouth under the ministry, respectively, of the Reverends Jacob Johnson and Noah Wadhams, had not been "established" in the usual form of law. Furthermore, so far as can now be learned, these particular ministers were supported, and the churches which they occupied had been erected, by the voluntary contributions of the inhabitants of their respective localities. It is doubtful whether the Kingston

Society, authorized by the Connecticut Assembly, was ever organized, owing to the stress of the times during and immediately after the War of the Revolution.

Representatives Butler and Denison returned to Westmoreland from New Haven about November 1, 1776, bringing the joyful intelligence that the town had been promoted to the position and dignity of a county—which was a condition of affairs that the leading inhabitants of Wyoming had labored unceasingly (almost from the very beginning of the New England settlements in the Valley) to have established. Although, by the terms of the Act of Assembly, the town of Westmoreland was erected into a county, yet the town—its bounds coincident with those of the county—continued to exist, at least in a legal sense, and the freemen thereof proceeded annually to elect their town-officers, and to send their Representatives to the General Assembly of Connecticut. It was a unique commixture of conditions. Wilkes-Barré, possessing among other advantages the largest population of all the villages in Westmoreland County, became the shire-town, or county-seat.

About that time a fortnightly post between Hartford and Westmoreland was established at the expense of some of the inhabitants of the latter town. Miner, writing about the matter in 1844, said (see his "Wyoming," page 198):

"A more pleasing matter demands a passing notice. Surrounded by mountains, by a wide-spreading wilderness, and by dreary wastes, shut out from all the usual sources of information, a people so inquisitive could not live in those exciting times without the news. Fortunately an old, torn, smoke-dried paper has fallen into our possession, which shows that the people of Wyoming established a post to Hartford, to go once a fortnight and bring on the papers. A Mr. Prince Bryant was engaged as post-rider for nine months. More than fifty subscribers remain to the paper, which evidently must have been more numerous, as it is torn in the center. The sums given varied from one to two dollars each. In the list we find: Elijah Shoemaker, Elias Church, George Dorrance, Nathan Kingsley, Elisha Blackman, Nathan Denison, Seth Marvin, Obadiah Gore, James Stark, Anderson Dana, Jeremiah Ross, Zebulon Butler.

"Payment for the papers was of course a separate matter. It may well be questioned, whether there is another instance in the States of a few settlers, especially as those at Wyoming were situated, establishing at their own expense a post to bring them the newspapers from a distance of 250 miles."

At the special sessions of the General Assembly of Connecticut held at Hartford in November and December, 1776, Westmoreland was not represented. At the former session the election of Jonathan Fitch* of Wilkes-Barré to the office of Sheriff of Westmoreland County having been reported, he was duly commissioned as such on November 28th; and at the latter session Samuel Gordon† of Kingston was appointed

* JONATHAN FITCH served as Sheriff of Westmoreland County for five years, according to Miner's "History of Wyoming." He was also one of the Representatives from the town of Westmoreland to the General Assembly of Connecticut in 1780, 1781 and 1782. About 1789 Mr. Fitch removed to what is now Binghamton, New York, and settled on the banks of a creek which subsequently received his name. "He was a man of considerable native talent, had mingled much with men of information, and was polished in his manners. He was the first Representative to the New York Legislature from the county of Tioga, and subsequently was Judge of the County Court."

† SAMUEL GORDON was born near Ballebay, county of Monaghan, Ireland, in 1740. He was of Scottish descent, and of good family, education and property. According to information received from the Rev. David Craft, Samuel Gordon, his brother James (who subsequently settled at Standing Stone, Pennsylvania), another brother, and a young man named John Gillespie immigrated to America from Ireland on account of some difficulties at home which resulted in their properties being confiscated. For a time, then, Samuel Gordon followed the sea, after which he settled in Elizabeth, New Jersey, where he was married to Mrs. Jane Gillespie, the widow of his late fellow-immigrant. About 1774 he settled in the township of Kingston, in Wyoming Valley, and in May, 1775 (as noted on page 824), he was appointed one of the Surveyors of Lands in and for Litchfield County. In 1777 he was Clerk of the Westmoreland Court of Probate. After the battle of Wyoming (July 3, 1778) Mr. Gordon went to New Jersey, where he continued until 1782, when he returned to Wyoming Valley. At Wilkes-Barré, September 9, 1787, he was appointed and sworn by the Commissioners under the Confirming Law of 1787 (see Chapter XXV, *post*) as their surveyor in and for the county of Luzerne.

The Rev. Dr. Craft, previously mentioned, states: "The Susquehanna Company, ever anxious for the welfare of the settlers, offered a township of land to the one who should build the first mill in Springfield Township. [In what is now Bradford County. This township is shown on the map facing

Surveyor of Lands in and for Westmoreland County. At the December session the following important Act relative to the Connecticut Militia was adopted.*

"Whereas, in and by the Acts and Laws heretofore made and now in force for regulating the militia, certain orders of men are exempt from common and ordinary trainings, and not liable to the same duty with those on the present militia rolls, and many who have been commissioned and non-commissioned officers in the militia * * ; and whereas the present situation of this State calls loudly for the whole force and aid of its inhabitants, * * *

"It is therefore Enacted: That all male persons from sixteen (16) to sixty (60) years of age, not included in that part of the militia called the train-band, or exempted from common and ordinary training, shall constitute an ALARM LIST in this State (excepting members of the Council, of the House of Representatives, and American Congress, for the time being; the Treasurer and Secretary of the State; Ministers of the Gospel; the President, Tutors and students of Yale College for the time being; and negroes, Indians and mulattoes). And if of sufficient ability, in the judgment of the Selectmen of the town where they have their usual place of abode, shall respectively provide for and equip themselves with such arms and accoutrements as by law is directed for those train-bands in the Militia; and shall, in case of an alarm, or orders given, be under the command of such officers as by this Act is directed. *Provided*, That no person above fifty (50) years of age shall be compelled to march out of the State. * * *

"And that all such persons belonging to the Alarm List may be formed into companies, the Captain or commanding officer of the several militia companies shall take an exact list of the number and names of such as are of the Alarm List, and deliver the same to the Colonel of the regiment to which they belong; and said Colonel, and the other field-officers, shall thereupon, as soon as may be, divide and set off the same into companies, to consist, as nearly as can conveniently be, of sixty-four (64) privates—each company to choose one Captain, one Lieutenant and one Ensign, who shall be commissioned by the Governor. The Captain of every such company shall, on the first Monday of May and October, annually, muster and call forth said company, and examine their arms and accoutrements."

The county of Westmoreland was not excepted from the operation of the foregoing Act, as it had previously been excepted in respect of certain other military legislation.

About this time "the regiments of the militia within the State of Connecticut" were organized into six brigades, and the 24th Regiment was assigned to the 6th Brigade, composed of the following regiments: The 14th (formed of companies in the towns of Cornwall, Sharon, Salisbury, Canaan and Norfolk), 15th (formed of companies in the towns of Farmington, Harwinton and New Hartford), 17th (formed of companies in the towns of Litchfield, Goshen, Torrington and Winchester), 18th (formed of companies in the towns of Simsbury, New Hartford, Colebrook and Hartland) and 24th (of companies in the town and county of Westmoreland). January 17, 1777, the Hon. Oliver Wolcott† of Litchfield (then a member of the Continental Congress) was appointed by the General Assembly of Connecticut and commissioned by Governor Trumbull Brigadier General in the State Militia, and assigned to the command of the 6th Brigade.

In November or December, 1776, following the return of Colonels Butler and Denison from the Connecticut Assembly, it was voted at a Westmoreland town-meeting "that Colonel Butler, Colonel Denison and Major Judd be a committee to write to the Connecticut Delegates [in

page 468, Vol. I.] This offer was accepted by Samuel Gordon, who in 1793 built his mill * * on the Wyalusing [Creek], about three miles from the river. * * This mill consisted of one run of home-made stone, without bolts, and was built under great difficulties, arising from the scarcity of money in the settlement and the want of experienced workmen; while all of the iron used in its construction was transported from Wilkes-Barré at much trouble and expense. The mill being completed, on the 1st of May, 1795, the township of Walsingham was surveyed to Mr. Gordon according to previous stipulation. He was also one of the proprietors of Stephensburg; but, owing to the invalidity of Connecticut titles in these townships, he failed to receive any advantage from these possessions. Even the mill, which had cost him so much, was lost through the same defect in the title. * * On the organization of Wyalusing Township Mr. Gordon was appointed Town Clerk. He died in Wyalusing in 1810."

* See "Records of the State of Connecticut," I : 92.

† See page 285, Vol. I.

Congress], and give them a true character of Adonijah Stansbury,* and the measures he has heretofore taken for the destruction of this settlement." It is presumed that the foregoing committee performed the duty assigned to it, and was in due time instructed as to what course should be pursued, for we find that on January 1, 1777, the following "citation" was served on Adonijah Stanburrough and two other inhabitants of Westmoreland. (See Miner's "Wyoming," page 198.)

"To ADONIJAH STANSBURY and * * , all of Westmoreland:

"You and each of you being suspected of Toryism, and subverting the Constitution, and endeavouring to betray the inhabitants of this town into the hands of their enemies, etc., You and each of you are hereby required, without any manner of excuse, to make your personal appearance before the COMMITTEE OF INSPECTION for the town of Westmoreland, at the house of Solomon Johnson†, inn-holder in said town, on Wednesday the 3d of instant January, at 10 o'clock in the morning, then and there to answer unto divers complaints whereof you are suspected as above. Hereof fail not, as you will answer the contrary at the peril of the displeasure of the public.

"By order of the Chairman.

[Signed] "ANDERSON DANA, Clerk."

"To any indifferent person to serve and return."

* ADONIJAH STANBURROUGH (for thus he wrote his name in the years 1774, 1788 and 1800) came in 1774 from what was then Tryon County, New York, to Wilkes-Barré, accompanied by his father (Josiah), mother, and sister Elizabeth. At that time he described himself as a yeoman, but later he became a surveyor-of-lands.

Early in 1772 a grant had been made by the proprietors of Wilkes-Barré Township, to Nathan Chapman (who is said to have come from Goshen, New York), of a mill-site of forty acres of land on Mill Creek—thirty acres on the north side of the creek and ten on the south side, just east of the road (known later as the "Middle Road," and now as the continuation of North Main Street) running from Wilkes-Barré to Pittston. The same year, before October, a grist-mill and a saw-mill were built by Mr. Chapman on the portion of the abovementioned site lying north of the creek, and the grist-mill was the first one erected in Wyoming Valley. (See references to "Chapman's Mills" on pages 745, 813 and 814.)

Chapman ran his mills from their completion until October 24, 1774, when, in consideration of £400 "to be paid," he conveyed to Adonijah Stanburrough the forty acres of land, the two mills, dwelling-house, etc. Stanburrough then took charge of the mills and ran them. Miner ("History of Wyoming," page 197) says: "It became soon apparent that Stansbury [*sic*] was a disguised enemy. Intelligent, plausible, active, he laughed at the pretended Connecticut claim openly as a folly, and decided it more secretly to some as an imposition. The good people had no other mill to grind for them, and the nuisance became insupportable and dangerous. Stansbury had violated no law, but except through the law there was no way to reach him." Early in 1776, finding that he had made himself obnoxious to the people of Westmoreland, he transferred his Mill Creek property to his father Josiah.

In the Summer of 1777 Adonijah Stanburrough left Wilkes-Barré for the vicinity of Philadelphia, where he still was in the following September when the British took possession of that city.

Adonijah having failed to pay the consideration money for the property at Mill Creek to Nathan Chapman, the latter sold the same November 16, 1777, to Josiah Stanburrough the father, who was in possession. These mills were destroyed by the invading enemy in July, 1778, and, according to an official report made by the Selectmen of Westmoreland in 1781, Josiah Stanburrough's losses by the British and Indian depredations of July, 1778, were appraised at £603 14 sh. With a single exception this was much the largest amount of loss reported by the Selectmen as having been sustained by any one of the Westmoreland sufferers. About 1781 or '82 new mills were built at Mill Creek by Josiah Stanburrough, who ran them—except for a short time in 1783 and again in 1784—until February, 1787, when, for £300, he conveyed the whole property to his daughter Elizabeth, wife of John Hollenback of Wilkes-Barré.

We next learn of Adonijah Stanburrough at Philadelphia, where, February 14, 1788, describing himself as then "or late of the county of Northumberland, Pennsylvania," and having "lawful right and absolute authority" to sell and grant 300 acres of land lying on the waters of Tunkhannock Creek (in what is now Wyoming County, Pennsylvania, but was then in Luzerne County), he conveyed the same for £80 to John Young, Jr., a merchant in Philadelphia. This tract was part of a larger tract of 36,000 acres which had been surveyed on warrants issued by the Pennsylvania Land Office to and for Robert Wilson, who, in or about August, 1774, had sold the tract to Benjamin Chew, Andrew Allen, Samuel Meredith, Edward Shippen and Joseph Shippen of Philadelphia.

In Sussex County, Delaware, August 13, 1788, Adonijah Stanburrough, describing himself as a "surveyor, late of Orange County, New York," executed to Rhoad Shankland of Sussex County (who was also a surveyor) a deed for the aforementioned forty acres of land at Mill Creek, in Wilkes-Barré Township, together with the rights of the stream, "and the grist- and saw-mills on part of said lots"; the consideration being "5,000 American silver dollars." (See Luzerne County Deed Book, VIII : 197.)

In December, 1800, Adonijah Stanburrough, then living in Sussex County, Delaware, conveyed to William Jones of the same county—in consideration of one dollar, and "in virtue of certain powers" in him (Stanburrough) "for that purpose vested"—certain lands in the "seventeen townships" (laid out by The Susquehanna Company, and lying in the then county of Luzerne, Pennsylvania), "actually settled and particularly assigned to the several settlers thereon before the Decree of Trenton"—*q. v.* There were 13,500 acres conveyed by this deed, including "the one equal one-third part of the lower saw-mills on Mill Creek, with the privilege to build mills," &c.; which mill-site had been "settled by Seth Marvin, Stephen Fuller and Obadiah Gore."

In July, 1802 (at which time the Commissioners under the Compromise Act of 1799 were at work in Luzerne County examining the contested land-claims), there was recorded in the Recorder's Office of Luzerne County a power of attorney executed by Rhoad Shankland, previously mentioned, which set forth, among other matters, the following (see Luzerne County Deed Book, VIII : 201): "Whereas a certain lot of land * * was granted by Nathan Chapman October 24, 1774, to Adonijah Stanburrough, who was in legal and peaceable possession of the same until his services in the Revolutionary War obliged him to rent, lease and leave the same; * * the which premises he afterwards sold to me. And whereas I now have reason to believe that other persons are got into possession of the said houses and mills, lands, &c., under the contrivance of the tenant [Josiah Stanburrough] who the said Adonijah left in possession thereof, and under a corrupt deed which the said Chapman is pretended to have made many years after he had sold to Adonijah."

† He lived at that time in the village of Wilkes-Barré, on the west side of South Main Street, on Lot No. 18 (see page 655), between Public Square and Northampton Street, where he kept an inn.

At the hearing before the Committee of Inspection on January 3d Garret Brinkerhoof deposed: That "some time after Stansbury bought the mills of Chapman he said he did not intend to pay any more for said mills, and he would *go to Pennsylvania* and make it appear that Chapman had no right to the lands." The testimony of other witnesses was heard by the Committee (that of Mr. Hageman is referred to on page 867), but we have no record of the Committee's action in the case. Miner says that "Stansbury disregarded the vote [of the town-meeting held in December, 1776]. More energetic measures became necessary, and as he owed no man in the town, an Indian from Oquago brought suit against him for a sum of money charged as being due on book, growing out of an ancient trade in horses. Active officers and a willing Court found a heavy balance owing to the Indian. Suits accumulated. A whole people had taken the law of him, and he found his position too warmly assailed to render it endurable, and * * he retired from the settlement." In this statement there are some errors: Stanburrough was indebted to Nathan Chapman (as mentioned in the foot-note on the preceding page), while the suit of the Indian against Stanburrough was not brought till after the latter had left Westmoreland for Philadelphia—in the Summer or Autumn of 1777. Reference to this suit is made in a petition to the General Assembly of Connecticut printed in Chapter XV. As shown in the foot-note on page 912, Adonijah Stanburrough was closely identified with some of the principal Pennsylvania land-claimants in their speculations relative to lands within the bounds of Westmoreland. From the beginning of his connection with Westmoreland affairs his sympathies were with the Pennamites and not with the Yankees. By the latter, therefore, he was considered to be a Pennamite; and, as we have previously remarked (on page 866), at that period all Pennamites were regarded as Tories by a majority of Westmorelanders. In other words, Stanburrough was in reality a Pennamite, and not a Tory. (See page 923.)

Early in January, 1777, the Continental Congress received information* "that certain tribes of Indians living in the back parts of the country, near the waters of the Susquehanna, within the Confederacy and under the protection of the Six Nations, *the friends and allies of the United States,*" were, led by friendly and peaceable motives, on their way to Easton, Pennsylvania, for the purpose of holding a conference or treaty with the General Government. Congress thereupon appointed a commission, consisting of the Hon. George Taylor of Easton (as Chairman), George Walton, and others, to purchase suitable presents for the Indians and conduct a treaty with them. Thomas Paine (see page 875) was appointed by the Council of Safety at Philadelphia Secretary to the commission, and it was understood that the object of the Congress in providing for a treaty was that efforts might be made to detach the powerful Confederacy of the Six Nations from the British, or at least secure their neutrality. \$1,000. was appropriated by the Congress for paying the expenses of the treaty, and purchases were made of large quantities of black and white wampum, silver brooches and earbobs, and other things, to be used as presents for the Indians.

About the 7th or 8th of January there came down the Susquehanna to Wilkes-Barré a small company of Indians, couriers, or messengers, to

* See "The Journals of Congress," III : 36.

announce the coming of a larger body en route to Easton. Having received on the 9th of January the following letter* from the Westmoreland Committee of Inspection, addressed to the Easton Committee, the messengers proceeded on their way over the mountains to Easton.

"GENTLEMEN: The Bearers hereof are Part of a Large Body of Indians belonging to the Six Nations, who have expressed their friendship for the United States of America at a Council held in this Place this day. They also Inform us they are upon a Journey to Philadelphia to speak with the Congress (if returned). Otherways, [they] intend to see General Washington. They have desired us to write to you and beg that they may be pointed to Places to Escape the small-pox and other Pestilential Disorders (if such there be among you). This is wrote upon their Particular Desire, to give you Information of the approach of the Body of Indians, which consists of about 200 Men, Women and Children; and they further desired us to request of you Your Influence that their Proposed treaty might be at Eastown, if it be possible at this time, for fear of the Disorders, &c., mentioned as above. We Doubt not but you will Pay due attention to these People at this time, when their favours will be more Eligible than their Frowns.

"We beg leave, Gentlemen, to subscribe Ourselves your friends and very Humble Servants,

[Signed]

"NATHAN DENISON,

"WILLIAM JUDD,

"CHRISTOPHER AVERY."

Along about the middle of January the main body of the Indian delegation reached Wilkes-Barré. There were seventy men and about a hundred women and children in the party, and among the chiefs were the following: *Taasquah*, or "King Charles," of the Cayugas; *Tawanah*, or "The Big Tree," of the Senecas; *Mytakawha*, or "Walking on Foot," and *Kaknah*, or "Standing by a Tree," of the Monseys; *Amatincka*, or "Raising Anything Up," of the Nanticokes; *Wilakinko*, or "King Last Night," of the Conoys, and Thomas Green (who was married to a Mohawk squaw), Interpreter. They remained here for a couple of days, held an informal conference with the authorities of Westmoreland—from whom they also received some provisions—and then proceeded to Easton. The treaty was begun there on January 30th, in the new First (German) Reformed Church, on North Third Street; and, while the organ was played, the members of the Commission and the Indians shook hands with each other and drank rum, before proceeding to business. In an official report of the treaty, subsequently made to the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, it was stated: "The Indians seem to be inclined to act the wise part with respect to the present dispute. If they are to be relied on, they mean to be neuter. We have already learnt their good intentions."

At Wilkes-Barré, under the date of March 14, 1777, the following letter was written to the Honorables Roger Sherman and Samuel Huntington, Delegates from Connecticut in the Continental Congress then sitting at Philadelphia. The letter was carried to that city by — Kellogg, and was received by Mr. Sherman on April 7th. The original letter† is in the possession of Mr. James Terry, previously mentioned, and is now printed for the first time. It reads as follows:

"HOND SIRS—You may remember that some time the last year there was two companies of men raised for the defence of this settlement, and for some time was stationed here, but the exigencies of affairs have since called them forth to join the army under the command of his Excellency General Washington, contrary to the expectation of almost every person in this County. But as the occasion of their going was then very urgent, the officers and soldiers went, without repining, for the service of their country; fully expecting that when that particular emergency was over they should be returned to their former station.

"I have since learnt that there are gentlemen, either through their inimical disposition to this country or to serve their own selfish designs, laying plans to get the sol-

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, XVIII : 620.

† It is in the handwriting of an unknown person, but the signature is that of Colonel Denison.

diers that went from here joined to the standing army, which is a matter of very great uneasiness to the soldiers and people in this settlement in general. We are in a new country, and to what difficulties, dangers and hardships we have been exposed since we came upon this ground, you are not a stranger. There are in the settlement of any new country great obstacles to surmount; but in *this* there have been more than in any country, perhaps, upon the Continent. The long war that has been carried on with the Pennsylvanians—the people being so often ejected from their possessions, and so often plundered of everything they had, has made them poor to what they would have otherwise been. Our part of the burden of this war with Great Britain we are willing cheerfully to bear, but *more* than that we think the Hon^{ble} Continental Congress will not put upon us.

“When the inlisting orders came out, the officers, to induce the men freely to enlist, told them: That they never should be called from this settlement, but were to be stationed here only for the defence of the same against the savages that are contiguous to us. By this means many inlisted that would not otherwise have done so, and have left their families in a very poor and miserable condition. We are not without fears that the Indians will molest this country, as we daily hear of their threats; which, if it should be done, we must inevitably suffer very much.

“It is by the desire of some of the principal officers and soldiers that belong to this settlement, and likewise the people in general, that I now trouble you with a letter, and earnestly request of you that if there should be anything moved in Congress for annexing the two companies to any regiment, whereby they shall be kept during the war, that you will use your influence to oppose it, as it must be a very great damage to this infant settlement. And if there can be any way whereby they may be returned to their former station *with honour to themselves and the country*, I should earnestly intreat you to have it accomplished; and, if it shall not be thought needful by the Hon. the Continental Congress to keep men for the defence of this country, to have them disbanded, that they may return to their families, who are very desirous to have them do so. Which favors, if you will endeavor to obtain [them], will much oblige this settlement in general and me in particular—who have the honor to be your friend and humble servant,

[Signed] “NATHAN DENISON.”

That this straightforward and earnest appeal was based on reasonable grounds, will be the better understood when it is known that, for three or four months previously to the writing of the appeal, the enlisting of recruits for the Continental army had been going on in Westmoreland. At the October, 1776, session of the Connecticut Assembly Solomon Strong, Captain of the 4th (or Pittston) Company, and John Jameson, a private in the 5th (or Hanover) Company, of the 24th Regiment, had been respectively appointed Captain and Ensign of a company “in one of the eight battalions now [then] ordered to be raised” in the State. (See page 900; also “Records of the State of Connecticut,” I: 14, 16.) January 1, 1777, Captain Strong and Ensign Jameson were duly commissioned by Governor Trumbull, and assigned to the 5th Regiment, Connecticut Line (Philip B. Bradley, Colonel), which was then being organized. In the meantime they had been recruiting men in Westmoreland for their company, and about the middle of January, 1777, the officers and men marched from Wilkes-Barré for Danbury, Connecticut, the regimental rendezvous. About the same time Capt. (formerly Major) William Judd marched with a number of recruits from Wilkes-Barré for the headquarters of the 3d Regiment, Connecticut Line. (See the last paragraph on page 824.) Mention is made on page 833 (in the last paragraph) of the men raised at Westmoreland for the Continental army in the Summer of 1776 by Lieutenant Gore. Furthermore, he came home from the front in the Spring, and again in the Summer, of 1777 on recruiting service, and succeeded in enlisting and taking back with him a number of able-bodied Westmorelanders for his regiment—the 3d Connecticut.

Concerning the soldiers from Westmoreland in the Continental army, Col. John Franklin (whose knowledge of the facts was indisputable) wrote more than a hundred years ago as follows (see his original

MS., unpublished, in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society):

"In September, 1776, two full companies were raised at Westmoreland under the command of Captains Durkee and Ransom (to serve during the war), called the Wyoming Independent Companies. About sixty others enlisted under Captains Strong and Judd and joined the main army. * * That upwards of 230 from Wyoming were in the actual service of the United States at the same time—furnishing themselves with arms—which left the settlement weak and unguarded against the savages and *those of a more savage nature*. These companies were afterwards considered as part of the Connecticut quota of troops, and settled with by that State. (See 'Journals of Congress,' VII : 230.)"

In the circumstances it would seem that Colonel Franklin's estimate of the number of men belonging to Westmoreland, who were soldiers in the Continental army in 1777, should have been *about 275* instead of "upwards of 230." Including Lieut. Col. Zebulon Butler, there were thirteen commissioned officers from Westmoreland in the Continental service at that time; the Westmoreland Independent Companies had marched away with 172 enlisted men; Captains Judd and Strong and Lieutenant Jameson took "about 60" men with them, while Lieutenant Gore enlisted thirty or thirty-five men in all, probably. This was an unexpectedly and unreasonably large number of able-bodied and resourceful men to have withdrawn, in time of war, from an ill-protected frontier settlement which included several thousand acres of cultivated and productive lands, and which contained a population of only about 3,000 souls; and Colonel Denison had good reasons for believing that, if the Indians should "molest" the inhabitants of Westmoreland, the latter "must inevitably suffer very much."





CHAPTER XIV.

THE LOYALISTS OF WESTERN NEW YORK AND NORTH-EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA—"BUTLER'S RANGERS"—SIX NATION INDIANS IN THE SERVICE AND PAY OF GREAT BRITAIN—FORT NIAGARA ON LAKE ONTARIO.

"Our groaning country bleeds at every vein;
New murders, rapes, fell massacres, prevail,
And desolation covers all the land!
Who can hear this and not, with patriot zeal,
Nobly step forth to guard their wives and children,
And sheathe a dagger in the villain's heart
Who'd rob us of our peace, our all, our honor!"

—"*The Pennsylvania Evening Post*," Philadelphia, January 7, 1777.

In the early Spring of 1777 the Loyalists who were settled along the Susquehanna from Tunkhannock to Tioga Point began to exhibit signs of uneasiness and activity. "The few Indians," states Dr. Craft,* "who had continued to live in the white settlements on friendly terms, were more insolent, and finally withdrew to the Indian towns. * * * The Indians now began to engage in acts of open hostility against the Whigs." Rudolph Fox,† Ensign of the 9th Company, 24th Regiment, resided near the Susquehanna, on the west side of Towanda Creek, in what is now Bradford County. In March, 1777, he was seized by Indians and taken to Quebec, where he was kept for nine months, during all which time his family were ignorant of his fate. He returned home in December, 1777.

Dr. Peck, in his "Wyoming," states: "In the year 1777 * * * there was much talk of war with the Indians. Several persons were killed up the river, and others taken prisoners. Mr. [James] Sutton and John Jenkins, afterwards known as Colonel Jenkins, made a journey through the wilderness to Queen Esther's Flats in order to procure the liberation of Mr. [Daniel?] Ingersoll, who had been carried into captivity. The distance of Queen Esther's town‡ from Wyoming was about ninety miles. The visitors were treated very courteously by the Queen, and she was free in her communications with regard to the

* In his "History of Bradford County," page 69.

† RUDOLPH FOX and his family were the first white settlers in what afterwards became Towanda Township. In May, 1778, he was captured a second time by Indians, but escaped from them. Shortly before the battle of Wyoming he and his family fled down the Susquehanna to Sunbury, and in that locality they remained until 1783, when they moved to Wilkes-Barré, and shortly afterwards to their old home on Towanda Creek. Elizabeth (born September 1, 1770), daughter of Rudolph Fox, became the wife of William Means, who in 1812 founded the village of Meansville, later called Towanda.

‡ The "Queen Esther" here referred to was (iv) Esther Montour, mentioned in the fifth paragraph, page 206, Vol. I. For a more extended reference to her see Chapter XV. Her "town" was on the flats near Tioga Point.

prospect of war. She said she was opposed to war; she wished the Indians and white people to live in peace with each other. Mr. Sutton belonged to the Society of Friends, was a religious man, and talked with the Queen religiously. She seemed to have correct views of religious and moral obligations.

"They were invited to spend the night with the Queen, and the true spirit of hospitality seemed to characterize all her communications and arrangements. In the course of the evening, however, things took a new turn, and the travelers, for awhile, were at a loss what construction to put upon the indications outside. A company of Indians came before the house, and, seating themselves upon a log, began to sing the 'war song.' The old Queen went out to them, and was engaged in an earnest conversation with them for a long time. When she came in she frankly told her guests that the Indians were determined to waylay and kill them, adding, with great emphasis: 'I can do nothing with them. Now you lie down until I call you.' They did so, and when all was still in the town she called them and said: 'You must go down the river. Go down the bank, take my canoe and paddle it without noise.' * * They slipped off * * * and found their way home in safety."

In the narrative of Elisha Harding, published in "Proceedings and Collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," VII: 92, we find the following: "A few remarks on the up-river settlement. In the Spring of 1777 the inhabitants above Buttermilk Falls, with a few exceptions, went to [Fort] Niagara, and continued there until Fall. They then returned home and took the freeman's oath, so called, and continued until about the first of May, 1778, and then returned to the enemy and soon came down with a party of Indians and 'Rangers' with craft [boats] and took their families. They came down as far as Buttermilk Falls."

At Westmoreland, under the date of March 31, 1777, John Jenkins, Esq., wrote the following letter* to the Hon. Roger Sherman, to whom it was delivered at Philadelphia on April 7th.

"*Dear Sir.* Since the letter of the 28th from the Authority, &c., we have made a considerable further discovery in respect to the Tories, as you will see by the Inclosed Deposition, and expect this week to be able to give a better account of them, as we have sent a party to take and secure all we have discovered & all they shall discover in the pursute of those; & have had accounts of more substantial witnesses, but at so greate distance that we cannot get them so as to send them by this opportunity; & as it will be unsafe to keep them here, should be glad of some directions how to dispose of them. Hope by this early discovery to prevent their plans taking place; but God only knows the event. If God should suffer those slavish, serpentine wretches to Influence the savages into acts of hostilities, it might be the cause of some Blood shed; but make no doubt but they would soon sick of the Bargain. Sir, the Persons who gave the Inclosed [deposition] is esteemed Persons of truth & varacity.

"Sir, I hope you will excuse my boldness and freedom of troubling you with these Lines, being unacquainted; but am, Sir, your sincere friend & humble serv't,

[Signed] "JOHN JENKINS."

The following information, relative to certain Tories in Westmoreland in the Spring of 1777, is extracted from the proceedings† of the Committee of Safety of Northumberland County at Sunbury, in April of that year.

"In consequence of sundry reports from different parts of the country of a dangerous plot being on foot by some of our enemies to bring on an Indian war, and in particu-

* The original is in the possession of Mr. James Terry, of Connecticut, previously mentioned, and a copy is now printed for the first time.

† See "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, XIV: 364, 365.

lar by an intercepted letter written by Nicholas Pickard to John Pickard, at the house of Caspar Reed in Penn Township—a copy of which was transmitted to us by Nathaniel Landon of Wyoming, as follows:

“ ‘*Worthy Friend.* * * As soon as the river is clear of ice we will march from every part. Therefore I would advise you as a friend to get out of the way, for we intend to cut all off. Perhaps by Easter I shall be with you; then I shall tell you further.

[Signed] ‘NICHOLAS PICKARD.’

“In consequence of which letter Col. James Murray and Capt. James Espy were sent by order of the Committee in search of Nicholas and John Pickard. April 17th Captain Espy returned and brought John Pickard before the Committee, who deposed, under oath, that about last Christmas, [1776], he went up the river from Middletown to Wyoming [Wilkes-Barré] by boat, and at Wyoming met Nicholas, his cousin; and that they went by land about twenty miles farther up the river to Tunkhannock, where, in the house of a certain Nicholas Phillips the latter told the Pickards that the Indians had told him they would come down and cut all off in the Spring, or as soon as they got their orders; and that they would in particular strike upon the Mohawk River and the Susquehannah. And that when he (John) parted with Nicholas the latter promised to write him as soon as he thought there was immediate danger, so that he might get out of the way—withal telling him that the Indians did not want to kill any that did not take up arms against them. And further, told him about a fortnight ago that there were 500 Indians at Chemung, waiting for orders from Niagara.

“Likewise, he (John) asked Nicholas why he came down to Caspar Read’s at that time (about two weeks ago). He said the Yankees were going to apprehend him for a Tory, and that a certain Dennis Clark came to him about midnight and gave him notice of it, and accordingly he made his escape down the river. And that he (Nicholas) told him (John) he had written two letters to him, which he had sent.

“John Pickard then took the oath of allegiance to the United States of America, and gave bonds in £100 for good behavior, and was dismissed.

“April 17, 1777, Colonel Murray returned and brought the body of Nicholas Pickard, who confessed that he wrote the letter to John, and further confesses that he is in connection with the Ministerial troops at Niagara, and that he has taken an oath of allegiance to the King of Great Britain; but says he was forced to it. * * Said that Nicholas Phillips of Tunkhannock notified him and several others thereabouts to move away with their families to Tioga, in the Indian country, as the English were coming down to cut off the inhabitants upon the Mohawk and the Susquehannah. That there were 15,000 of the Ministerial troops at Niagara, 4,000 of whom were to come down the West Branch and 4,000 down the North Branch of the Susquehanna, and a number of Indians were to be with them. And that the person who informed Phillips was John De Pui,* who is gone off and joined the English at Niagara, and that he sent him this piece of information by an Indian, after he left.

“The Committee voted Nicholas Pickard an enemy, and sent him to the Supreme Executive Council at Philadelphia.”

After much prodding on the part of the Connecticut Delegates, the Continental Congress at last reached the conclusion that the inhabitants of Westmoreland were really in need of arms and ammunition, which they did not seem to be able, of themselves, to procure anywhere. In consequence Congress passed the following† April 11, 1777.

“*Resolved*, That 175 fire-arms—either musquets or rifles—200 wt. of powder, 800 wt. of lead, and 500 flints be sent to the town of Westmoreland, on the East Branch of the Susquehanna River, to the care of Col. Nathan Denison, to be used by the militia there for the defence of the said town, *if necessary*; the arms to be returned when the service there will admit of it.”

There is an original document in the possession of Mr. James Terry of Connecticut (frequently referred to hereinbefore), which, by his courtesy, is now printed for the first time. It reads as follows:

“A message from the Six Nations delivered to the Committee at Westmoreland in Connecticut, May 1, 1777, by sundry messengers from the Six Nations, and is as follows, *viz*:

“Well, we your Brothers say we are here before you, and are glad to see you. Brothers, I have understood you have been greatly disturbed and been in sorrow this long time. Brothers, this is to wipe the tears off your eyes, so that you may see again. It is all through friendship that we, your Brothers, come to see you. [*Three strings of wampum delivered.*]

“It is through false people that we are disturbed, and we are hired by the people to come here and let you know it. Brothers, I see this ground looks like blood, and we

* Mentioned on pages 857 and 874.

† See “The Journals of Congress”, III : 104.

are come to clean it so that you may sit down as before this to clean your throats, so as you may speak as before, to take all that is bad out of your throats.

"Well, Brothers, we are here, and we were hired by the Six Nations to let you know what we have agreed on. Brothers, you must not think I came to speak from my mouth. I speak from my heart. I tell you the truth. Brothers, there is our Maker above us—we will not speak lies. There is a number from Delaware [the Delawares]. You must not mind them. They tell lies. We mean to abide by our former agreement. Brothers, there is a number of old and young about that want a meal's victuals or a dram, that will tell lies, but you must not mind them. You must think of the old agreement.

"Brothers, 'King Last Night' is no more a king, and by his invitation a number of men went off. 'Last Night' encouraged them to go forward, but they could not settle, and were obliged to go forward to Niagara. 'Last Night' is thrown out and is no more a king, but a private man, because he harboured Tories that went up this river, and the people refused to let them stay amongst them, but they were obliged to go on to Niagara. And the Six Nations did not give him ['Last Night'], nor none of the others that was with him at the treaty at Easton, any orders to complain of the New England people, nor to appoint anybody there to speak for us but our Brothers and head-men at Wyoming, that we are acquainted with. Brothers, those are bad people that go about telling bad news; and you pay them, but you must not mind them. We come to do good, and we do not expect pay for it. They are bad people, and tell lies.

"Well, Brothers, you have heard us so far. If you want to hear anything further our Council-fire is at Shanangah [Chenango]. There the Six Nations sit round the Council-fire, and there you must go to hear the truth of any story. Well, Brothers, I let you know this man (Mr. Sampson Luts, Interpreter) is in the form of our ears—by him you will hear the truth. Well, Brothers, you have heard us so far. Maybe you think we are enemies and want to go to war upon one side or the other. We are Brothers upon one side and the other. We want to be [continue so] still, nor want to go to war upon one side or the other. We have pity for you, and will not engage for or against you. There is nothing but good from us. By and by there will be a number of young men that are going amongst you to hunt. You will use them well and trade with them with what you can spare. There is a number of men amongst you foolish, and will say when they see an Indian, 'You are come to kill us!'

"Brothers, you know it was the fashion that your grandfathers had in treaties to give a little powder [to the Indians] to put in their guns to kill pigeons to make broth, and we ask for some. Brothers, we hope you will let all the Brothers know this [is given] in token of friendship, that our friendship still lasts. [*A belt of wampum delivered.*] We hope, our Brothers, when we go off you will give your Brothers a walking-stick.* Your Brothers say no more.

"The above and within is a true copy of the original. Test pr. me,

[Signed] "NATHAN DENISON, Chairman of Comtee"

"The Answer of the Comtee [of Inspection] of Westmoreland to the messengers from the Six Nations, sent from their Council-fire at Chenango. May 1, 1777.

"Brothers, we are glad you are come at this time with a message of peace to us. We cordially receive the same. The string you have presented to clear our throats we gladly receive, and can assure you that our throats are clear, and so shall speak freely. Brothers, the string you present us with to speak from our hearts is also cordially received by us, and you may rely upon it that what we speak is from our hearts, and not from our Mouths only. Brothers, the string you present us with to let us know that whenever we hear any News, either bad or good, we may, by applying to the fire-place at Shenango, know the truth. Brothers, we now from our hearts let you know that we mind but little about those straggling fellows that tell false news, and hope you do so too, and we will discountenance them and mind them not, but treat them as enemies to both us and you and let them know that we have a sure place to go to, where we can know the truth, and that we shall not mind them.

"Brothers, we cordially receive the *Belt of Peace* from you. We kindly thank you and all our Brothers of the Six Nations for the same. Brothers, we desire nothing but peace between us, which we hope will last as long as the sun shines and the water runs. Brothers, those disturbances that have lately happened through the instigations of wicked persons that have spread false reports and are no friends to us, have made tears in our eyes which we now wipe away by this cordial meeting. Brothers, we have no desire that you should take any part in the present disturbances between us and Great Britain, but hope you will use them and us as friends. Brothers, Colonel Denison will speak to you hereafter about the pigeons for broth, and stick to walk with. Brothers, we are extremely glad to hear you speak of our Maker above, who is the Supreme Ruler of the Universe and rules all things for good and teaches us all to speak truth, and in His fear we now speak. Also, [we] say to you in truth, and believe, [that] you are good Brothers, and will tell us nothing but the truth.

"The above and within is a true copy. Test pr. me,

[Signed] "NATHAN DENISON, Chairman of Comtee of Inspection."

* Rum or whisky.

At the Westmoreland town-meeting held in the Spring of 1777 John Jenkins, Sr., and Isaac Tripp were elected Representatives to the next General Assembly of the State. Miner says ("Wyoming," page 196) "rumors had reached Wyoming that the Assembly intended to appoint to some of the more elevated judicial offices certain persons not inhabitants of the Valley, but chosen from that part of the State east of New York. Whereupon it was voted, as instructions to Messrs. Jenkins and Tripp: 'If any person that is not an inhabitant of this town should be nominated for an office in this county, that they [the Representatives] immediately remonstrate against it, in the most spirited manner, as unconstitutional and an unprecedented thing in this Colony in any former times.'" It is probable that this action on the part of the inhabitants of Westmoreland was called forth by the fact that in October, 1776, the Assembly had appointed and the Governor had commissioned Increase Moseley and Andrew Adams, of Litchfield County, respectively Judge of the Westmoreland County Court and a Justice of the Quorum (see page 908), but that neither of these gentlemen had come to Westmoreland to assume the duties of his office.

The Assembly met at Hartford May 8, 1777, and Representatives Jenkins and Tripp were in attendance from Westmoreland. John Jenkins, Sr., was appointed Judge of the County Court of Westmoreland for the ensuing year; Col. Zebulon Butler, Col. Nathan Denison, Christopher Avery and Capt. Obadiah Gore were appointed Justices of the Peace and Quorum, and John Jenkins, Sr., Maj. William Judd, Uriah Chapman, Asaph Whittlesey, Caleb Bates and William McKerachan Justices of the Peace, and John Jenkins, Jr., Surveyor of Lands, in and for the county of Westmoreland for the ensuing year. Nathan Denison was reappointed Judge of the Court of Probate of the district of Westmoreland for the ensuing year.

Lieut. Col. Nathan Denison was also promoted "Colonel of the 24th Regiment of foot in this State, in the place of Col. Zebulon Butler now in service in the Continental army."* Capt. Lazarus Stewart was "established" Lieut. Colonel of the 24th Regiment "in the place of Col. Nathan Denison advanced"; Lieut. George Dorrance of the 2d Company, 24th Regiment, was promoted Major of the regiment, "in the place of William Judd, now in the Continental army"; Jeremiah Blanchard was established Captain of the 4th Company, in the place of Capt. Solomon Strong, holding a commission in the Continental army; Timothy Keyes, Ensign of the 4th Company, was promoted Lieutenant of the same company; William Shays was established Ensign of the 4th Company; Asaph Whittlesey, Ensign of the 3d Company, was promoted Captain of the same company, in the place of Capt. Samuel Ransom; Aaron Gaylord was established Lieutenant of the 3d Company, to succeed Peren Ross, a Lieutenant in the Continental army; William White was established Ensign of the 3d Company, to succeed Asaph Whittlesey, promoted; Roasel Franklin was established Lieutenant of the 5th Company, to succeed Lazarus Stewart, Jr.; Titus Hinman was established Ensign of the 5th Company to succeed Silas Gore, who had removed to Kingston; James Bidlack, Sr., of Plymouth and Lebbeus Tubbs of Kingston were respectively established Lieutenant and Ensign of the "1st Alarm List Company in the 24th Regiment," and

* See "Records of the State of Connecticut," I : 264, 265, *et seq.*

Dr. William Hooker Smith, Flavius Waterman and Elisha Blackman of Wilkes-Barré were respectively established Captain, Lieutenant and Ensign of the "2d Alarm List Company in the 24th Regiment." These two "Alarm List" companies had been organized only a short time previously, in conformity with the Act of Assembly passed in December, 1776. (See page 911.) All the officers promoted and "established," as aforementioned, were subsequently commissioned by Governor Trumbull without delay.

Near the close of the May session of the Assembly Representative Jenkins of Westmoreland, Col. William Williams and Capt. Jabez Huntington were appointed by the Assembly a committee "to audit and adjust the accounts of the State with the Treasurer."

In the possession of Mr. James Terry of Connecticut (previously mentioned) is an interesting original document, heretofore unprinted, relating to certain of the Tories in Westmoreland in the year 1777. By the courtesy of Mr. Terry we are able to give the following copy of this old paper.

"JAMES ATHERTON and JAMES ATHERTON, JR., of Westmoreland, Connecticut, of lawful age, testify and say that June 1st, *instant*, at the house of Jacob Ankish* of said Westmoreland, the said Ankish not being at home, asked his wife where her husband was, and she answered: 'Up the River a boiling of Salt along with the rest of his neighbors.' * * She then began to complain of the treatment they had received from the Yankeys, in taking away their cattle from them, and that they were no more Torys than the Yankeys were. We told her that *we* were called Torys at Wyoming. She said she had heard as much. That then Asahel Atherton told her that he heard his name was in the Tory list† that was gone up the River, and that the whole family were called Torys. And then she said she was a mind to reveal something, but she was afraid. Upon which the said James Atherton, Jr., and Asahel [Atherton] told her that she might speak, for they would not hurt her. I [James Atherton] told her the same. Upon which she told us that there were a great many thousand of British troops, Torys and Indians a great way this side Acquaga‡; that the Torys from all parts were collected there, and the Six Nations had all joined them, as also all the Indians on this River. That the treatys lately made here [in Westmoreland] were only to amuse the people and keep them quiet and easy while they [the Tories] were carrying on their design; that her husband and son were with them, and all the men that had gone up the River were there also.

"We asked her how she knew all this. She said two or three nights ago twelve of her neighbors had been home to their families and told it, and said all their friends must keep open doors and not be afraid, and they would not be hurt; that the white men were to come forward and the Indians to follow after, and their orders were to kill the Yankees—men, women and children—as fast as they came to them; and that we must come up there very soon and join them, and come into her house; and that Asahel and James must go right up and join the army, and she would speak a good word for us and keep us from being hurt. That three men her neighbors were lately gone off, that had not been gone before, to join the army.

"That 'Captain Henry,' an Indian, came down on Thursday as an express to a number of Indians that was down here as spys, and they all returned on Saturday, and Henry asked her if she had her daughter home from Wyoming. She said 'No.' Then he told her to send for her soon; upon which she sent her two little boys in a canoe to fetch her home, and not to stay for her, for they must come right back whether she came or not, for if they stayed they would all be killed together. We then told her we had not any canoes to move in, and did not know whether the people would let us move. She offered us a canoe, which we agreed to pay for if we did not return it, and came home in the canoe to Wyoming. She said the Indians had a back road marked out, to come in undiscovered. That they were to divide the army in three parts, one to go down the West Branch and another the East Branch of the Susquehanna, and a third to go to Kashethiton§ and drive down the Delaware and meet some where below and join the British army in the Jerseys and go to Philadelphia and take the Congress.

[Signed] "JAMES ATHERTON,
"JAMES ATHERTON, JR."

"Westmoreland, June 3, 1777.

"Personally appeared the above deponents and made solemn oath to the above deposition. Before me, [Signed] "NATHAN DENISON, Justice of the Peace."

* JACOB ANGUISH, then living at or near Tunkhannock. See a more extended reference to him hereinafter. † See page 935.

‡ Oghwaga, previously mentioned herein.

§ Cushtetunk, previously mentioned.

The foregoing deposition was forwarded to the Hon. Roger Sherman by Colonel Denison, who first wrote upon the back of the paper the following memoranda :

"The Indians took fourteen cattle and six horses at Quialasin*, about sixteen miles below Tioga branch and fifty miles beyond Wyoming. One pair of oxen returned to the owner, as the Indians said, and that the others would be returned. The Indians who stole them intended to drive them to Niagara, but were stopped by the chiefs at Tioga. Sidney Barry of New Jersey wrote to the Committee [of Inspection] of Westmoreland that Adonijah Stansbury† was employed by him to buy provisions for the army. Stansbury has been taken up as a Tory, and is confined to limits under parole. He told the Committee he took the orders from Barry to serve as a pass. Pickard‡, who has been to Niagara, is in Philadelphia jail."

At a meeting of the Governor and Council of Safety of Connecticut held June 10, 1777, the following resolution was adopted :

"*Voted*, That Timothy Keyes be authorized to receive of the store-keepers, of salt belonging to the State of Connecticut now at Boston, the quantity of thirty bushels of salt, for the use of the inhabitants of the town and county of Westmoreland. * ~* The said Keyes having paid the sum of £15 for the said salt."

Miner (in "History of Wyoming") says "lights and shadows alternately brightened and obscured the Wyoming sky during the year 1777. * * Scarce had the Summer opened when a new cause of terror and distress was developed in the Valley. The small-pox (how justly this then deadly plague was dreaded, the present generation can form but a faint idea) made its appearance. One of the most respected citizens§ returned from Philadelphia, was taken sick with the disease, and died. Want of the advice and protecting influence of the numerous heads of families, away with the army, was sorely felt. But a town-meeting was held, where wise and energetic measures were adopted to obviate to the utmost of human power the ill effects of the contagion. A pest-house was established in each township [district], half a mile from any road, where persons were to resort for inoculation. No one in the settlement was to receive the infection except in one of these houses, nor unless by express warrant from an examining committee. A strict quarantine respecting persons connected with the pest-house was established, and regulations for the careful change of clothes. Physicians were prohibited from inoculating except in the places designated. How many deaths occurred from the contagion is not known, but the means adopted had the most salutary influence in quieting alarm, and preventing the spread of the fatal disorder."

The small-pox seems to have been epidemic in Westmoreland about the same time that it prevailed among the soldiers of the American army in New Jersey. As noted on page 637, the wife of Col. Zebulon Butler was one of those who was attacked by the disease in Wilkes-Barré.

An original petition now in existence,|| dated at "Westmoreland, 4 May, 1778," and addressed to the General Assembly of Connecticut, throws some light on the methods pursued by the people at that period to prevent the spread of the small-pox. This petition is in the handwriting of Silas Park, Esq., and is signed by himself, Amos Park, Enos Woodward, Uriah Chapman, Jacob Kimball, Elijah Witter, John Pellet, Jr., Abel Kimball, Moses Killam, Benjamin Lothrop, Walter Kimball,

* Wyalusing.

† See page 912.

‡ NICHOLAS PICKARD. See page 919.

§ JEREMIAH ROSS of Wilkes-Barré, who died in February, 1777. See a subsequent chapter for a sketch of him and his family.

|| Document "No. 94" in the volume of MSS. entitled "Susquehannah Settlers", referred to on page 29, Vol. I.

Enos Woodward, Jr., Eliab Farnam, Jephthah Killam, Hezekiah Bingham, David Ford, Charles Forsyth, David Gates, Nathaniel Gates, Samuel Haigh, John Ainsley, John Pellet, Zebulon Parrish, Stephen Parrish, Uriah Chapman, Jr., Silas Park, Jr., John Streng and Jonathan Haskell, "settlers of a district in said Westmoreland called Lackaway, and living on the main road leading from the east part of Connecticut westward and through the State of New York, and across the Delaware River at a place called Wells' Ferry; and leading from said ferry thirty-three miles westward to and through the main settlement of your petitioners, and onwards about forty miles to the main settlement on the Susquehanna River in said Westmoreland."* The petition sets forth the following facts:

"That some time in July last [1777], in a meeting of the inhabitants of Westmoreland, it was voted that liberty should be given to any of the inhabitants of said town to inoculate for the small-pox; and then soon after, on or about 15th November [1777], your petitioners hearing of said vote, and by reason of the spreading of the small-pox on Delaware River where said road crosses said river, and the great danger of its spreading in said settlement by reason of the multitude of traveling from said Delaware to and from the Susquehanna, * * * did, within a suitable house within said settlement, one-fourth of a mile out of the traveled road, set up inoculation for the small-pox, wherein more than one-half the inhabitants of said settlement were inoculated under such regulations as were judged most safe for preventing the spread of the small-pox in the natural way. Soon after the setting up for inoculation as abovesaid, the town of Westmoreland at a meeting reconsidered said vote, and thereby one of our inhabitants has been arrested at the suit of the State and is now under bonds for his appearance at the next County Court; and others are informed against, and the whole liable to be prosecuted, fined, &c."

In response to the prayer of the petitioners for relief, the Assembly voted that they be discharged from any prosecution "on account of their having already taken or given the infection of the small-pox."

Miner states that during the Summer of 1777 "active measures were in progress to place the [Wyoming] settlement in the best posture of defence. * * By detachments the people worked on the several forts." Considerable work was done on Fort Wilkes-Barré, but it was not fully completed in all respects.



Monument marking the site of Jenkins' Fort.
Erected by Dial Rock Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, of West Pittston, October 12, 1900.

The house of Judge John Jenkins, in Exeter (within the limits of the present borough of West Pittston, as described on page 805), was stockaded in June, 1777,† and became known as Jenkins' Fort. Miner says ("Wyoming," Appendix, page 38): "At the commencement of the Revolutionary troubles Wintermoot's fort had been erected, and suspicion prevailed that those who controlled it were not friendly to our cause, although their professions were fair. The Jenkinse and the Hardings, the chief Whig families who lived near, thought proper to unite their efforts, and Jenkins' Fort was built above Wintermoot's, near the ferry. * * This was in 1777." In 1837 Mr. Miner requested

* The road thus described was the "Upper Road to the Delaware," mentioned on Page 646.

† The inscription on the monument marking the site of this fort states that the latter was "Constructed 1776." This is erroneous.

Elisha Harding (born August 8, 1763; died August 1, 1839) to inform him as to certain facts relative to Jenkins' Fort. In response Mr. Harding wrote*:

"In June, 1777, it was thought desirable to build forts for defence against the enemy. We went to work. I, a boy, could do but little more than drive oxen to haul logs for the work, which were of a sufficient length—say eighteen or twenty feet—and of a sufficient size to ward off balls or other means used by our enemy. [The logs were] placed in a ditch of a sufficient depth, to stand against anything that was expected to be brought against it by Indians or their allies. It contained near half an acre; was four-square, with flankers, so called, on the corners, so as to rake the outside if attacked. I well remember to hear complaints amongst the laborers that some of the neighbors did not help to build. After completing the fort every one went to his own work."

In June, 1777, Capt. Daniel Rosecrants, a native of Ulster County, New York, removed with his family from Wantage, Sussex County, New Jersey, to Wilkes-Barré, where he had purchased certain lots lying along the river, adjoining the Wilkes-Barré-Pittston boundary-line, in what is now Plains Township. Here he erected a log block-house, which he occupied with his family, and which became known as "Rosecrants' Block-house." According to "Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania," I: 451, a second block-house was built in Hanover Township, "situated some distance south of Stewart's [see page 644, *ante*], and occupied as a dwelling by Roasel Franklin. Its exact location is not known, but it served a useful purpose during the Revolutionary period in the protection it afforded in time of danger."

From the beginning of the Revolutionary contest, until about the time independence was declared, the Continental Congress made strenuous efforts to persuade the Indian tribes—particularly the Six Nations—located within the bounds of the United Colonies to remain neutral during the progress of the contest; or, declining to do that, to give their friendship and aid to the Colonists. As previously mentioned, commissioners were intrusted with the management of Indian affairs in the North and in the South. Active and influential men were delegated to visit the Indians and hold conferences with them†, and were instructed to reason with them on the subjects, firstly, of neutrality, and secondly, of friendship for and alliance with the Americans. In 1775 the Congress, by its commissioners, said to the Six Nations:

"This is a family quarrel between us and Old England. You Indians are not concerned in it. We do not wish you to take up the hatchet against the King's troops. We wish you to remain at home and not join either side, but keep the hatchet buried deep. In the name and behalf of all our people we ask and desire you to love peace and maintain it, and to love and sympathize with us in our troubles, that the path may be kept open with all our people and yours to pass and repass without molestation."

These Indian conferences, first held in 1775, were repeated in 1776 and early in 1777, but with only partial effects; for, by the Spring of 1777, it was pretty well settled that the *neutrality* of the Indians could not be counted upon. Furthermore, the Americans were unable to win over to their support any of the Six Nations except the Oneidas and some of the Tuscaroras. The Senecas, Mohawks, Cayugas, Onondagas, and the larger part of the Tuscaroras, all declared themselves friends and allies of the British; while the Shawanese and Delawares (who, as late as December, 1777, it was declared by Congress, gave "daily proofs of their good disposition and their attachment" to the American cause) later took up the hatchet against the struggling patriots. It was stated by a writer many years ago that, "with a few thousand dollars expended

* See "Proceedings and Collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," VII: 86, 87.

† See pages 285, 490, 830, 913 and 914.

in the form of presents, when General Schuyler held his treaty with the Six Nation Indians in August, 1776*, by direction of the Congress at Philadelphia, their neutrality could have been secured; but he gave them nothing, for he had nothing to give."

Reference has been made heretofore to the death of Sir William Johnson in July, 1774, and the appointment of Col. Guy Johnson, his son-in-law, as his successor in the office of Superintendent of Indian Affairs. At that time the sentiment which prevailed throughout the Province of New York was Tory rather than otherwise. Nearly all the principal landowners were loyal to the Crown, and the Johnson family was unwavering in its allegiance to the King. Under the date of February 1, 1775, Lord Dartmouth† wrote from London to Colonel Johnson: "The preserving the good will and affection of the Six Nations is an object of which we ought never to lose sight, and I hope through your zeal and endeavors we may avoid any ill consequences that may be expected to follow through the measures which may have been pursued by the Virginians."‡

In the following March Colonel Johnson received simultaneous warnings from correspondents in Philadelphia and Albany that a plot had been formed to kidnap him; in consequence of which he assembled the officers of his department and a party of trusty men from the regiment of New York militia which he commanded, and fortified his house at Guy Park to resist an attack. A body of Mohawks gathered there to defend him, and without his knowledge, as he asserted, summoned the Oneidas to their assistance. Johnson's movements were constantly watched by the patriots; letters passing to and from his house were opened and read; the supplies he had ordered for the use of the Indians were detained at Albany, and even trifling articles for his own household were withheld. Threats of an attack on Guy Park were daily made, and Colonel Johnson's situation was growing more and more intolerable, when he received a letter from General Gage, at Boston. He wrote—referring to the patriots who were causing Johnson so much uneasiness and discomfort: "In short, no time should be lost to distress a people so wantonly rebellious." Gage's letter decided Johnson's future course. He collected together all the Mohawks who were at home, and being joined by about a hundred ardent Loyalists—among whom were Col. Daniel Claus (his brother-in-law), John and Walter N. Butler, two or more of Sir William Johnson's natural sons, and Joseph Brant the famous Mohawk warrior (mentioned on page 299, Vol. I)—marched rapidly up the Mohawk to Fort Stanwix (mentioned on page 448, Vol. I), then in a state of dilapidation. Tarrying there only a few days, Colonel Johnson and his retinue proceeded onward to Oswego, which they reached July 17, 1775.§

A few days later Colonel Johnson held a council at Oswego|| with 1,450 Indians, including a deputation of Hurons from the neighborhood of Detroit, in what is now Michigan. Johnson still professed the most peaceable intentions, but found little difficulty in persuading the Indians

* See page 933.

† Lord Privy Seal at that time, but formerly Secretary of State for the Colonies, and President of the Board of Trade of the British Government.

‡ Measures which led to Cresap's, or Lord Dunmore's, War.

§ See page 822—in particular, the letter of the Rev. Samuel Kirkland.

|| See page 828—account of conference held with Indians at Wilkes-Barré.

"to resolve to co-operate with His Majesty's troops in defence of the waters emptying into the St. Lawrence, and in the annoyance of the enemy; and to send their band of warriors present with him to Montreal to inspire their dependents there with the same resolution." A few weeks later Colonel Johnson, John and Walter N. Butler and 120 Indians set out for Montreal, where they arrived near the end of August. Johnson immediately advised Governor Carleton* that it would be expedient to put the Indians in motion with as little delay as possible, as they could not endure being kept in idleness. Carleton replied that they must be amused in some other way, as he did not consider it wise to permit them to advance beyond the Province line. A few days later 1,600 Canadian Indians assembled there and agreed to adopt the same policy. Shortly afterwards 600 Indians attended a conference with Governor Carleton and openly proposed to warn the New Englanders to evacuate Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and in the event of a refusal to lay waste their frontiers. Carleton thanked them for their good will, but stated that he had other work for them to do. About the first of October, 1775, Guy Johnson once more requested permission to lead a body of Indians against the Americans, but was again refused. Whereupon many of the Indians dispersed to their homes, and Colonels Johnson and Claus applied for leave of absence and sailed for England in November, accompanied by Joseph Brant.

About that time Governor Carleton had retired from Montreal and taken up his residence within the walls of Quebec, and to him the conduct of Johnson and Claus naturally appeared very like a desertion of their respective posts of duty, at a most trying and critical period.

At that time Fort Niagara† (pictured and briefly described on page 298, Vol. I) was one of the chain of posts which, having been estab-

* GUY CARLETON, the third son of Christopher Carleton of Newry, county Down, Ireland, was born September 3, 1724. In his eighteenth year he was commissioned an Ensign in the British army. June 18, 1757, he was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of the 1st Foot Guards. In June and July, 1758, he took part in the siege of Louisbourg under Amherst (see page 577, Vol. I), and in the ensuing August was made Lieutenant Colonel of the 72d Foot. He was appointed "Quartermaster General and Colonel in America" December 30, 1758, and at the capture of Quebec, September 13, 1759, when in command of the Grenadier Corps, was severely wounded. In 1762 he was at the siege of Havana, where he was again wounded. He was appointed Lieutenant Governor of Quebec September 22, 1766, and in the following year the government of the Colony devolved on him in consequence of the absence of Governor Murray in England. In 1770 Carleton obtained leave of absence and went to England, where he remained until the latter part of 1774—being promoted Major General in the British army May 25, 1772. Having returned to Canada, he was appointed Governor of Quebec January 10, 1775, and performed the duties of the office until the last of June, 1778, when he was succeeded by General Haldimand—*q. v.*

At the palace of Westminster, London, May 19, 1779, General Carleton was installed a Knight of the Bath. He remained in England until the Spring of 1782, when, having been appointed to succeed Sir Henry Clinton as commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, he set sail for this country, and arrived May 5, 1782, at New York, where he remained until November, 1783, when he returned to England. He was created Baron Dorchester August 21, 1786, previously to which—in April, 1786—he had been again appointed Governor of Quebec, whither he returned in October of the same year. In 1791 an Act of Parliament, which had been revised by Lord Dorchester (Carleton), was passed, whereby Canada was divided into two Provinces: "Upper Canada" (now Ontario) and "Lower Canada" (now Quebec), and shortly afterwards Lord Dorchester was appointed "Governor General of the Canadas, and Commander-in-chief at Quebec." Having resigned these offices, he left Quebec for England in July, 1796. He died suddenly at Stubbings, near Maidenhead, November 10, 1808.

† FORT NIAGARA was steadily maintained by the British throughout the Revolutionary War, and proved an important base of supplies for the western forts. In 1778 the British authorities in Canada began to reclaim the Crown lands which lay on the south-western side of Niagara River, opposite the fort. Arrangements were made to found a settlement there, and the lands were to be cultivated in order to raise supplies of food for the support of the numerous British Loyalists who, driven from their homes throughout the United States, took refuge at Fort Niagara. In 1783, according to a return made to the Governor of Quebec, this settlement on the south-west bank of Niagara River, which was then known as Niagara, comprehended 713 acres of cleared land (of which 123 acres were planted with wheat), and contained forty-six settlers, forty-four houses, twenty barns, 96 cows, 124 horses and 332 swine. After the Revolution Fort Niagara remained in the hands of the British until 1796.

Isaac Weld, Jr., in his entertaining book entitled "Travels through the States of North America and Canada during 1795, '96 and '97," gives an interesting account of Niagara (now "Niagara-on-the-Lake," in the Province of Ontario) and Fort Niagara, as follows: "On the eastern side of the river is the fort, now in the possession of the people of the States, and on the opposite side is the British part of the town—most generally known by the name of Niagara, notwithstanding that it has been named Newark by the Legislature. The original name of the town was Niagara; afterwards called Lenox, then Nassau, and afterwards Newark. The town of Niagara [Niagara-on-the-Lake] is the capital of

lished by the French and later won from them by the British, was maintained by the latter to protect Canada. From its central location it was easily accessible to the various Indian tribes, not only of New York, but scattered along the Ohio River and the shores of Lakes Superior, Huron and Erie; and it was frequently visited by delegations from the numerous tribes then at peace with the British. The territory at and about Niagara was claimed at that period, and as late, at least, as 1783, by both Massachusetts and New York. As early, certainly, as September, 1774, John Caldwell, Lieutenant Colonel of the 8th, or King's Foot, Regiment, became commandant at Fort Niagara. He and his regiment were still there in November, 1775, when Governor Carleton determined to send thither from Quebec Col. John Butler*, who had accompanied

the Province of Upper Canada, but orders have been given to remove it to Toronto. Niagara contains about seventy houses, a Court House, gaol, and a building for the meeting of the Legislature—nearly all built within the past five years.

"The American newspapers, until the late treaty of amity was ratified, teemed with gross abuse of the British Government for retaining possession of Fort Niagara and the other military posts on the lakes, after the independence of the States had been acknowledged and peace concluded. Had the British withdrawn, the works would have been in all probability destroyed by the Indians, within whose territory they were situated, long before the people of the States could have taken possession of them; for no part of their army was within hundreds of miles of the posts. * * The retention of them, therefore, to the present day was, in fact, a circumstance highly beneficial to the interests of the States. * * There were particular parts of the definitive treaty [of peace] which some of the States did not seem very ready to comply with, and the posts were detained as a security for its due ratification on the part of the States. In the late treaty of amity and commerce, these differences were finally accommodated to the satisfaction of Great Britain, and the posts were consequently delivered up.

"The Fort of Niagara stands immediately at the mouth of the river, on a point of land, one side of which is washed by the river and the other by the lake. Towards the water it is stockaded, and behind the stockade, on the river side, a large mound of earth rises up, at the top of which are embrasures for guns. On the land side it is secured by several batteries and redoubts, and by parallel lines of fascines. At the gates, and in various different parts, there are strong block-houses; and facing the lake, within the stockade, stands a large fortified stone house. The fort and outworks occupy about five acres of ground, and a garrison of 500 men, and at least from thirty to forty pieces of ordnance, would be necessary to defend it properly. * * This fort was begun by the building of the stone house, after a solemn promise had been obtained from the Indians that the artificers should not be interrupted whilst they were going on with the work. But the Indians were greatly astonished when a building, so totally different from any that they had ever seen before, and from any that they had any idea of, was completed. * * Fortifications to strengthen the house were gradually erected, and by the year 1759 the place was so strong as to resist for some time the forces under Sir William Johnson. Great additions were made to the works after the fort fell into the hands of the British in 1759." In the War of 1812 Fort Niagara was captured by the British, and was restored to the Americans at the close of the conflict.

* JOHN BUTLER was born in New London, Connecticut, in 1728, and was baptized there on April 28th of that year. Miss Caulkins, in her "History of New London," says: "Thomas and John Butler are not presented to our notice as inhabitants of New London until after 1680. Probably they were brothers. No account of the marriage or family of either is on record. Thomas Butler (born in 1642) died December 20, 1701. John Butler died March 26, 1733, aged eighty years. Katharine, wife of John Butler, died January 24, 1729, aged sixty-seven years. She was a daughter of Richard Haughton. Thomas Butler's family cannot be given with certainty, but nothing appears to forbid the supposition that Lieut. Walter Butler [born in 1670, presumably in Ireland], a prominent inhabitant [of New London] about 1712, and afterwards, was his son." Major Cruikshank, previously referred to, states that the above-mentioned Lieut. Walter Butler, a young Irish subaltern, claiming descent from the illustrious family of Ormonde, came to America about the year 1709 with his regiment, "from which he exchanged into one of the independent companies formed for service in the Colonies, and afterwards incorporated as the Royal Americans, or 60th" (mentioned in the note on page 346, Vol. I).

The latter part of the foregoing statement is more than improbable, for, according to Miss Caulkins, Walter Butler was married at New London in 1713 to Mary, only child of Thomas Harris, and granddaughter of Capt. Daniel Wetherell of New London, and during the next twelve years the following-named children were born to them at New London: (i) *Mary*, born August 29, 1714; (ii) *Thomas*, born January 31, 1716; (iii) *Walter*, born May 27, 1718; (iv) *Jane*, born July 10, 1720; (v) *Katharine*, born August 26, 1722; (vi) *Lydia*, born January 10, 1725. In 1725 or '26 Mrs. Mary (Harris) Butler died, and in 1727 Walter Butler was married (2d) to Deborah, widow of Ebenezer Dennis, and to them a son was born, who was baptized John, April 28, 1728, as previously mentioned. In subsequent years other children were born to Walter and Deborah Butler, one of whom was a daughter named Anne. Miss Caulkins further states: "The name of Walter Butler is associated with the annals of Tryon County, New York, as well as with New London. He received a military appointment in the Mohawk country in 1728, and fourteen years later removed his family thither. Mr. Hempstead [of New London] made an entry in his diary [as follows]: 'November 16, 1742, Mrs. Butler, wife of Capt. [sic] Walter Butler, and her children and family is gone away by water to New York, in order to go to him in the northern countries above Albany, where he hath been several years Captain of the forts.'"

W. Max Reid, in his "The Mohawk Valley" (page 211), says: "Perhaps there is no name in American history that is more abhorred throughout the length and breadth of the Mohawk Valley than the name of Butler, through the evil deeds of Col. John Butler and Lieut. Walter N. Butler, father and son. Colonel John for his connection with the massacre of Wyoming, and Lieutenant Walter as the leader of the Cherry Valley massacre. And still, their evil deeds were apparently confined to about four years of their life. In history, nothing is spoken of but the evil they have done, and their early lives are wrapped in comparative obscurity. We do not know when they were born, and the histories of the Revolution do not mention their ancestors. * * * Among the Colonial documents we find the name of Walter Butler [of New London, Connecticut], who was appointed Lieutenant August 16, 1726, by Governor Burnett of New York. He [Walter] was probably connected with the family of the Irish Dukes of Ormonde and Arran, who were patrons of the Burnett family. May 16, 1728, Lieut. Walter Butler was assigned to Capt. Holland's company at Albany."

In 1733 the Crown granted to Walter Butler and forty-two others a tract of land near Schoharie Creek, running south to Schoharie, and then following the line of Schenectady County to the Mohawk River. Governor Crosby of New York, by letters patent dated December 31, 1735, granted a certain 4,000-acre tract of Crown lands on the Mohawk (in what are now the towns, or townships, of Johnstown and Mohawk) in fee to Walter Butler and three other persons. Butler's share amounted to 1,714 $\frac{2}{7}$ acres, but in time he became possessed of the whole tract. Upon this tract, in 1743, Walter Butler erected a frame house, and there he and his family resided until his death. This house was located on what is now known as Switzer Hill, within one mile of the Mohawk River (near the present town of Fonda, Montgomery County), and twenty-four miles distant from Schenectady. The plantation, or manor, became known as "Butlersbury." In 1747 Sir William Johnson sent Lieut. Walter Butler on a mission to Crown Point; and a little later the latter (having been promoted Captain) was sent to Oswego, with his son John as interpreter. Capt. Walter Butler made himself useful in many ways to Sir William Johnson, who in return exerted himself for the advancement of Butler's family. Captain Butler died in 1760, aged ninety years, and in his will (executed March 13, 1760) he devised certain property to his daughters Mary and Anne, and to the daughters of his deceased son Walter; and to his son John he devised "all the residue of his estate." His only other son, Thomas, had died in the Autumn of 1759.

John Butler resided in New London and was educated there until the fourteenth year of his life. In allusion to this circumstance Col. Daniel Claus (previously mentioned), by whom he was heartily disliked, accused him of flattery and cunning—"having been born and bred in New England." John Butler was married about 1750 to a daughter of John Watts, Sr., of New York. The Rev. Gideon Hawley (see note on page 257, Vol. I), in the account of his journey to Broome County, New York, in 1753, states that Lieut. John Butler was in charge of a sergeant and a few privates at Fort Hunter, where he resided with his family. When, in 1755, Sir William Johnson was appointed General Superintendent of Indian Affairs (as narrated on page 297, Vol. I), he nominated John Butler and his half-brother, Walter Butler, Jr., as Captains in the Indian Department. They took part in the disastrous battle of Lake George, fought September 8, 1755 (see note, page 264, Vol. I), and Capt. John Butler distinguished himself greatly and escaped unhurt, but Capt. Walter Butler, Jr., was killed. The latter was undoubtedly a son-in-law of Jan Wemp, of Fort Hunter, New York, who died in 1749, as in his will he bequeathed a portion of his estate to his "daughter Maria Butler, wife of Lieut. Walter Butler, Jr."

According to Cruikshank Capt. John Butler served in the Indian Department under Abercrombie at Ticonderoga (see page 577, Vol. I) in the Summer of 1758, and with Bradstreet at the capture of Fort Frontenac. In 1759, still holding the rank of Captain, he took part in the expedition against Fort Niagara (described on page 298, Vol. I), as second in command of the Indians, and succeeded Sir William Johnson in the entire charge of them after General Prideaux's death. His services at that time were officially reported as having been "conspicuous and meritorious." Brant also took part in the campaign against Fort Niagara. After the surrender of this fort Butler was appointed a member of the Court established there for the trial of civil causes. In 1760 he went with General Amherst to Montreal, as second in command of the Indians. During Pontiac's War (see page 416, Vol. I) Captain Butler was actively and successfully employed in the difficult task of restraining the Six Nations from joining the hostile Indians.

Between 1756 and 1765 Captain Butler was frequently in attendance at conferences between the Indians and Sir William Johnson, first at Mount Johnson, and later at Johnson Hall, and at many of the important councils he acted as interpreter. In 1762 he built a new dwelling-house on his manor of Butlersbury, which he and his family occupied until they were compelled by the Whigs to remove elsewhere. At that time he had fourteen houses on his estate which were occupied by tenants. In July, 1766, the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, David McClure, and others, were on their way from Lebanon, Connecticut, to Oneida, and they tarried several days at the home of Colonel Butler. (He was then a Deputy Superintendent, with the title, or rank, of Colonel, in the Indian Department, under Sir William Johnson, and a Lieutenant Colonel of militia, as previously mentioned.) Mr. McClure wrote at the time that Colonel Butler had "a son Walter—a sprightly boy—at Mr. Wheelock's school" in Lebanon. Continuing, Mr. McClure wrote: "Having received much kindness from Colonel Butler and family we set out for Oneida. We passed through the fine country of the German Flats and the upper settlements of the Castle of the Mohawks, called *Caughnawaga*."

In 1772 the first Court of General Quarter Sessions was held at Johnstown, New York, and the Judges were Guy Johnson, John Butler and Peter Conyne.

When, in the early Summer of 1775, John Butler, accompanied by his eldest son, Walter N. (then about twenty-four years of age, and a lawyer by profession), withdrew to Canada with Col. Guy Johnson (see page 926), he left behind at Butlersbury his wife and younger children—sons Thomas and Johnson, a daughter, and another son—and all his personal property. Subsequently this property, as well as all the real estate in New York belonging to Colonel Butler, was confiscated by the American authorities, and Mrs. Butler and her four children were conducted to Albany, where they were detained under surveillance. (See page 934.) As mentioned on page 936 both John and Walter N. Butler were at the siege of Fort Schuyler, and they also took part in the battle of Oriskany.

After the battle Walter N. Butler (who held a commission as Lieutenant) went secretly to the house of one Shoemaker, near Fort Clayton, where, with other Loyalists in arms, he was captured by the Americans, conveyed within their lines, tried as a spy by order of Brig. Gen. Benedict Arnold, convicted, and condemned to death. The sentence was subsequently remitted, and Lieutenant Butler was sent to Albany and placed in prison. He was still there when, in December, 1777, he was commissioned a Captain in the "Rangers" commanded by his father. His commission was in the following form, in part.



LIEUT. COL. JOHN BUTLER.

Photo-reproduction of a portrait in the possession of Sir William Buell Richards, Ottawa, Canada.

"GUY CARLETON, Knight of the Bath, Captain General and Governor-in-chief of the Province of Quebec and Territories depending thereon; General and Commander-in-chief of His Majesty's forces in said Province and the frontiers thereof—

"To WALTER BUTLER, Esquire, *Greeting:* Reposing special trust and confidence in your loyalty, courage and good conduct, I do by these presents constitute and appoint you to be Captain in a Corps of Rangers to serve with the Indians during the Rebellion; whereof John Butler, Esq., is Major commandant. You are, therefore, carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of Captain, &c. * * * Given under my hand and seal-at-arms at Quebec, December 20, 1777.

[Signed] "GUY CARLETON."

"By His Excellency's command— [Signed]

"FRANCIS LE MAISTRE." Feigning sickness in April, 1778, Lieutenant Butler was removed to a private house in Albany. Thence he managed to escape by the help of friends, and to make his way without much delay to that part of western New York in which the principal towns of the Seneca Indians were then located. There he joined his father prior to May 15, 1778, on which date he was sent by the latter to Quebec—as is more fully explained in the ensuing chapter—with important information for Governor Carleton.

Anxious to revenge himself for the imprisonment he had undergone at the hands of the Americans, Walter Butler stirred up some of the Senecas and other Indians to join him in an incursion into Cherry Valley, in what is now Otsego County, New York. Joseph Brant argued against the expedition, but finally was induced to yield. His opposition sprang, no doubt, from his unwillingness to serve under Walter Butler, who was to command the expedition and who was very much disliked by Brant. Early in November, 1778, the invaders set out from Tioga Point for Cherry Valley, and on their way up the Susquehanna received additions until 800 men—of whom 600 were Indians and 150 Tories—were collected. On the 11th of November the massacre of Cherry Valley was perpetrated. Thirty of the inhabitants of the settlement were killed in cold blood, and seventy-one others were made prisoners, while many houses, barns and mills were burned. "The literature of the Border Wars will be searched in vain for a defense of the conduct of Walter Butler at Cherry Valley," declares Halsey in "The Old New York Frontier." When the enemy had departed, Cherry Valley was a scene of desolation, and exhibited everywhere the saddest mementoes of heartless cruelty. The diabolical malice of Butler had no bounds. Female helplessness, infantile innocence, or entire neutrality in the War for Independence, was no defense against the savage Indians and still more savage Tories. Brant, without any hesitation, included Captain Butler among those who were "more savage than the savages themselves."

Reid, in his "The Mohawk Valley," says that after the Cherry Valley massacre Walter Butler went to Quebec, but General Haldimand, the then Governor, "gave out that he did not wish to see him."

A few days after the destruction of Cherry Valley, some of the inhabitants of the settlement who had been taken prisoners by Walter Butler were released and permitted to return home on parole. They brought with them, addressed to General Schuyler at Albany, written proposals made by Walter Butler for an exchange of prisoners. Among other things Butler wrote: "I am induced by humanity to permit the prisoners whose names are enclosed to remain behind, lest the inclemency of the season and their helpless and naked condition should prove fatal. I hope you will allow Mrs. [John] Butler and her family to come to Canada in consideration; but if you insist, I will engage to send you more over an equal number of prisoners, and allow you to name the persons. I have done everything in my power to restrain the Indians from hurting women and children who fell into their hands."

General Schuyler being absent from Albany, Walter Butler's communication was answered by Brig. Gen. James Clinton, under date of January 1, 1779, in part as follows: "I am not informed if Mrs. Butler, her family, and such others as will be given in exchange for those whom you have in captivity, and those you have suffered to return, as mentioned in your letter, would choose to move at this inclement season. If they do, they shall be sent. If not, they may remain until Spring, and then may either go to Oswego or Canada at their option. * * Do not flatter yourself, Sir, that your father's family have been detained on account of any consequence they were supposed to be; or that it is determined they should be exchanged in consideration of the threat contained in your letter."

"I should hope, for the honor of civilized nations and the sake of human nature, that the British officers had exerted themselves in restraining the barbarities of the savages; but it is difficult even for the most disinterested mind to believe it, as numerous instances of barbarities having been perpetrated where savages were not present; or, if they were, the British force was sufficient to have restrained them had there been a real desire so to do. The enormous murders committed at Wyoming and Cherry Valley would clearly have justified a retaliation; and that your mother did not fall a sacrifice to the resentment of the survivors of those families who were so barbarously massacred, is owing to the humane principles which the conduct of their enemies induces a belief that they are utter strangers to." (See the "Public Papers of George Clinton," IV: 457.) At some time subsequently, in 1779, Mrs. Butler and her children were exchanged, and joined Maj. John Butler at Fort Niagara.

In the Autumn of 1781 Governor Haldimand directed that an incursion should be made into the Mohawk Valley—to the neighborhood of Warrensbush, mentioned in the note on page 296. Major Ross was placed in command of the expedition, and Capt. Walter N. Butler with 169 "Rangers" and Captain Tice with 109 Indians (who were later described as "the dregs of the tribes") were ordered from Fort Niagara to Oswego to join the expedition—which set out from the latter place on October 10th. Some days later the invaders were met near Johnstown by the Americans under Colonel Willett, were defeated and forced to retreat. They were closely followed by Willett as far as Fort Herkimer, and when they turned to ascend West Canada Creek they were still pursued by the Americans, who, twelve miles up the stream, at a difficult fording-place, made a vigorous attack. The stream and all surrounding objects were veiled in a dense fog. But for a moment the fog parted, and the Americans saw Walter Butler, who had swum his horse across the stream, insultingly slap his hip and wave his hand at them in defiance from the opposite bank of the creek. *Skenando*, an Oneida chief, then seventy years of age, who, with other Indians of that tribe, was with the Americans, fired a well-directed shot and brought Butler to the ground. Throwing down his rifle and blanket the Indian plunged into the creek, swam across, and, as soon as he had gained the farther shore, raised his tomahawk and, with a yell, sprang like a tiger upon the fallen Ranger. Butler supplicated for mercy, but in vain, for *Skenando* cried out in broken English, "Sherry Valley! Sherry Valley! Remember Sherry Valley!" and then buried his tomahawk in Butler's brain and a moment later tore the scalp from his head. The place where Walter Butler crossed the creek, and near which he fell (October 29, 1781), is called "Butler's Ford" to this day.

Major Cruikshank states that Colonel Willett "exulted loudly over Butler's death, and his biographer tells us that the inhabitants generally rejoiced more on learning that than they did at the intelligence of the surrender of Cornwallis, which became known to them about the same time."

In July, 1859, there was published in *Harper's Magazine* a long poem entitled, "Death of Walter Butler. A Ballad of Tryon County." The following stanzas have been extracted from it.

"Walter Butler! cruel panther,
Lapping tongue in human gore;
Even Brant, the bloody Mohawk,
Had of truth and pity more.

"Bloody Walter Butler! owning
Brain of fire and heart of stone,
Twenty deaths, could you endure them,
Would not for these deeds atone.

"Back returned the swart Oneidas
Ere the setting of the sun—
And the scalp of Walter Butler
Dangled from the belt of one.

"When was told around the camp-fire
How the hatchet claved the brain,
Oh! how joyous was the shouting—
'Walter Butler has been slain!'"

Guy Johnson to the latter place and had been named by him to act, during his absence, as his deputy in the management of Indian affairs. John Butler had been for some time Lieutenant Colonel of the regiment of New York militia commanded by Col. Guy Johnson, and for a longer time had held—first under Sir William Johnson and then under Guy

Capt. Walter N. Butler is said to have been married to Caroline, one of the two daughters born to Sir William Johnson by Caroline Peters, mentioned on page 278, Vol. I. Captain Butler figures as a character in the recent works of fiction by Robert W. Chambers entitled "Cardigan" and "The Reckoning."

Maj. John Butler continued to make his headquarters at Fort Niagara during the remaining years of the Revolutionary War, and he figures prominently in several events described in the following pages. Upon the disbandment of the "Rangers," he settled with his family upon a large tract of land near Niagara (the present Niagara-on-the-Lake). Cruikshank says that "Butler's personal influence increased with the flight of time. He was universally regarded as the mainstay of the settlement [at Niagara], and an acknowledged authority on all matters concerning it. Until the formation of the Province of Upper Canada, he served as Judge of the District Court, and continued to perform the responsible and difficult duties of Deputy Superintendent of the Indians until his death."

By an Act of the British Parliament passed in 1784, Commissioners were immediately sent to Canada, Nova Scotia, and elsewhere, to take the testimony of various British subjects (the late Loyalists) relative to their claims for losses sustained during the Revolutionary War by reason of their loyalty to the King. These Commissioners were engaged in their work for several years, and all the original claims and memorials presented to them, and the affidavits and depositions made in support of the same, are now preserved in London.

In 1784 or '85 "Lieut. Col. John Butler, [then] upon the King's service at Niagara, in the Province of Quebec," filed his "Memorial" with the aforementioned Commissioners, and in March, 1786, went to London to prosecute his claim. While he was there Sir Guy Carleton wrote in his behalf to the Commissioners, and stated that Butler was "*very modest and shy.*" In his "Memorial" and subsequent testimony (see "Stephens' Transcripts—American Loyalists," XLIII : 635) Butler set forth, among other things: "That as early as May, 1775, he was compelled to leave his home at Butlersbury on account of his loyalty. That at that time he owned four negro slaves, twenty-five horses, sixty black cattle, sixty sheep and forty-five hogs. That in the Autumn of 1775 he was sent by General Carleton to Niagara, intrusted with the direction of the Indian nations, which he conducted to the entire satisfaction of His Excellency, who was afterwards pleased to allow your memorialist to raise a Corps of Rangers, first of eight companies, with the rank of Major, and afterwards of ten companies with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel; and with whom he has often fought the enemy, particularly at Wyoming in the year 1778, upon their own terms, when 376 of them fell. That by an Act of the State of New York, passed in October, 1779, your Memorialist's person is attainted and his estate, real and personal, forfeited to the use of that State." In conclusion, Butler threw himself "on the beneficence of the Government," and, having incurred a total loss of his property, claimed £9,611, 3s. 1d.

With his claim Butler filed a certificate dated May 7, 1785, and signed by Sir Frederick Haldimand, who had become Governor of Quebec in July, 1778. Haldimand declared that when he assumed the duties of his office he found Butler "charged with the direction and management of the Six Nation Indians. And in justice to Colonel Butler I further certify, from the testimonies of the officers who commanded the District of the Upper Country, that it is my opinion the decided part which the Six (and consequently the other) Indian Nations took in favor of the King's Government, was in a great measure effected by the laborious and unremitting exertions of his [Butler's] influence with that people. And that his services, as well in the field as in the management of Indian affairs, having been uniformly zealous, brave and judicious, have deservedly obtained my fullest testimonies of approbation." A certificate similar in form and matter to the foregoing, signed by Brig. Gen. Allen Macklean, was also filed by Colonel Butler. The latter declared that he had been in the military service of the Government from May, 1775, till June, 1784, and that his "services were conspicuous and meritorious." That the first time he began to enlist men was in the Fall of 1777, and that he completed his corps in 1778—having raised fully 500 men. That in 1786 he enjoyed "the half-pay of a Lieutenant Colonel, and a salary of £200 a year as an Agent in the Indian Department." Colonel Butler was ultimately allowed £5,400 in satisfaction of his claim.

Colonel Butler died in May, 1796, at his home near the present town of Niagara-on-the-Lake; and in St. Mark's Church in that town a memorial tablet of marble bears the following inscription:

"FEAR GOD AND HONOUR THE KING.

"In Memory of Col. JOHN BUTLER, His Majesty's Commissioner for Indian Affairs, born in New London, Connecticut, 1728. His life was spent honourably in the service of the Crown. In the war with France for the conquest of Canada he was distinguished at the battle of Lake George, September, 1755, at the siege of Fort Niagara, and its capitulation 25th July, 1759. In the war of 1776 he took up arms in defence of the unity of the Empire, and raised and commanded the Royal American Regiment of Butler's Rangers. A sincere Christian, as well as a brave soldier, he was one of the founders and the first patron of this Parish. He died at Niagara, May, 1796, and is interred in the family burying-ground near this town.

"Erected in 1880."

Colonel Butler's son, Johnson Butler, commanded a Canadian regiment of militia in the War of 1812, but died before the conclusion of the war. A daughter of Colonel Butler married ——— Muirhead, and a daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Muirhead became the wife of Sir William Buell Richards, of Ottawa, sometime Chief Justice of the Dominion of Canada.

In many of the early accounts of the battle of Wyoming printed in newspapers, magazines and histories, it was stated that Major (afterwards Lieutenant Colonel) John Butler and Lieut. Col. Zebulon Butler, who respectively commanded the British and American forces, were cousins. Edmund D. Griffin of New York, a son of George Griffin (mentioned in a subsequent chapter) and a grandson of Col. Zebulon Butler, wrote about 1817 (see his "Life," I : 17) as follows: "Marshall says that John Butler, the commander of the Indians, was the cousin of Col. Zebulon Butler. But this is false. My blood boils in my veins, when I know that a stranger, a man not at all acquainted with Wyoming or its inhabitants, should presume to call so cruel a traitor as John Butler the cousin of my grandfather, for there was not even a most distant relationship between them." The Hon. W. W. Potter, a Representative in Congress from Pennsylvania, declared on the floor of the House April 12, 1838, with reference to the battle of Wyoming (see the *Wyoming Republican and Farmer's Herald*, May 23, 1838), "The two Butlers were neither relatives nor connexions. The one was descended from an Irish ancestry, and the other from an English stock." Judge, formerly Colonel, Matthias Hollenback of Wilkes-Barre, who took part in the battle of Wyoming, and whose business as a merchant and trader in later years took him to western New York and Canada, stated in writing in the year 1820: "I know that Col. Zebulon Butler was not a cousin of Col. John Butler, the commander of the enemy's forces, for I have heard them both say so." (See Judge Hollenback's statement, in full, in Chapter XV.)

Johnson—the office of Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, with the rank, or title, of Colonel.

Colonel Butler repaired to Fort Niagara without delay. His instructions from the Governor merely directed him to preserve the good will of the Indians, and retain them in an attitude of absolute neutrality. "This alone," states Maj. Ernest Cruikshank in his carefully-written and interesting pamphlet entitled "The Story of Butler's Rangers", "proved a task of supreme difficulty, as the country of the Six Nations was already overrun with spies and emissaries in the service of the [Continental] Congress, of whom the missionaries Crosby and [Samuel] Kirkland, and the interpreter, [James] Dean, were the most zealous and influential. They had even begun to plan the capture of Niagara, where there was a sufficient quantity of military stores to tempt an attack. The confidence of the Indians was greatly shaken by the successful invasion of Canada, which was continually being trumpeted in their ears by these men."

About the middle of January, 1776, through the medium of Indian runners, Butler sent out from Niagara to the Deputy Agents at Fort Pitt and elsewhere notice that he had been "appointed to the care and charge of the Indian Department, in Colonel Johnson's absence." Under the date of February 29, 1776, he notified the same officials that Johnson had desired him to write them to meet him (Butler) at Niagara; "and," he wrote, "it is Colonel Caldwell's orders and mine that you attend a meeting we propose to hold at Niagara the beginning of next May."* Major Cruikshank states that "there is conclusive evidence that he [Butler] faithfully obeyed his instructions, and 'spoke to them [the Indians] of nothing but peace', until March, 1776, when he received a message requiring him to send down a body of warriors to assist in the reconquest of the Province. In this task he was quite successful. A hundred of the Senecas and Cayugas readily consented to go to Montreal to open a passage for traders and to 'make a path' for Colonel Johnson, whom they expected to return at that time. At Oswegatchie† they were joined by an equal number of Mississaugas, assembled from the north shore of Lake Ontario, and a small party of the 8th Regiment. The advanced post of the Americans at the Cedars surrendered to them. This sudden diversion contributed materially to force the enemy out of Montreal, and Butler felt, not unreasonably, that no small share of credit was due himself as the organizer of the expedition."

Early in April, 1776, Butler sent messengers to the Indians in the neighborhood of Fort Pitt (now Pittsburg, Pennsylvania), and at certain places along the Ohio River, and elsewhere, desiring them to attend a treaty to be held at Fort Niagara. Cruikshank says that Butler labored steadily to strengthen his influence among the Indians. He quietly established agents in the principal Indian towns in New York and northern and western Pennsylvania, to collect intelligence and keep the Indians in good humor. One of the ablest of these was William Caldwell, a young adventurer belonging to a good family in Philadelphia, who had assisted a number of British officers to escape from the hands of their American captors, and safely guided them through the wilderness to Niagara. Among others Cruikshank names John Johnston, an

* See "American Archives," Fourth Series, V : 818.

† Near the present town of Ogdensburg, St. Lawrence County, New York.

Oneida trader of much experience, and William and Peter Johnson, half-breed sons of Sir William Johnson by his common-law wife, Caroline Peters. At the same time a steady, although slender, tide of fugitive Loyalists from the border settlements of New York and Pennsylvania was setting in towards Niagara.

At Lake George, New York, under the date of June 8, 1776, the Rev. Samuel Kirkland (previously mentioned) wrote to Brig. Gen. Philip Schuyler as follows*:

"I left the Oneida country May 29th. The Oneidas and Tuscaroras have expressed great concern on account of Col. [John] Butler's growing strength and influence at Niagara. He has, by threats and proffers, prevailed upon the greater part of the Senecas, Cayugas and Onondagas to renounce the cause of the Colonies and engage on the King's side. By the last accounts from Niagara upwards of one hundred have enlisted in the King's service, and are now acting against us. The war-hatchet has been sent to the Chippewas and Ottawas. Should Colonel Butler get reinforcements at Niagara, with a supply of provisions, our Indian friends say our frontiers will soon feel his resentment—particularly the back parts of New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia. * * *

"The Indians are now generally of the opinion that it is impracticable for them to continue much longer in a state of neutrality, and that it has now become necessary for the Commissioners [of Indian Affairs] to call upon the Six Nations and demand who are friends and who are not!"

About a month after the receipt of the foregoing letter General Schuyler proceeded from Albany to German Flats† to hold the conference, or treaty, with the Six Nations referred to on page 926. He reached his destination July 16, 1776, before the arrival of the Indians, and the next day wrote to the Hon. John Hancock, President of the Continental Congress, concerning a certain Albany trader who had "been detained at Niagara" since the preceding year "on a well-grounded suspicion of his affection to the American cause." He had found means to escape, however, and, accompanied by twenty-one Seneca warriors, arrived at German Flats almost simultaneously with Schuyler. He had left Niagara June 27th, and on his journey to the Mohawk River had tarried ten days in some of the Seneca villages. As to the information given by this trader to General Schuyler, the latter wrote as follows‡:

"The garrison at Niagara consists of about 200 men; that the fort is well repaired; that they were not under any apprehensions of a visit from us; that Colonel Butler (the Crown Agent) had frequently attempted to engage the Indians against us; that they constantly refused to comply, greatly commending us for recommending neutrality to them, and severely reprimanding him (Butler) for some scurrility thrown out against us. That a Seneca sachem, *Cajaghsada*,§ from some town towards the Ohio|| (a man of great influence, and much respected by all the nations), in a long speech inveighed bitterly against Butler for attempting to make the Indians parties to the war; that this man opened the eyes of the Indians to their true interest; that the few Indians that went down to Canada had been kept drunk for some time before, and went contrary to the inclinations of the sachems of all the Six Nations. That the Council at Onondaga¶ had sent a sachem of note express to Niagara to bring away two sachems whom Butler, by dint of money and liquor, has kept about him all this Spring."

At German Flats, under the date of August 1, 1776, General Schuyler wrote to President Hancock at Philadelphia as follows**:

"Yesterday some of the Cayugas arrived and the remainder are expected to-day. The Senecas will be here to-morrow. There are about 1,200 Indians here—men, women and children."

Joseph Brant—who in 1775 had been chosen to the office of Senior Chief of the Iroquois Confederacy, to succeed King Hendrick, who had

* See "American Archives," Fourth Series, V : 764.

† A noted fertile tract of country stretching for some fifty miles along either bank of the upper Mohawk, but nowhere more than two miles in width.

‡ See "American Archives," Fifth Series, I : 395.

§ This may have been *Takeghsatu*, or *Sagechsadou*, mentioned on pages 277 and 379, Vol. I.

|| He was from the neighborhood of Fort Pitt.

¶ See page 117, Vol. I.

** See "American Archives," Fifth Series, I : 715.

died some twenty years previously—went to England in November, 1775, as noted on pages 299 and 927. His observations, while there, thoroughly convinced him of the great power of England; and this conviction was intensified by the successes of the British (which he witnessed) at and in the vicinity of the city of New York in September, 1776. At that time there was no one among the Six Nations who could compare with Brant in native energy, talents and education. He entertained dreams of a great Indian Confederacy, to be independent of, but united in alliance with, the English, and as soon as possible after his return from England he made his way from the city of New York to the country of the Six Nations. His fiery eloquence stirred the Indians wherever he went, and when he arrived at Fort Niagara in December, 1776, he had already obtained many assurances of active support. Thenceforth Brant was, in many particulars, the acknowledged head of the Six Nations.

In the Spring of 1776 Sir John Johnson (see last paragraph, page 299, Vol. I) was still residing at Johnson Hall. At that time a large number of Highlanders from Scotland were established on the Johnson estates as tenants. To the peaceful German farmers of the neighborhood they seemed a rude, fierce, quarrelsome race, constantly wearing dirk and broadsword, and much given over to superstition and strange practises. Accordingly, when early in 1776 the local Whig Committee of Inspection announced that Sir John Johnson had fortified his home and surrounded himself with a body of Roman Catholic Highlanders for its defense, they could not have appealed to the inhabitants in a more effective way. Surrounded by his tenants, and strong in local influence, Sir John ventured to set the Committee of Inspection at defiance, and secretly began to form a regiment of guards for the support of the King's cause. His intentions being suspected, General Schuyler marched to Johnson Hall with a large force of troops early in 1776, disarmed Sir John and all his friends and tenants without firing a shot, and forced Sir John to sign a parole and enter into bonds for its observance. About the middle of May, 1776, learning that the Whig authorities had determined to make him a prisoner and remove the entire body of Highlanders from the country, Sir John concluded to flee to Canada. Montreal was still in the hands of the Americans, but it was rumored that a British fleet and army were ascending the St. Lawrence. Hastily assembling about 130 Highlanders and nearly 120 other men of the vicinity who were Loyalists, Sir John set out for Oswegatchie,* guided by a few Mohawks. Within a short time his company was increased by Canadians and Indians to 500, and they arrived at Montreal the day after Governor Carleton had recovered possession of it.

A few days after Sir John Johnson's departure from Johnson Hall his wife, Lady Johnson, who, with her children, had remained behind, received a letter from John Butler at Fort Niagara, addressed to Sir John, acquainting the latter that he (Butler) had, "agreeable to Col. Guy Johnson's instructions, assembled a considerable body of Indians to go on service, and only waited to receive orders to proceed." After the flight of Sir John Johnson and his friends, the Loyalists who remained behind were made very uncomfortable by the Whigs. Johnson Hall was converted into a barrack, and the contents either carried off or destroyed. Lady Johnson and Mrs. John Butler (who were sisters), with

* See "American Archives," Fifth Series, I : 866.

their children, were removed to Albany as hostages, together with the families of most of the Highlanders and other refugees. Of Guy Johnson's house only the walls were left standing.

On July 29, 1776, Col. Guy Johnson arrived in New York harbor from England, and joined the British forces on Staten Island, whence he wrote on the 9th of August to Lord George Germain (see page 605, Vol. I) as follows:

"This moment an inhabitant of the Mohawk River has found means to reach our camp, and informs that he heard that Sir John Johnson had reached General Burgoyne; that a Colonel Dayton, with 600 men, was repairing Fort Stanwix; that General Schuyler had opened a Congress at the German Flats, but that only some of the Oneidas and Oghwagas attended it; and adds that the rebels had carried off my negroes, &c., and demolished everything on my estate. The Indians that attended Schuyler have been long under the influence of New England missionaries, and I found some difficulty with them last year."

In the heart of the Mohawk Valley was the remnant of the Mohawk tribe of the Six Nations, narrowly watched by the Americans, but ready to obey the summons of Johnson or Butler. Joseph Brant did not dare to approach nearer to them than Onondaga, and more than one letter written by him to them to prepare them for flight was intercepted. About that time, states Major Cruikshank, "the Americans began to concoct schemes for kidnapping Butler. At the general council of the Confederacy *Sangerachta*,* principal war-chief of the Senecas, publicly accused the Oneidas of having entertained such a proposal, and asserted that General Schuyler had promised them \$250. for Butler's scalp or person." The minds of most of the New York Indians continued unsettled and wavering to the end of the year 1776. It was generally supposed that they would ultimately join the party they believed most likely to succeed, and it was admitted on both sides that it would be almost impossible to keep them neutral much longer.

In September, 1776, a council was held at Fort Niagara with representatives of the Six Nations and certain western tribes. Lieut. Colonel Caldwell presided, and the Indians present determined to take up arms against the Americans. In the following November Lieut. Colonel Caldwell was succeeded by Lieut. Col. Mason Bolton as commandant of Fort Niagara. Refugees continued to arrive at Fort Niagara from the Mohawk, states Major Cruikshank,† "many of them being persons of influence; and during the Winter [of 1776-77] a Mr. Depue‡ brought letters from seventy inhabitants of the Susquehanna, announcing their wish to enlist as scouts, or 'rangers', under Butler's command. He had already encouraged them to join him at Niagara."

Under the date of March 26, 1777, Lord George Germain (previously mentioned), the British Secretary of State for the Colonies, wrote from Whitehall Palace, London, to Governor Carleton at Quebec as follows§:

"The proposal to send parties of Indians to Virginia and Pennsylvania has been maturely weighed. It is His Majesty's resolution that the most vigorous efforts should be made, and every means employed that Providence has put into His Majesty's hands, for crushing the rebellion and restoring the Constitution. It is the King's command that you should direct Lieut. Governor Hamilton|| to assemble as many of the Indians of his district as he conveniently can; and, placing a proper person at their head to conduct

* SAYENQUERAGHTA, mentioned on page 437. Vol. I.

† In "The Story of Butler's Rangers," page 34.

‡ JOHN DE PUE, mentioned on pages 874 and 919. See deposition of the Athertons on page 922 for reference to a "list" of Susquehanna Tories.

§ See "B. M. 21.698" in the "Haldimand Papers," mentioned in the next chapter.

|| Whose headquarters were at Detroit, in what is now the State of Michigan.

their parties and restrain them from committing violence on the well-affected, inoffensive inhabitants, employ them *in making a diversion and exciting an alarm* on the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania. And, as there is good ground to believe there are considerable numbers of loyal subjects in those parts, who would gladly embrace an opportunity of delivering themselves from the tyranny and oppression of the rebel *comites**, it is His Majesty's pleasure that you do authorize and direct Lieut. Governor Hamilton to invite all such loyal subjects to join him, and to assure them of the same pay and allowances as are given to His Majesty's other corps raised in America; and that such of them as shall continue to serve His Majesty until the rebellion is suppressed and peace restored, shall each receive His Majesty's bounty of 200 acres of land."

Lord Germain closed his letter with the hope that the aforementioned offers would enable Hamilton to extend his operations and compel the rebels to weaken the main army, facilitate operations in other quarters, and "restore those deluded people to their former happiness and prosperity."

Upon the receipt of the foregoing letter at Quebec in May, 1777, the policy of Governor Carleton, with reference to the employment of Indians in the war then well under way, underwent a very considerable change, and June 5, 1777, John Butler at Fort Niagara received a letter from the Governor directing him to collect as many Indians as possible and join Lieut. Col. Barry St. Leger—acting Brigadier General—who had orders to advance from Montreal against Fort Schuyler, formerly known as Fort Stanwix. The whole force of the expedition was to be assembled at Oswego about the last of July, 1777; and in the meantime Col. Guy Johnson summoned a Grand Council of the Six Nations to meet there at that time. There was a pretty full attendance at the Council, but a large number of the chiefs adhered faithfully to the covenant of neutrality made with General Schuyler at German Flats in August, 1776, as previously mentioned. *Sayenqueraghta*, the Seneca chief previously mentioned, arrived at Oswego with about 200 men of his nation, and Joseph Brant headed about as many more warriors gathered from several tribes. Col. Daniel Claus arrived from England with a commission appointing him superintendent of all the Indians who should be employed in the Fort Schuyler expedition. Carleton was compelled to ratify the appointment, but he requested John Butler to act as second in command—which he did, thus serving under his personal enemy.

Colonel Johnson represented to the Indians at the Oswego conference† "that the soldiers of the King were as numerous as the leaves of the forest; that the rum of the King was as abundant as the waters of Lake Ontario, and that if the Indians would become his allies during the war they should never want goods or money. Tawdry articles, such as scarlet cloths, beads, and trinkets, were displayed and presented to the Indians, which pleased them greatly, and they concluded an alliance by binding themselves to take up the hatchet against the patriots and continue their warfare until they were subdued. To each man was then presented a brass kettle, a suit of clothes, a gun, a tomahawk, a scalping-knife, a piece of gold, a quantity of ammunition, and a promise of *a bounty on every scalp he should bring in.*"

Fort Schuyler was besieged August 2, 1777, and a few days later the battle of Oriskany was fought, as narrated in the note on page 448, Vol. I. Both John and Walter N. Butler participated in the siege and battle.

* The plural of the Latin word *comes*, and meaning "companions" or "associators."

† See W. Max Reid's "The Mohawk Valley," page 262.

Colonel Hornbeck, in command of one of the frontier posts, or districts, of the Americans in New York, examined on August 23, 1777, shortly after the battle of Oriskany, a certain J. Osterhout, Jr., and "Nicholas", an Indian, who had just come from "the Indian country". They deposed as follows:

"That the Indians have abandoned the Kookhouse, and are all moved back as far as Oghwaga or Coletien, being afraid of the people of Esopus and Minisink, as said Indians had received information before they moved that 2,000 men were coming up to destroy them. * * That the most part of the young Indians were gone to join Butler at Fort Stanwix, and the wife of the Chief Sachem of the Five Nations had made a request to the sachems that all the Five Nations should be desired at once to hold themselves neutral in the present contest or war—which request was granted her. Whereupon the Chief Sachem should immediately request the said Five Nations to stop their hostile measures and come in again with those that have hitherto been still; and if the young Indians should refuse to return, but continue with Butler in the war, then the Sachem offers to be at peace and continue in friendship with the people at Esopus, Minisink, Papaschunk, Cushetunk, Wyamock [Wyoming], and all settlements to the southward thereof, so that war should only be to the North; and if any of their young men should be killed to the North, they should not mind it or break friendship; and if any of our men should go in the war to the North and be killed, we should likewise not mind the same, or break friendship.

"An Indian is sent with Osterhout and 'Nicholas' by the Chief Sachem to Colonel Hornbeck to see how times are with him, and to desire of said Hornbeck that a correspondence may be kept with Esopus people and the sachems, notwithstanding the war to the North; and that once every three or four weeks a man may pass and repass between them, so that the women and children may be at peace and their work on both sides; that the road on the side of the Indians shall be constantly open for us safely to come to them and return. The Oneida Indians are heartily in favour of America, and very likely a war will soon break out between them and the other nations."

Colonel Hornbeck forwarded the foregoing information to Governor Clinton of New York, who laid it before the Council of Safety for the State of New York at Kingston, in Ulster County, September 3, 1777, when that body immediately took the following action:

"In the opinion of the Council the message from the Indians of Oneoghquage [Oghwaga], which has been laid before them by the Governor, is an insult to this State, and that it is inconsistent with the honor and interest of the State to consider them in a state of neutrality while their warriors are engaged against us.

"*Resolved*, That it will be proper for his Excellency to inform the aforesaid Indians that unless their warriors are called in and return immediately, the said Indians will be considered and treated as open enemies.

"*Resolved*, That the Governor be empowered to take into pay such of the Indian warriors as may choose to enter the service of the State.

"*Resolved*, That the Oneida Nation are the allies of this State, and that we shall consider any attack upon them as an attack upon our own people."

In transmitting the foregoing resolutions to Colonel Hornbeck, to be forwarded to the Indians concerned, Governor Clinton wrote*:

"I am sorry to find that those Indians, regardless of former treaties and forgetful of the kindness we have always manifested towards them, have unprovokedly joined Butler and our other enemies, attacked our forts and inhabitants to the northward, and given the enemy every other assistance in their power to conquer the country. It is not to be wondered that, after such breach of faith, and daring insults on the part of the Indians, that they should leave their habitations and move back, lest the injured inhabitants of the State should take that revenge upon them and their families which their perfidy and cruelty would justly warrant.

"I am to desire you will inform the Indian who brought the proposals above referred to, that such of our young men as are in the war to the northward were sent there to defend our forts and protect that part of the country against the English; that it was not their design to fight Indians, as they had no right to expect that any would have come against them; that the young Indians and warriors who had joined Butler went there designedly to fight and kill our people and to assist the English; that we cannot, therefore, consider the fathers and mothers of those young Indians as our friends, as it is natural for them to wish well to their own children, and to assist them; and unless those warriors shall be immediately called in, we must consider the nations they belong to our open enemies, and treat them as such.

* See "Public Papers of George Clinton," II:271.

"You will likewise inform the said Indians that the apprehensions they labored under, of our having sent a body of men against them, must have arose from a consciousness of the injuries they had done us in fighting against us, as there never were any men ordered out to hurt the Indians. We chose first to let them know that we were not ignorant of their conduct, but at the same time to give them opportunity of repenting of it and of giving security for their future friendship and peaceable behavior towards us, in which case we might still live in peace and friendship with them, as we do with the Oneida and other nations who we consider as our friends and allies. Tell the Indians that if their young men are fond of fighting, and choose to be in the war, that they can come and join us (who are their brethren, born in the same country) against our common enemies, and we will pay them as we do our own young men who go out and fight for us. The Indians may see what reliance is to be put on the promises of Butler and his friends, by the shameful manner they have fled from Fort Stanwix, leaving their cannon, tents, ammunition, and even their provisions, behind them; though they boasted they would take that fort and proceed to Albany in a short time, and that our people dare not fight them."

After the battle of Oriskany, and the withdrawal of St. Leger and his troops to Montreal, John Butler proceeded to Quebec to settle his accounts as Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs. He took with him *Sayenqueraghta*, the Seneca chief previously mentioned, and two other chiefs of importance, who were presented by him to Governor Carleton. At the same time Butler renewed to the Governor his proposal to raise a battalion of "Rangers," to serve with the Indians. To this Sir Guy readily consented, and under the date of September 15, 1777, wrote to Lieut. Colonel Bolton at Fort Niagara that he had furnished "Colonel Butler with beating orders and instructions for the enlistment of a corps of Rangers to serve with the Indians."

This corps was to comprise eight companies, each composed of one Captain, one Lieutenant, three Sergeants, three Corporals and fifty privates. Two of these companies were to be formed "of people speaking the language of the Indians, and acquainted with their customs and *manner of making war*." The remaining companies were "to be composed of people well acquainted with the woods, in consideration of the fatigues" they would be liable to undergo. The enlisted men were to receive two shillings a day, and all members of the corps were required to clothe and arm themselves entirely at their own expense. Two shillings per day was considered extremely high pay, and it was subsequently estimated by Governor Haldimand that the eight companies of the "Rangers" cost the Government as much as twenty companies of regular infantry.

On the same day that Butler received his "beating orders" he was instructed by Sir Guy Carleton to march with such "Rangers" as he had already enlisted, or could enlist at once, and as large a body of Indians as could be collected without exposing their country to invasion, and form a junction with General Burgoyne's army. On his way to Niagara Butler received much discouraging information. Says Major Cruikshank (in "The Story of Butler's Rangers," page 38): "The Indians had protested warmly against the withdrawal of the British troops from Oswego, saying that they were being abandoned to their enemies contrary to the assurances they had received. Sickness prevailed to such an extent at Niagara that the garrison was reduced to seventy-five men fit for duty. Schuyler had promptly seized the opportune moment—when the Indians were still fuming with disappointment—and invited them to meet him at the German Flats, 'to settle what was past, and renew their former chain of friendship'; adding that he did 'not blame them for what had happened, but he had long ago told them that Colonel Butler would lead them to ruin.' He requested that

'they would deliver him [Butler] up, and not follow his wicked counsels any more.' He announced his intention of taking possession of Oswego, and declared that if he found that Butler had gone to Niagara, he would follow him thither, and if he had gone to Montreal, he would intercept him on his return.

"A letter from a trader at Niagara informed Butler that some of the Senecas were much displeased with him, and that the loyal chiefs were alarmed and anxious for his speedy return. At the same time Claus and Johnson were steadily endeavoring to undermine his influence by every means within their reach. They criticised his actions with undisguised rancor, and confidently predicted that he would not succeed in enlisting many rangers. Upon arriving at Carleton Island, at the foot of Lake Ontario, Butler learned that the Oneidas, Onondagas and Tuscaroras had actually accepted the hatchet tendered them by General Schuyler, and had proved their hostility by making prisoners of some Loyalists passing through their country. He had intended to proceed overland from Oswego to Niagara—passing through all the principal Indian villages on his way and engaging warriors for his proposed expedition. This design he was then forced to abandon as being too dangerous, and he went on by water. At Niagara he was overtaken by the astounding intelligence of the surrender of Burgoyne's whole army.* Consequently the movement he had been instructed to make was no longer practicable."

Meanwhile most of the refugee Loyalists who had enlisted under Butler for temporary service as rangers, or scouts, during the campaign of 1777, had marched overland to the Susquehanna under the command of James Secord, with orders to drive cattle from the settlements on the Susquehanna to Niagara for the maintenance of the garrison; but nothing had been heard from or of them. Butler's former agent, John De Pui, "again hurried to the Susquehanna to seek fresh recruits, and hasten the return of the rangers supposed to be there." Loyalists continued to arrive at Niagara, and by the middle of December, 1777, the first company of Butler's corps was completed. Under the date of December 14, 1777, Butler wrote from Niagara to Capt. Francis Le Maistre, "Deputy Adjutant General in Canada," at Quebec, to the effect that, as Governor Carleton had refused to sign commissions in blank, he (Butler) desired to know how he should proceed so as to secure suitable officers for the new corps; and would like to know, also, if he could employ officers to recruit for the corps. He wrote that he would be pleased to know what was to be his rank. He had flattered himself, he said, that he was "to be given the rank of Major in the army." He forwarded a muster-roll of officers and men so far as recruited for Walter Butler's company, and stated that he had "*sent to the frontiers of Pennsylvania* to bring up the rangers absent on leave, so as to complete the corps of Rangers as fast as possible." He also enclosed a list of officers recommended for commissions in two other companies of the corps, and stated that his son Thomas, "previously recommended for a commission," was at that time "a prisoner with the rebels."

On the same date Butler wrote to Governor Carleton,† informing him that his (Butler's) son and others were "still in irons, and cruelly

* On October 17, 1777, to General Gates, at Schuylerville, later Saratoga, New York.

† See the "Haldimand Papers," B. M. 21,765—CV:4.

treated"; that most of the Onondagas, Tuscaroras and Oneidas had been in the rebel interests and had "been taking prisoners from Burgoyne's troops," but by the advice of the Senecas and Cayugas he (Butler) had "sent a message to the disaffected Indians to bring in the axe immediately and deliver it up in the presence of Lieut. Colonel Bolton; and that none but real friends should attend the meeting. All the Onondaga and Tuscarora chiefs, with the greatest part of their young men, attended and delivered up the axe, and promised to follow only the advice received from the British. The whole of the Six Nations, except the Oneidas, are determined to act heartily. Many parties are now out. The operations will be chiefly on the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia."

About the middle of December, 1777, Lieut. Colonel Bolton, commandant at Fort Niagara, wrote to Adjutant General Le Maistre concerning the bad state of the fort generally. He also referred to the meeting of the "head-men" of the Indians which had been held there a short time before, and incidentally eulogized the character of John Butler. A few days later Governor Carleton issued commissions to Walter N. Butler (see note on page 930) and William Caldwell (mentioned on page 932) as Captains in Butler's corps, which then and thenceforth was designated and known as "Butler's Rangers"; and about that time it was ordered by Sir Guy Carleton that John Butler's rank as commander of the "Rangers" should be that of Major, and he was commissioned accordingly.

The defeat of the Indians at Fort Schuyler appeared to the Continental Congress to open the way for another formal conciliatory effort with respect to the inimical Indians—particularly of New York. With this view the Committee on Indian Affairs reported to the Congress December 3, 1777, a lengthy and carefully-drawn address from the American people to their "Brothers of the Six Nations." This document (printed in full in Schoolcraft's "History of the Indian Tribes of the United States"), while couched in terms suited to the comprehension of the Indians, at the same time appealed to their ancient pride and best interests—presenting, in a proper light, the principles by which they should be guided, and reviewing the grounds of controversy between the two powers. Certain paragraphs, addressed particularly to those tribes of the Six Nations who were known to be hostile to the Americans, read as follows:

"CAYUGAS, SENECAS, ONONDAGAS and MOHAWKS—Open your ears and hear our complaints. Why have you listened to the voice of our enemies? Why have you suffered Sir John Johnson and Butler to mislead you? Why have you assisted General St. Leger and his warriors from the other side of the great waters, by giving them a free passage through your country to annoy us? Why have you suffered so many of your nations to join them in their cruel purpose? * * What has been gained by this unprovoked treachery? What but shame and disgrace! Sorry are we to find that our ancient chain of union, heretofore so strong and bright, should be broken by such poor and weak instruments as Sir John Johnson and Butler, who dare not show their faces among their countrymen; and by St. Leger, a stranger, whom you never knew! What has become of the spirit, the wisdom, and the justice of your nations? Is it possible that you should barter away your ancient glory, and break through the most solemn treaties for a few blankets or a little rum or powder?"

To the friendly Oneidas and Tuscaroras the following words were addressed:

"Hearken to what we have to say to you in particular. It rejoices our hearts that we have no reason to reproach you in common with the rest of the Six Nations. We have experienced your love, strong as the oak, and your fidelity, unchangeable as truth. You

have kept fast hold of the ancient covenant chain, and preserved it free from rust and decay, and bright as silver. Like brave men, for glory you despised danger; you stood forth in the cause of your friends, and ventured your lives in our battles. While the sun and moon continue to give light to the world, we shall love and respect you. As our trusty friends, we shall protect you, and shall, at all times, consider your welfare as our own."^{*}

The address closed with the following appeal to all the tribes of the Iroquois Confederacy:

"BROTHERS OF THE SIX NATIONS—Open your ears and listen attentively. It is long ago that we explained to you our quarrel with the people on the other side of the great water. Remember that our cause is just; you and your forefathers have long seen us allied to those people in friendship. By our labor and industry they flourished like the trees of the forest, and became exceedingly rich and proud. At length nothing would satisfy them, unless, like slaves, we would give them the power over our whole substance. Because we would not yield to such shameful bondage, they took up the hatchet. You have seen them covering our coasts with their ships, and a part of our country with their warriors; but you have not seen us dismayed. On the contrary, you know that we have stood firm, like rocks, and fought like men who deserved to be free. You know that we have defeated St. Leger and conquered Burgoyne and all their warriors. * * Hearken to our counsel! Let us who were born on the same great continent love one another. Our interest is the same, and we ought to be one people—always ready to assist and serve each other. * * Let us then, from this moment, join hand and heart in the defence of our common country. Let us rise as one man, and drive away our cruel oppressors. Henceforward let none be able to separate us."

The repulse of St. Leger, the surrender of Burgoyne, and the glittering promises made to the Indians by the British authorities, still further increased the hostility of the Indians to the Americans, and so the overtures of the American Congress produced no change in the policy of the various hostile tribes. In public councils, as well as in private, their ears were being filled with reasonings and persuasions of a very different character from those contained in the address of Congress. They contrasted the resources of the British Government with those of the Thirteen States, struggling, as it were, in the grasp of a giant; and from that comparison drew the conclusion that, however courageous and resolute the Americans were in battle, they were few in numbers and lacking in means. It being a cardinal principle with the Indians to adhere to the strongest party, they remained unmoved by arguments which they hardly understood and refused to believe.

The best of the British leaders in America were opposed to employing the savages in or with their armies; but it was a pet project of General Tryon, the royal Governor of New York, to make use of the Indians wherever possible, and in the Spring of 1777 King George and his Ministers concluded to adopt the policy so strenuously urged by Tryon. The King's memorandum on the plan proposed for Burgoyne's campaign contained, in consequence, this sentence: "Indians must be employed, and this measure must be avowedly directed."

News of Burgoyne's surrender reached London December 3, 1777, and the same day Col. Isaac Barré rose in the House of Commons and, with a severe and solemn countenance, demanded of Lord George Germain what news he had received from America. Two days later, in the House of Lords, a motion was made for the production of Burgoyne's instructions. The Earl of Chatham was in his place and made a long and powerful speech on the subject. He said, among other things, that enough of the plans laid down for Burgoyne's campaign were known to

^{*} At an Indian treaty conducted by a commissioner of the United States at Oneida, New York, December 2, 1794, the following declaration was agreed to: "In the late war between Great Britain and the United States, a body of the Oneida, Tuscarora and Stockbridge Indians adhered faithfully to the United States, and assisted them with their warriors; and in consequence of this adherence and assistance the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, at an unfortunate period of the war, were driven from their homes, and their houses were burnt."

justify him in affirming that the measures for that campaign were founded in weakness, barbarity and inhumanity. Savages had been employed to carry ruin and devastation among British subjects in America; the tomahawk and scalping-knife had been put into the hands of the most brutal and ferocious of the human species! Referring to Burgoyne, he paid that General some very high compliments—saying his abilities were confessed, his personal bravery not surpassed, his zeal in the service unquestionable.* Turning again to the matter of the employment of Indians in warfare, he dwelt upon the horror of the scalping-knife and the tomahawk, saying that if he had been serving in the army he believed he would rather have mutinied than consent to act with such barbarians—that such a mode of warfare was a *pollution of the national character*, which all the waters of the rivers Delaware and Hudson would never wash away! Continuing, Chatham said:

“I cannot, my Lords, I will not, join in congratulation on misfortune and disgrace. This is a perilous and tremendous moment. * * It is now necessary to instruct the Throne in the language of truth. * * But yesterday, and England might have stood against the world; now, none so poor as to do her reverence! * * The desperate state of our army abroad is in part known. No man more highly esteems and honors the English troops than I do; I know their virtues and their valor; I know they can achieve anything but impossibilities; and I know that the conquest of English America is an impossibility. You cannot, my Lords, you cannot conquer America! * * Who is the man that, in addition to the disgraces and mischiefs of the war, has dared to authorize and associate to our arms the tomahawk and scalping-knife of the savage? To call into civilized alliance the wild and inhuman inhabitants of the woods? To delegate to the merciless Indian the defense of disputed rights, and to wage the horrors of his barbarous war against our brethren? My Lords, these enormities cry aloud for redress and punishment.

“This barbarous measure has been defended, not only on the principles of policy and necessity, but also on those of morality; ‘for it is perfectly allowable’, says Lord Suffolk, ‘to use all the means which God and Nature have put into our hands.’† I am astonished, I am shocked, to hear such principles confessed; to hear them avowed in this House or in this country. * * What ideas of God and Nature that noble Lord may entertain, I know not; but I know that such detestable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity. * * * Spain can no longer boast pre-eminence in barbarity. She armed herself with bloodhounds to extirpate the wretched natives of Mexico; we, more ruthless, loose those brutal warriors against our countrymen in America, endeared to us by every tie that can sanctify humanity. I solemnly call upon your Lordships, and upon every order of men in the State, to stamp upon this infamous procedure the indelible stigma of the public abhorrence.”

Chatham next moved for copies of all instructions relative to the employment of Indians in conjunction with the British troops. In opposing the motion Lord Gower asserted that Chatham himself had employed savages in America during the French and English war. The dispute grew hot on both sides, and at length General Amherst, who had commanded the British and Colonial troops in that war (see pages 297 and 298, Vol. I), was so loudly appealed to on all sides that he found himself compelled to acknowledge that he had followed the example of the French in employing savages, which he would not have done without *express orders from the Government at home.*‡

* In connection with this read Burke's comments on Burgoyne, and the Indians in the service of the British, referred to on page 607, Vol. I.

† See letter from Lord George Germain to Sir Guy Carleton, on page 935.

‡ In the matter of European nations using Indians in war against the whites, the Hon. Albert Gallatin wrote in 1836: “Instead of exerting their influence in assuaging the passions of the Indians and in promoting peace among them, the European Governments, intent only on the acquisition of territory and power, encouraged their natural propensities. Both France and England courted a disgraceful alliance with savages; and both, under the usual pleas of self-defense and retaliation, armed them against the defenseless inhabitants of the other party. The sack of Schenectady, the desolation of the island of Montreal, the murdering expeditions on the frontiers of New England, are related by the respective historians with indifference, if not with exultation. No scruple was felt in including all the Indian tribes to carry on against America their usual warfare, and to desolate, without discrimination of age or sex, the whole extent of a frontier of 1,200 miles during the seven years of the War for Independence.”

In the Winter of 1777-'78 Fort Niagara became the active headquarters of the Indian superintendency, and the rendezvous for the marauding and scalping parties of Indians which were organized to make incursions upon the defenseless border settlements of Pennsylvania and New York. At Niagara most of the war-parties were formed, supplied and equipped. Thither they also returned to report their successes or failures—bringing their prisoners with them to pass through the terrible ordeal of the gantlet; and there, likewise, they received the rewards for the scalps they had taken. Samuel DeVeaux, writing* of the conditions at Fort Niagara in the years 1777-'83, said:

"It was the headquarters of all that was barbarous, unrelenting and cruel. There were congregated the leaders and chiefs of those bands of murderers and miscreants who carried death and destruction into the remote American settlements. There civilized Europe reveled with savage America, and ladies of education and refinement mingled in the society of those whose only distinction was to wield the tomahawk and the bloody scalping-knife. There were the squaws of the forest raised to eminence, and the most unholy alliances between them and officers of the highest rank smiled upon and countenanced. There, from this stronghold, like a nest of vultures, securely for seven years, they sallied forth and preyed upon the distant settlements of the Mohawk and Susquehanna valleys. It was the depot of their plunder; there they planned their forays, and there they returned to feast until the time for action should come again."

"When the Winter of 1777-'78 came on", states Halsey in "The Old New York Frontier," "the main body of Indians and Tories had retired from Oswego to Niagara, but a considerable number of Indians remained to spend that season in Unadilla and Oghwaga." Cruikshank (in "The Story of Butler's Rangers") declares that "during the Winter [of 1777-'78] the Senecas carefully abstained from molesting the frontier of New York until they found an opportunity of removing such of their friends as might be exposed to retaliation, when, they told Butler, they meant 'to strike in a body.'"

In December, 1778, six full companies of "Rangers" were assembled at Fort Niagara to receive their clothing, and then they went into Winter quarters in an isolated range of log buildings which had been constructed under Major Butler's supervision during the Autumn on the west side of the river, in what is now Niagara-on-the-Lake. These buildings (still standing) were thenceforth known as the "Rangers' Barracks".† The uniform selected for the "Rangers" was of dark green cloth, trimmed with scarlet; with a low, flat cap, having a brass plate in front bearing the letters "G. R.",‡ in monogram, encircled by the words "Butler's Rangers." It was intended that the corps should be armed with rifles, but, as each of the "Rangers" was expected to provide his own gun, there were all sorts of fire-arms in use among them. In the latter part of December, 1778, Governor Haldimand informed Major Butler that all matters relating to the "Rangers" and the Indian Department had been placed in charge of Lieut. Colonel Bolton; that all the accounts for the maintenance of the "Rangers" must pass through Bolton's hands; that the corps should be mustered, and the large expenses connected with its maintenance should be explained, and that "bounty" could not be allowed to the men enlisting in the corps. In April, 1779, Lord George Germain, in an official communication§ to Governor Haldimand, approved of the conduct of Maj. John Butler and his

* In "The Falls of Niagara", published in 1839.

† At Niagara, March 8, 1779, Maj. John Butler drew on Governor Haldimand for payment of the expense incurred in "building barracks for the 'Rangers' and distressed families."

‡ GEORGIUS REX ("King George").

§ See the "Haldimand Papers", B. M. 21,710—L.12.

son Capt. Walter N. Butler in their various incursions and forays against the Americans during the preceding year. Haldimand wrote Butler that he regarded the assistance of the Indians as indispensable as ever. "I am confident," he said, "that no pains or trouble will be spared on your part to keep the different tribes in the humor of acting for the service of the Crown, and that every argument will be made use of by you to convince them how severely they would feel the contrary behavior."

In September, 1779, Captains Walter N. Butler, William Caldwell, John McDonnel and Peter Hare, "doing duty with the Rangers", addressed a memorial to Major Butler—which was forwarded by him to Governor Haldimand—asking that a Captain be appointed to each company of the corps. Late in the Summer of 1779 Col. Guy Johnson arrived at Niagara and assumed control of the Indian Department.* Major Butler continued to act as his Deputy. At Quebec, under the date of January 28, 1780, Governor Haldimand wrote to Lord George Germain relative to the unfitness of Colonel Johnson for the office of Indian Superintendent. He stated, in plain terms, that the good effected by the Five Nations was "due to Major Butler, Colonel Caldwell, Joseph Brant" and certain other officers, Johnson having neglected his duty.†

Under the date of February 12, 1780, Governor Haldimand wrote to Major Butler that he had taken upon himself the responsibility of naming him (Butler) "a Provincial Lieutenant Colonel." He stated, also, that he was "sensible of Captain [Walter N.] Butler's zeal and activity," but could not promote him "over the heads of so many officers of merit and long standing as" were connected with the army in his Department. Two days later John Butler was commissioned "Lieutenant Colonel of the Rangers." He desired to have a Major and an Adjutant appointed and commissioned for his corps, but Haldimand declined his request, saying: "Rangers are in general separated, and the nature of their service little requires the forms of parade or the manœuvres practised in the field. It is the duty, and I am persuaded will be the pleasure, of every Captain to perfect his company in dispersing and forming expeditiously, priming and loading carefully, and levelling well. These, with personal activity and alertness, are all the qualities that are effective or can be wished for in a ranger."

In the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, XXXI:12, there is printed a roster of "Butler's Rangers." It bears no date, but may be presumed to have been made up in 1780, or early in 1781. The following-named appear as Captains: Peter Hare, John McDonnel, Benjamin Pawling, A. Thompson, Walter N. Butler and William Caldwell. Among the names of the other officers, and among those of the privates, are to be found the following, recognized as names of former inhabitants of the town of Westmoreland. Jesse Pawling, Quartermaster; Benjamin Pawling‡, James Secord, Sr., and Solomon Secord, Lieutenants; Stephen Secord and John Young, Sergeants; Abraham, John and Peter Wintermute, Corporals; Jacob Anguish, Henry Anguish, Frederick Anker, Sr., Frederick Anker, Jr., Adam Bowman, Jr.,

* See note on page 300, Vol. I.

† See the "Haldimand Papers", B. M. 21,714—I, IV:271.

‡ In a letter written about 1801 by Col. John Jenkins (see Craft's "Wyalusing," page 52), he refers in a special manner to "the three Pawlings," who left the Wyoming settlement in 1777, joined John Butler, and were commissioned officers in the "Rangers." "They afterwards returned home in the Winter season, made arrangements for their friends, and then joined Butler early in 1778."

Henry, Jacob and Peter Bowman, Philip Buck, Edward Hicks, Henry Hover, Abraham, Jonas and Peter Larraway, Elijah Phelps, Nicholas Phillips, Benjamin, James and William Pickard, David Secord, Sr., John Secord, Jr., Peter Secord, Sr., Michael Showers, Sr., Parshall Terry, Jr., Jacob Van Alstyne, Frederick Vanderlip, Henry and Hendrick Windecker, Abraham, Benjamin and Philip Wintermute.

In September, 1781, the tenth company of the "Rangers" was completed, and pronounced by Colonel Powell, after inspection, to be a very good one. At Niagara, on the 1st of the ensuing October, Lieut. Colonel Butler, "for himself and the officers of his corps," forwarded a memorial to Governor Haldimand praying that the words in their commissions, "*to serve with the Indians*", might "be omitted, as they [the words] are made a pretext for ill-treating any of the corps of Rangers who may be taken prisoners."* At Niagara, under the date of July 18, 1782, Lieut. Colonel Butler petitioned that his corps might "receive a distinctive name, and not be styled merely 'Butler's Rangers.'" He stated that he could complete the enlisting of one or two more companies that Summer "should His Excellency [Governor Haldimand] sanction the proposal." No action on this petition seems to have been taken by the Governor.

In the Autumn of 1782 one John Dease was appointed "principal of the Indian Department at Niagara in the room of Lieut. Colonel Butler". In writing to Sir John Johnson Governor Haldimand expressed great surprise at this change. Just a short time before this Col. (later Brig. Gen.) Allen Macklean, who was then in command of the garrison at Fort Niagara, had written to Haldimand to the effect that Butler was the only man there "equal in any degree to the management of the Indians." During the Summer of 1783 the entire battalion of "Rangers" was officially inspected, and the returns showed a strength of 469 men, 111 women and 257 children. The corps was finally disbanded in June, 1784, with the intention that the men should at once take up their residence on lands assigned to them in the immediate vicinity of Niagara. Within a month 258 officers and men had agreed to settle, making, with their families, a body of 620 persons.

Returning now to Wilkes-Barré we find that, at a town-meeting of the inhabitants of Westmoreland held here early in September, 1777, 149 freemen of the town took the oath of allegiance to the State of Connecticut, in compliance with a new Act of Assembly then recently passed. According to the rate-bills, or tax-lists, of the various districts of Westmoreland for the year 1777, there were then 546 tax-payers in the town; which, as explained on page 877, *ante*, would indicate a probable population of 3,276.

However, just as in the case of the tax-lists for 1776 (as has been previously noted), so in the present instance we find missing from the lists the names of many men known to have been owners of land in Westmoreland in 1777, and either present on the ground or absent as soldiers in the American army. As for example: The Reverends Jacob Johnson and Noah Wadhams, Matthias Hollenback, James Bidlack, Jr., Lebbeus Tubbs, John Jenkins, Jr., Daniel Denton, Rudolph Fox, James Gould, Solomon Johnson, Gideon Church, Constant Matthewson, John Swift, Elisha Satterlee, John Carey, Frederick Follett, James Frisbie,

* See the "Haldimand Papers," B. M. 21,874—CCXIV:272.

Elisha Garrett, Stephen Munson, Aaron Perkins, Ira Stephens, Stephen Pettebone, Parker Wilson, Mason F. Alden, Caleb Atherton, Jesse Bissell, Samuel Billings, Asa Burnham, John O'Neal, Peter Osterhout, Thomas Niell and Solomon Strong. Of those subsequently ascertained to be Tories, the names of some are in the lists,* but others are missing, as for example: Jacob Anguish, George Kentner, John De Pui, Benjamin Pawling, John Secord, James Secord, Solomon Secord, Philip Buck, Henry Windecker, John Young, Edward Hicks, Nicholas Phillips, Adam Wortman, Adam Bowman, Jacob Bowman and Henry Hover.

* The lists of 1777 are now in existence, and copies of them will be found printed in "Proceedings and Collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," V : 219-230. The names contained in the lists are as follows:

WILKES-BARRÉ DISTRICT.

Richardson Avery,
Christopher Avery,
Jonathan Avery,
William Avery,
John Abbott,
Benjamin Bailey,
Col. Zebulon Butler,
Thomas Brown,
John Brown,
Isaac Bennet,
Asa Bennet,
Gideon Baldwin,
Elisha Blackman,
Nathan Bullock,
George Cooper,
Joseph Crooker,
William Cooper,
Samuel Cole,
Eleazar Carey,
Nathan Carey,
Dr. Jarib Dyer,
Robert Durkee,
Jabez Darling,
David Darling,
Anderson Dana,
William Dorton,
William Dunn, Jr.,
Thomas Dunn,
Daniel Downing,
Dr. Shadrack Derby,
Henry Elliot,
John Elliot,
Joseph Elliot,
Stephen Fuller,
Jabez Fish,
Elisha Fish,
Jonathan Fitch,
John Foster,
Daniel Gore,
Obadiah Gore, Jr.,
Cornelius Gale,
James Green,
John Garrett,
Rezin Geer,
Darius Hazen,
Zeruiah Hazen,
John Hollenback,
Samuel Hutchinson,
Samuel Hutchinson, Jr.,
Joseph Hubbard,
John Hyde,
John Hageman,
Enoch Judd,
William Judd,
Azariah Ketcham,
Benjamin Kelly,
Solomon Lee,
Thomas McClure,
William Parker,
Thomas Porter,
Daniel Rosecrans,
Ann Ross,
William Rowley,
Isaac Rhodes,
David Reynolds,
Darius Spafford,
Joseph Shaw,
Benjamin Shaw,
William Stark,
Aaron Stark,
Elizabeth Stark,
Josiah Smith,

Wm. Hooker Smith,
John Smith,
Isaac Smith,
Jonathan Slocum,
Asa Stevens,
Josiah Stanburrough,
Jabez Sill,
John Staples,
Joseph Staples,
James Staples,
Samuel Staples,
Gamaliel Truesdale,
John Truesdale,
Job Tripp,
Justus Worden,
John White,
Jonathan Weeks,
Jonathan Weeks, Jr.,
Philip Weeks,
Peter Wheeler,
John Williams,
Thaddeus Williams,
Daniel Whitney,
James Wigton,
Flavius Waterman,
William Warner,
Elihu Waters.

KINGSTON DISTRICT.

James Atherton,
James Atherton, Jr.,
Asahel Atherton,
Isaac Baldwin,
Benjamin Budd,
John Bass,
Henry Bush,
Aholiab Buck,
Asahel Buck,
William Buck,
Asa Brown,
Thomas Bennet,
William Baker,
Richard Brockway,
David Bixby,
Robert Campbell,
Samuel Cummings,
Amaziah Cleveland,
Elias Church,
John Comstock,
Peleg Comstock,
Elnathan Cary,
William Crooks,
George Dorrance,
John Dorrance,
Henry Decker,
Joseph Disberry,
Amos Draper,
Isaac Downing,
Nathan Denison,
James Divine,
Esther Follett,
Eliphalet Follett,
Thomas Foxen,
Peter Finch,
Isaac Finch,
Daniel Finch,
Stephen Fuller, Jr.,
John C. Fox,
Gabriel Ferguson,
William Gallup,
Hallet Gallup,
Lemuel Gustin,
Samuel Gordon,
Charles Gillett,

Asa Gore,
Obadiah Gore,
Silas Gore,
Peter Harris,
Elijah Harris,
William Hammond,
Lebbeus Hammond,
John Hammond,
Oliver Hammond,
Daniel Hewitt,
Dethick Hewitt,
Christopher Hurlbut,
Daniel Ingersoll,
Josiah Kellogg,
Eldad Kellogg,
Nathaniel Landon,
Peter Lowe,
Jesse Lee,
James Legget,
Winchester Matthewson,
Robert McIntire,
Ezekiel Peirce,
John Peirce,
Timothy Peirce,
Noah Pettebone,
John Perkins,
Timothy Rose,
Ebenezer Skinner,
William Stephens,
Constant Searle,
William Searle,
Thomas Stoddart,
Joshua Stevens,
Jedidiah Stevens,
Lockwood Smith,
Mary Ransom Swift,
Elijah Shoemaker,
Luke Swetland,
Parshall Terry,
Uriah Terry,
Nathaniel Terry,
Ichabod Tuttle,
Isaac Underwood,
Stephen Whiton,
Ozias Yale.

PLYMOUTH DISTRICT.

Samuel Andrews,
Samuel Ayres,
Mary Baker,
James Bidlack,
Joshua Bennet,
Nathan Beach,
Bull,
Benjamin Cole,
James Cole,
Jonathan Center,
Jeremiah Coleman,
Jeremiah Coleman, Jr.,
Jesse Coleman,
John Coleman,
Joshua Coleman,
John Caldwell,
William Churchill,
Jonathan Churchill,
Thomas Carscadden,
Richard Dodson,
John Dodson,
Thomas Dodson,
James Dodson,
Gilbert Denton,
Joseph Dewey,
Frederick Eveland,
Hugh Foresman,

Jehu Fish,
Jonathan Forsythe,
John Franklin, Jr.,
Robert Frazer,
Goodwin,
Aaron Gaylord,
Joseph Gaylord,
Justus Gaylord,
David Goss,
Nathaniel Goss,
Philip Goss,
Philip Goss, Jr.,
Solomon Goss,
John Heath,
Thomas Heath,
James Hopkins,
Timothy Hopkins,
Jonathan Hunlock,
Andrew Herrega,
George Herrega,
William Hurlbut,
Benjamin Harvey,
Silas Harvey,
Zachariah Hartsouf,
Jacob Holdrin,
Samuel Jackson,
Samuel Jackson, Jr.,
Thomas Kitchen,
Benjamin Kilbourn,
Stephen Lee,
Zebulon Lee,
William Landon,
Rufus Lawrence,
David Lindsey,
Thomas Leavenworth,
Gad Marshall,
Nicholas Manvil,
David Marvin,
Samuel Marvin,
Uriah Marvin,
Ephraim McCoy,
Phineas Nash,
James Nesbitt,
William Nelson,
Daniel Owen,
Jonathan Otis,
Peter Pugh,
Noah Pettebone, Jr.,
Elisha Parker,
James Parker,
Giles Permon,
Junia Preston,
Nehemiah Parks,
Peren Ross,
James Roberts,
James Roberts, 2d,
Daniel Roberts,
Hezekiah Roberts,
Mary Roberts,
Josiah Rogers,
Jonah Rogers,
Benjamin Reed,
David Reynolds,
William Reynolds,
Elisha Richards,
Samuel Ransom,
William Stewart,
Simon Spalding,
Benedict Satterlee,
Daniel Sherwood,
Oliver Smith,
Obadiah Scott,
Solomon Squire,
Jacob Sly,

The regular semi-annual session of the General Assembly of Connecticut was held at Hartford in October, 1777, beginning on the 11th of the month, and Judge John Jenkins and Isaac Tripp, Esq., were present as Representatives from the town of Westmoreland. The Assembly promoted Maj. George Dorrance of Kingston to be Lieutenant Colonel of the 24th Regiment "in the room of Lazarus Stewart, Esq., resigned," and Capt. John Garrett "to be Major in the room of George Dorrance, promoted." The following additional promotions and appointments in the 24th Regiment were also made*—all the officers named being shortly afterwards commissioned by Governor Trumbull. Dethick Hewitt to be Captain, Aholiab Buck, Lieutenant, and Asa Gore, Ensign, "of the 2d [or Kingston] Company, or Train-band"; John Hageman to be Ensign "of the 6th [or Upper Wilkes-Barré] Company, or Train-

PLYMOUTH DISTRICT
(Concluded).

Peter Stevens,
Thomas Sawyer,
Daniel Trask,
Matthias Van Loon,
John Van Why,
Elihu Williams,
Elihu Williams, Jr.,
Rufus Williams,
Samuel Williams,
William White,
Asaph Whittlesey,
Nathan Wade,
John Wilson,
Jesse Washburn.

HANOVER DISTRICT.

Prince Alden,
William Armstrong,
Robert Alexander,
Peleg Burritt,
Gideon Burritt,
Stephen Burritt,
Daman Beef,
John Bony,
Gideon Booth,
Isaac Booth,
James Brink,
Isaac Bennet, Jr.,
Jeremiah Bickford,
Henry Burney,
Aaron Bowen,
Stoddard Bowen,
James Cook,
James Corkindale,
John Commer,
Kingsley Comstock,
Jonathan Corey,
Jenks Corey,
Christopher Courtright,
Elisha Courtright,
John Carlisle,
Isaac Campbell,
Alexander Campbell,
James Cochran,
Charles Carrell,
William Casson,
Nathaniel Davenport,
Samuel Davenport,
Samuel Ensign,
John Ewing,
Isaac Fitchett,
Andrew Freeman,
James Forsythe,
Roasel Franklin,
John Franklin,
Elias Green,
Nathaniel Howard,
Samuel Howard,
Cyrian Hibbard,
William Hibbard,
Ebenezer Hebard,
Titus Hinman,
Nathan Howell,
John Hutchins,
David Inman,

Elijah Inman, Jr.,
Israel Inman,
Richard Inman,
John Jacobs,
Robert Jameson,
John Jameson,
William Jameson,
George Liguors,
Edward Lester,
Ebenezer Lane,
Conrad Lines,
James Lasley,
George Mack,
Jacob Morris,
William McKerachan,
Benjamin Potts,
Josiah Pell,
William Randall,
Capt. Lazarus Stewart,
Lazarus Stewart, Jr.,
Caleb Spencer,
James Spencer,
Edward Spencer,
Levi Spencer,
William Smith, Jr.,
William Smith,
James Stevenson,
John Sharar,
John Tillbury,
Yaphet Utley,
John Walker,
Adam White,
Robert Young.

PITTSBURGH DISTRICT.

Isaac Adams,
Noah Adams,
Daniel Allen,
Isaac Allen,
David Allen,
Thomas Angel,
James Bagley,
Caleb Bates,
Capt. Jeremiah Blanchard,
Isaac Baldwin,
Rufus Baldwin,
James Brown,
William Benedict,
Silas Benedict,
Increase Billings,
Elihu Carey,
Barnabas Carey,
Joseph Carey,
Daniel Cash,
John Carr,
George Cooper,
Thomas Christy,
Isaac Finch,
Isaiah Halstead,
Richard Halstead,
Levi Hicks,
Abraham Harding,
Thomas Harding,
Timothy Howe,
Eton Jones,
Richard Jones,
Timothy Keyes,
Joseph Leonard,

James Lewis,
Solomon Lee,
Samuel Miller,
James Moore,
Ebenezer Marcy,
Zebulon Marcy,
Alexander Mackey,
James Moore, Jr.,
Francis Phillips,
Timothy Pearce,
Justus Pickett,
Thomas Pickett,
John Ryan,
Zachariah Squire,
William Shay,
John Scott,
Joseph Sprague,
Samuel Slater,
Samuel Slater, Jr.,
Daniel St. John,
David Sanford,
Ephraim Sanford,
Elijah Silsby,
John Stafford,
Aaron Stark,
William Stark,
Joseph Thomas,
Isaac Tripp,
Job Tripp,
Thomas Taylor,
John Taylor,
Preserved Taylor,
Nathaniel Williams,
William Williams,
Whittaker, Esq.,
Eleazar West,
Amy Wilcox,
John White,
Justus Worden.

NORTH DISTRICT
(EXETER AND PROVIDENCE).

Joseph Baker,
Nathan Bradley,
Manasseh Cady,
James Finn,
John Gardner,
Stephen Gardner,
Capt. Stephen Harding,
Stephen Harding, Jr.,
Lemuel Harding,
Peter Harris, Jr.,
James Hadsall,
John Jenkins, Esq.,
Benjamin Jones,
Justus Jones,
Thomas Joslin,
William Martin,
Samuel Morgan,
James Newton,
Elisha Scovell,
David Smith,
John D. Shoemaker,
James Sutton,
Richard Tozer,
Samuel Tozer,
Christopher Wintermute,
Philip Wintermute,

John Wintermute,
Richard West.

NORTH DISTRICT
("UP THE RIVER").

Frederick Anker,
Elijah Brown,
Ishmael Bennet,
Capt. Robert Carr,
Ezer Curtis,
Benjamin Eaton,
Lemuel Fitch,
Richard Fitzgerald,
John Herrington,
Reuben Herrington,
Nathan Kingsley,
Isaac Larraway,
Benjamin Marcy,
William Pawling,
John Pensil,
Abel Palmer,
Elijah Phelps,
Ichabod Phelps,
Minor Robbins,
Frederick Smith,
Michael Showers,
Benjamin Skiff,
Sebastian Strobe,
Isaac Van Valkenburg,
Garret Vanderbarrack,
James Van Alstyne,
Isaac Van Alstyne,
"Old" Van Alstyne,
Elisha Wilcox,
Thomas Wilcox,
Joseph Winkler,
James Wells,
Amos York.

LACKAWAY DISTRICT.

John Ainsley,
Hezekiah Bingham,
Uriah Chapman, Esq.,
Roger Clark,
James Dye,
Jasper Edwards,
Capt. Eliab Farnam,
Nathaniel Gates,
David Gates,
Jonathan Haskell,
Jacob Kimball,
Abel Kimball,
Walter Kimball,
Moses Killam,
Zadock Killam,
Ephraim Killam,
Jephthah Killam,
John Killam,
Amos Park,
Silas Park, Esq.,
Zebulon Parrish,
John Pellet, Jr.,
William Pellet,
Joel Strong,
Elijah Witter,
Enos Woodward,
Enos Woodward, Jr.

* See "Records of the State of Connecticut," I : 430.

band"; James Bidlack, Sr., Lebbeus Tubbs and John Comstock to be, respectively, Captain, Lieutenant and Ensign "of the 1st Company of the Alarm List in the 24th Regiment."

The gloomy aspect of affairs along the seaboard in 1777; Burgoyne with his powerful army descending from the North; the accession of the Indians to the cause of Great Britain—carrying with it the certainty that the frontier settlements, as in the French and English War, would be one long line of conflagrations and massacres—awakened in the breasts of the people of Westmoreland great fears for the general cause, and extreme anxiety for their own safety. Miner states that a system of scouting was established at Wyoming in the Summer and Autumn of 1777, by which details of the 24th Regiment were sent up the river to watch the Indian paths and bring back such intelligence concerning the Indians and Tories as they could gather. Each party of five or six was generally absent a week, but their numbers, and the frequency of their tours of duty, were increased as emergencies seemed to require.

About the 10th of September news reached Wilkes-Barré that a number of Tories, whose homes were up the Susquehanna in that part of Westmoreland now within the limits of the counties of Wyoming and Bradford, Pennsylvania, had returned to their homes from New York State where they had been for some months, presumably within the British lines. Colonel Denison immediately sent out a detachment of men from the 24th Regiment in search of these Tories. His official report of the incident was subsequently made to his superior officer (Brigadier General Wolcott, commanding the 6th Brigade, Connecticut Militia) in the following letter*, now published for the first time.

"WESTMORELAND the 20th of September 1777.

"Honoured Sr.—I Recd your Letter of the 12th of August with some blank returns: Directing me to make out and send you the Preasent state of the Regement in this part of the State of Connecticut, Which will be don & transmitted to your Hon^r by the Representatives of this town when they attend the general assembly in Octobr sesion, with what is wanting to enable us in the most effectual maner to secuar the Peace and safty of our Country:

"With Regarde to the Disposition of the indians toward this settelment, Sr, you have no Doubt heard of A numbr of tories that left there posessions in this settelment and gone to Join the enemy at niagary some time last spring. Last week I got intelegence from that Part of the settilment that those People went from, that they wear Returnd: upon which I sent a party of men with orders to mak Prisoners of such as might be found of them, but they giting intelegence of the Partys coming against them took to the mountains for shelter, so that our People took two of them Prisoners and killed one† more: tho the one that was kiled first fired on one of our men and slitley wounded him. Sence this happened I find that some of them have gon to the indian settelments on this River, others are Lurking about there famlies, so that if it is in there Power to bring the indians upon us it will be done, tho I conceive that a war with them Depends upon the succes of the american armes in other Parts.

"by what I can find out by the Prisoners there was about one hundred and 40 or 50 indians Returnd from the battel at fort stanwicks to there settelments up this River; what there Diseine is is unnone to me. I have some expectation of some of those tories coming in and giving them selvs up, but this is uncerting.

"Sr, wold Request your advice and Direction with Regard to Disposing of the Prisoners in our hands.

"Permit me, Sr, to subscribe my self your most obedient Hu^l servant,

"To

[Signed] "NATHAN DENISON."

Hon^{ble} OLIVER WOLCOTT, Esq^r
Brigadier General of the
Militia, State of Connecticut,
Litchfield."

* The original is among the "Wolcott Papers," mentioned on page 29, Vol. I.

† ADAM WORTMAN, a German, living a short distance above what is now Tunkhannock, in Wyoming County, where he had settled about 1772, was the man who was shot at the time referred to. When the scouting party arrived at his home Wortman came out of his house armed with a gun. His wife called to him, "Shoot, Adam, shoot!" Adam fired, and the ball from his musket struck and penetrated an iron

The names of the two prisoners referred to in the foregoing report are preserved in an original bill* rendered in September, 1777, by the then jailer of the Westmoreland County jail, as follows:

"Col. NATHAN DENISON, &c., Committee of Inspection for Westmoreland,
 "To ISAAC UNDERWOOD, Dr.
 "To boarding and tending Hicks and Woodreck in goal eight days, @ 9sh. a day, £3:12:0."

About that time a number of Tories were captured in the Lackaway District of Westmoreland. The occurrence is described by Miner (see his "Wyoming," page 469) in these words:

"A body of men, eighteen in number, were seen lurking in the 'Great Swamp,' as the bottom land along the Wallenpaupack was called. They were discovered by a young girl, a daughter of Nathaniel Gates (afterwards a Sergeant in Dethick Hewitt's company), as she was looking for some cows. She gave notice to the officer in command of the troops—Lieut. Jonathan Haskell†—and he collected the force of the settlement and succeeded in capturing the whole body. They proved to be Tories, *who had deserted from the American army*. Lieutenant Haskell conducted them to Hartford, [Connecticut], where they were confined."

It is more than probable that these men were not "deserters from the American army," but formed a part of the body of Westmoreland Tories that, after the battle of Oriskany, had been sent to the Susquehanna region under the command of James Secord to plunder the Americans of their cattle. (See pages 935 and 939.)

In October, 1777, Lieut. Asa Stevens was detailed to go on a scout up the river with a squad of nine men from Wilkes-Barré. They were gone several days, and returned with five suspected persons as prisoners. In the latter part of November Lieut. John Jenkins, Jr., in command of a scouting party from the 24th Regiment, was captured by a band of Tories and Indians near Wyalusing and sent to Fort Niagara, as mentioned on page 806. About the 20th of December Lieut. Col. George Dorrance, in command of a force of 111 officers and men of the 24th Regiment, went up the Susquehanna as far as Wysox, Towanda and Sheshequin to disperse or capture a settlement of Tories in that locality. They suffered considerably from cold and hunger and a severe snow storm, but succeeded in capturing twenty-eight men (see page 837, seventh paragraph), who were brought down to Wilkes-Barré.

The Connecticut Assembly convened in special session at Hartford January 8, 1778, and continued in session for several weeks. Near the close of the sitting the following memorial‡ was presented.

"The Memorial of NATHAN DENISON of Westmoreland in the County of Westmoreland Humbly sheweth that he Being Colonel of the 24th Regt of militia Belonging to this State and on the 20th Day of December last being Informed that a band of Tories were forming on the westward of sd Town of Westmoreland in order to stir up the Indians of Tioga to Join sd Tories & Kill & Destroy the Inhabitants of this state upon which Information your memorialist ordered part of his Regt to be Immediately equipt and march to suppress sd conspirators and also sent an Express to the Tribe of Indians at Tioga sd Express being seven days in service which service & expences amounted to £5:9:6 and the officers & men who march'd ware as follows (*viz.*) 1 Lt. Col. 1 Capt. 5 subalterns 7 sergeants 5 corporals & 93 rank & file who ware Nine Days in service, and also one subaltern & eleven privates who ware four Days in service, and ware suplied with one Hundred wt of Powder & about Three Hundred wt of Ball which was Delivered out of the Town Stock & expended in sd expediton.

tobacco-box in the waistcoat pocket of Zebulon Marcy, one of the scouting party, and knocked him down. One of Marcy's companions returned the fire of Wortman, and gave the latter a mortal wound. He begged for help, and asked that a physician should be sent for. A messenger was sent to Wilkes-Barré for Dr. William Hooker Smith, who remarked, as he set off up the river, that if, when he arrived on the ground, Wortman should not be dead, he would not live long afterwards.

* Document "No. 83" in the volume "Susquehannah Settlers", described on page 29, Vol. I.

† JONATHAN HASKELL was an inhabitant and a taxpayer in Lackaway District, and was probably an officer of the local militia organization.

‡ See the original in the volume of MSS. entitled "Susquehannah Settlers," mentioned on page 29, Vol. I.

"Which service & expences being all for the Defence of this & the Rest of the united States the memorialist therefore Humbly Prays your Honours to Grant the wages & expences of the officers & men (who march'd About eighty miles up the River and Took sundry Tories and happily contented the Tioga Indians and Intirely Disbanded the Conspirators) and also alow the Town of Westmoreland the amminition expended as afore said and order the expences of s^d Tories confined in Goal paid out of the Treasury of this state or in any other way Grant to your memorialist and men such a Reasonable Reward as your Honours in your Great Wisdom shall think Just & your memorialist as in duty Bound shall ever pray.

"Dated at Hartford the 26th Day of Jan^y : A D 1778.

[Signed] "NATHAN DENISON."

According to a memorandum accompanying this memorial it would appear that the party which went out December 20th had five pack-horses with them; and that the "one subaltern and eleven privates" who went out, as stated, were "sent up the Susquehanna River after Tories, December 10, 1777."

The Assembly directed that the "Committee of Pay Table" should examine and adjust the account contained in the foregoing memorial.

Relative to some of the Tories who were captured by the Westmoreland authorities either at Lackaway or up the Susquehanna, as aforementioned, the following action was taken by the General Assembly in February, 1778.*

"Resolved by this Assembly, That Richmond Berry, Philip Buck, Thomas Silk, Edward Hicks, Edward Hicks, Jr., John Young, Jacob Bowman, Adam Bowman, Jr., Jacob Brenner, John Henry Short, Henry Hover, John Hover, Nicholas Phillips, Nicholas Phillips, Jr., John Phillips, Jacob Anguish, George Kentner and Frederick Frank, who were lately taken in arms against the inhabitants of the United States by the militia of Westmoreland and sent to the Deputy Commissary General of Prisoners in this State, as prisoners, ought to be received by said Commissary and treated as prisoners-of-war. *Provided*, That nothing in this Resolve shall be understood to excuse them or any of them from any treasonable or other offences against the laws of any particular State, or from being dealt with accordingly."

Referring to the names of Butler's Rangers printed on page 944, it will be seen that of the abovenamed prisoners Philip Buck, Edward Hicks, John Young, Adam Bowman, Jacob Bowman, Henry Hover, Nicholas Phillips and Jacob Anguish were "Rangers."

At a meeting of the Connecticut Council of Safety, held at Lebanon, December 1, 1777, Elisha Scovell, of Exeter in Westmoreland, and Lieutenant of the 7th Company, 24th Regiment, was present, and received permission "to transport, from any part of the State, a four-horse load of salt, twenty yards of plain cloth, and twenty yards of flannel to Westmoreland, for the use of the inhabitants there."

At a "legally-warned" town-meeting of the freemen of Westmoreland held at Wilkes-Barré, December 9, 1777, Judge John Jenkins was "chosen Moderator for ye work of ye day." Various officers, to serve the town for the ensuing year, were then elected. Among them were the following: Maj. Ezekiel Peirce, Town Clerk; Capt. William Worden, Ensign Daniel Downing, Lieut. Daniel Gore, Capt. Nathaniel Landon, Capt. Jeremiah Blanchard, Lieut. Aaron Gaylord, Silas Park, Isaac Tripp, Capt. Stephen Harding and Capt. John Franklin, Fence Viewers. The meeting was then adjourned to December 30th.

Nine days later (Thursday, December 18) a day of public thanksgiving was observed throughout the United States, in pursuance of a resolution adopted by Congress on November 1st recommending the Governors of the several States to formally appoint such a day. Gover-

* See "Records of the State of Connecticut," I : 539.

nor Trumbull having issued a proclamation to the people of Connecticut, the day named was duly observed in Westmoreland.

On December 30th the town-meeting adjourned from December 9th was held at Wilkes-Barré, with Judge Jenkins as Moderator. Among the various matters of business transacted was the passing of a vote "to grant one penny on the pound as an addition to the two penny tax granted August 6th." It was also voted to loan the county of Westmoreland £40. Then the following was passed: "*Voted by this Town*, That ye Committee of Inspection be empowered to supply the Sogers' wives and the Sogers' widows, and their families, with the necessities of life."

The General Assembly of Connecticut convened at Hartford January 8, 1778, and Isaac Tripp, Esq., was present as the only Representative from the town of Westmoreland. Early in the session the following resolution was adopted:

"Whereas it is recommended by Congress to cause subscriptions to be opened in each town for supplies for the war, on loan-office certificates, *Resolved*, That * * ISAAC TRIPP in Westmoreland * * be and is hereby appointed, impowered and directed to open [receive?] subscriptions."

James Bidlack, Jr., was appointed and commissioned Captain of the 1st (or Lower Wilkes-Barré) Company, of the 24th Regiment, in the room of John Garrett, promoted Major of the regiment in October, 1777.

At this session a report was made to and accepted by the Assembly relative to the "Polls and Rateable Estates and Assessments of Westmoreland." The "sum total of the lists" amounted to £20,322 and 17sh., which was £3,326 and 4sh. greater than the total of the assessment lists for 1776. (See page 907.) These original lists for 1778 are now in existence*. They contain 515 names, including those of many of the men who are known to have been absent from Westmoreland at

* Copies of them are printed in "Proceedings and Collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," V: 231-241. The names contained in the lists are as follows:

WILKES-BARRÉ DISTRICT.

Christopher Avery,
William Avery,
Richardson Avery,
Jonathan Avery,
John Abbott,
Benjamin Bailey,
Col. Zebulon Butler,
Thomas Brown,
John Brown,
Isaac Bennet,
Asa Bennet,
Gideon Baldwin,
Elisha Blackman,
Nathan Bullock,
George Cooper,
William Cooper,
Joseph Crooker,
Samuel Cole,
Eleazar Carey,
Nathan Carey,
Dr. Jarib Dyer,
Capt. Robert Durkee,
Jabez Darling,
David Darling,
Anderson Dana,
William Dorton,
Daniel Downing,
William Dunn, Jr.,
Thomas Dunn,
Dr. Shadrack Derby,
Henry Elliot,
Joseph Elliot,
John Elliot,
Stephen Fuller,
Jabez Fish,

Elisha Fish,
Jonathan Fitch,
John Foster,
Obadiah Gore, Jr.,
Daniel Gore,
Cornelius Gale,
James Green,
John Garrett,
Rezin Geer,
Darius Hazen,
Zeruiah Hazen,
John Hollenback,
Samuel Hutchinson,
Samuel Hutchinson, Jr.,
Joseph Hubbard,
John Hyde,
John Hageman,
Enoch Judd,
Capt. William Judd,
Azariah Ketcham,
Benjamin Kelly,
Solomon Lee,
Thomas McClure,
William Parker,
Thomas Porter,
Daniel Rosecrans,
Ann Ross,
William Rowley,
David Reynolds,
Isaac Rhodes,
Darius Spafford,
Joseph Shaw,
Benjamin Shaw,
William Stark,
Aaron Stark,
Elizabeth Stark,
Josiah Smith,

Wm. Hooker Smith,
John Smith,
Isaac Smith,
Jonathan Slocum,
Asa Stevens,
Josiah Stanborough,
Jabez Sill,
Joseph Staples,
John Staples,
James Staples,
Samuel Staples,
John Truesdale,
Gamaliel Truesdale,
Job Tripp,
Justus Worden,
John White,
Jonathan Weeks,
Jonathan Weeks, Jr.,
Philip Weeks,
Peter Wheeler,
John Williams,
Thaddeus Williams,
David Whitney,
James Wigton,
Flavius Waterman,
William Warner,
Elihu Waters.

KINGSTON DISTRICT.

Asabel Atherton,
James Atherton,
James Atherton, Jr.,
Isaac Baldwin,
Benjamin Budd,
John Bass,
Henry Bush,

Aholiab Buck,
William Buck,
Asabel Buck,
Asa Brown,
Thomas Bennet,
William Baker,
Richard Brockway,
David Bixby,
Robert Campbell,
Samuel Cummings,
Amaziah Cleveland,
Elias Church,
John Comstock,
Peleg Comstock,
Elnathan Cary,
William Crooks,
George Dorrance,
John Dorrance,
Henry Decker,
Joseph Deberry,
Amos Draper,
Isaac Downing,
Col. Nathan Denison,
James Divine,
Esther Follett,
Eliphalet Follett,
Thomas Foxen,
Peter Finch,
Isaac Finch,
Daniel Finch,
Stephen Fuller, Jr.,
John C. Fox,
Gabriel Ferguson,
William Gallup,
Hallet Gallup,
Lemuel Gustin,
Samuel Gordon,

KINGSTON DISTRICT (Concluded).

Charles Gillett,
Asa Gore,
Obadiah Gore,
Silas Gore,
Peter Harris,
Elijah Harris,
Lebbeus Hammond,
William Hammond,
John Hammond,
Oliver Hammond,
Daniel Hewitt,
Dethick Hewitt,
Christopher Hurlbut,
Daniel Ingersoll,
Eldad Kellogg,
Josiah Kellogg,
Nathaniel Landon,
Peter Lowe,
Jesse Lee,
James Legget,
Robert McIntire,
Winchester Matthewson,
Ezekiel Peirce,
Timothy Peirce,
John Peirce,
Noah Pettebone,
John Perkins,
Timothy Rose,
William Stephens,
Joshua Stevens,
Jedidiah Stevens,
Luke Sweetland,
Ebenezer Skinner,
Constant Searle,
William Searle,
Thomas Stoddart,
Mary Ransom Swift,
Lockwood Smith,
Elijah Shoemaker,
Parshall Terry,
Uriah Terry,
Nathaniel Terry,
Lebbeus Tubbs,
Ichabod Tuttle,
Isaac Underwood,
Isaac Van Orman,
Stephen Whiton,
Ozias Yale.

PLYMOUTH DISTRICT.

Samuel Andrews,
Samuel Ayres,
Mary Baker,
James Bidlack,
Joshua Bennet,
Nathan Beach,
— Bull,
Benjamin Cole,
James Cole,
Jonathan Center,
Joshua Coleman,
John Coleman,
Jesse Coleman,
Jeremiah Coleman,
Jeremiah Coleman, Jr.,
John Caldwell,
William Churchill,
Jonathan Churchill,
Thomas Carscadden,
Richard Dodson,
Thomas Dodson,
James Dodson,
John Dodson,
Gilbert Denton,
Joseph Dewey,
Frederick Eveland,
Hugh Foresman,
Jehu Fish,
Jonathan Forsythe,
John Franklin, Jr.,
Robert Frazer,
Aaron Gaylord,
Joseph Gaylord,
Justus Gaylord,
— Goodwin,
Philip Goss,
Philip Goss, Jr.,
Solomon Goss,
Nathaniel Goss,
David Goss,
John Heath,
Thomas Heath,
James Hopkins,
Timothy Hopkins,

Jonathan Hunlock,
Andrew Herrega,
George Herrega,
William Hurlbut,
Jacob Holdrin,
Zachariah Hartsouf,
Benjamin Harvey,
Silas Harvey,
Samuel Jackson,
Samuel Jackson, Jr.,
Thomas Kitchen,
Benjamin Kilbourn,
Stephen Lee,
Zebulon Lee,
William Landon,
Rufus Lawrence,
David Lindsey,
Thomas Leavenworth,
Gad Marshall,
Nicholas Manvil,
David Marvin,
Samuel Marvin,
Uriah Marvin,
Ephraim McCoy,
Phineas Nash,
James Nesbitt,
William Nelson,
Daniel Owen,
Jonathan Otis,
Peter Pugh,
Noah Pettebone, Jr.,
Elisha Parker,
James Parker,
Giles Permon,
Junia Preston,
Nehemiah Parks,
Peren Ross,
Hezekiah Roberts,
James Roberts,
Daniel Roberts,
Mary Roberts,
Josiah Rogers,
Jonah Rogers,
Benjamin Reed,
David Reynolds,
William Reynolds,
Elisha Richards,
Samuel Ransom,
William Stewart,
Simon Spalding,
Benedict Satterlee,
Daniel Sherwood,
Oliver Smith,
Obadiah Scott,
Solomon Squire,
Jacob Sly,
Peter Stevens,
Thomas Sawyer,
Daniel Trask,
Matthias Van Loon,
John Van Why,
Elihu Williams,
Elihu Williams, Jr.,
Rufus Williams,
Samuel Williams,
William White,
Asaph Whittlesey,
Nathan Wade,
John Wilson,
Jesse Washburn.

HANOVER DISTRICT.

Prince Alden,
Robert Alexander,
William Armstrong,
Peleg Burritt,
Gideon Burritt,
Stephen Burritt,
Daman Beef,
John Bony,
Isaac Booth,
Gideon Booth,
James Brink,
Isaac Bennet, Jr.,
Jeremiah Bickford,
Henry Burney,
Aaron Bowen,
Stoddard Bowen,
James Cook,
James Corkindale,
John Commer,
Alexander Campbell,
Isaac Campbell,
Kingsley Comstock,
Jonathan Corey,

Jenks Corey,
Christopher Courtright,
Elisha Courtright,
John Carlisle,
James Cochran,
Charles Carrell,
William Casson,
Nathaniel Davenport,
Samuel Davenport,
Samuel Ensign,
John Ewing,
Isaac Fitchett,
Andrew Freeman,
James Forsythe,
John Franklin,
Roasel Franklin,
Elias Green,
Nathaniel Howard,
Cyprian Hibbard,
William Hibbard,
Ebenezer Hebard,
Titus Hinman,
Nathan Howell,
John Hutchins,
Israel Inman,
Richard Inman,
Elijah Inman, Jr.,
Elijah Inman,
David Inman,
John Jacobs,
Robert Jameson,
John Jameson,
William Jameson,
George Liguors,
Edward Lester,
Ebenezer Lane,
Conrad Lines,
James Lasley,
George Mack,
Jacob Morris,
William McKerachan,
Benjamin Potts,
Josiah Pell,
William Randall,
Capt. Lazarus Stewart,
Lazarus Stewart, Jr.,
Edward Spencer,
James Spencer,
Caleb Spencer,
Levi Spencer,
William Smith, Jr.,
William Smith,
James Stevenson,
John Sharar,
John Tillbury,
Japhet Utley,
John Walker,
Adam White,
Robert Young.

PITTSSTON DISTRICT.

Isaac Adams,
Noah Adams,
David Allen,
Daniel Allen,
Isaac Allen,
Thomas Angel,
Increase Billings,
Silas Benedict,
William Benedict,
James Bagley,
Capt. Jeremiah Blanchard,
Isaac Baldwin,
Rufus Baldwin,
Caleb Bates, Esq.,
James Brown,
Elihu Carey,
Barnabas Carey,
Joseph Carey,
Daniel Cash,
John Carr,
George Cooper,
Thomas Christy,
Isaac Finch,
Isaiah Halstead,
Richard Halstead,
Levi Hicks,
Abraham Harding,
Thomas Harding,
Timothy Howe,
Eton Jones,
Richard Jones,
Timothy Keyes,
Joseph Leonard,
James Lewis,
Solomon Lee,

Samuel Miller,
James Moore,
James Moore, Jr.,
Ebenezer Marcy,
Zebulon Marcy,
Alexander Mackey,
Francis Phillips,
Timothy Pearce,
Justus Pickett,
Thomas Pickett,
John Ryan,
Elijah Silsby,
Zachariah Squire,
William Shay,
John Scott,
Joseph Sprague,
Samuel Slater,
Samuel Slater, Jr.,
Daniel St. John,
David Sanford,
Ephraim Sanford,
John Stafford,
Aaron Stark,
William Stark,
Isaac Tripp, Esq.,
Job Tripp,
John Taylor,
Preserved Taylor,
Thomas Taylor,
Joseph Thomas,
John White,
Nathaniel Williams,
William Williams,
— Whittaker, Esq.,
Eleazar West,
Amy Wilcox,
Justus Worden.

EXETER DISTRICT.

Joseph Baker,
Nathan Bradley,
Manasseh Cady,
John Gardner,
Stephen Gardner,
Capt. Stephen Harding,
Stephen Harding, Jr.,
Lemuel Harding,
Peter Harris, Jr.,
James Hadsall,
Justus Jones,
Thomas Joslin,
John Jenkins, Esq.,
Benjamin Jones,
James Linn,
Samuel Morgan,
William Martin,
James Newton,
Elisha Scovell,
David Smith,
John David Shoemaker,
James Sutton,
Richard Tozer,
Samuel Tozer,
Richard West,
Christopher Wintermute,
John Wintermute,
Philip Wintermute.

LACKAWAY DISTRICT.

John Ainsley,
Hezekiah Bingham,
Roger Clark,
Uriah Chapman, Esq.,
James Dye,
Jasper Edwards,
Capt. Eliab Farnam,
David Gates,
Nathaniel Gates,
Jonathan Haskell,
Jacob Kimball,
Abel Kimball,
Walter Kimball,
Zadock Killam,
Moses Killam,
Jephthah Killam,
Ephraim Killam,
John Killam,
Capt. Zebulon Parrish,
John Pellet, Jr.,
William Pellet,
Amos Park,
Silas Park, Esq.,
Ioel Strong,
Flijah Witter,
Enos Woodward,
Enos Woodward, Jr.

that time serving as soldiers in the Continental army. On the other hand, however, the names of many soldiers who were property owners and heads of families are not to be found; and the names of all the "Up the River" taxables which appear in the lists of 1776 and 1777 are, with only two or three exceptions, missing. As in the former lists, the names of the Reverends Jacob Johnson and Noah Wadhams, James Bidlack, Jr., and some others are missing. In the circumstances it may be reasonably stated that at the beginning of 1778 the inhabitants of Westmoreland, excluding those absent in the Continental army, numbered at least 3,100 souls.

The township of Wilkes-Barré contained ninety-nine taxables, or a population of about 600, in 1778. From the best information at present obtainable, it would seem that these inhabitants lived chiefly in that part of the township which is now the township of Plains, and in that part lying between the present Northampton Street and the Wilkes-Barré-Hanover boundary-line. From the minutes of the commissioners under the Compromise Law of 1799 (see page 25, Vol. I) the present writer has compiled the following list of the owners of the various lots in the town-plot of Wilkes-Barré (see page 655) in the Spring of 1778—which list is now printed for the first time. Upon a number of these lots no structures of any sort had yet been erected.

OWNERS OF LOTS IN THE TOWN-PLOT (SECOND DIVISION) OF WILKES-BARRÉ IN 1778.

1. Jabez Sill.	18. Solomon Johnson.	34. James Abbott.
2. Christopher Avery.	19. John Hollenback.	35. Rev. Jacob Johnson.
3. Col. Zebulon Butler.	20. Jonathan Fitch.	36. Col. Zebulon Butler.
4. Col. John Durkee.	21. Amasa Allen.	37. Joseph Heath.
5. Obadiah Gore, Jr.	22. John Garrett.	38. Jonathan Slocum.
6. Obadiah Gore, Jr.	23. Estate of Jeremiah Ross.	39. Abraham Westbrook.
7. Asa Stevens.	24. William McKerachan.	40. Benjamin Bailey.
8. Harris Colt.	25. John Stevens.	41. Christopher Avery.
9. Rev. Jacob Johnson.	26. Elihu Waters.	42. Jabez Fish.
10. Rev. Jacob Johnson.	27. Col. Zebulon Butler.	43. William Warner.
11. Obadiah Gore, Jr.	28. Benjamin Clark.	44. Thomas Park.
12. Rev. Jacob Johnson.	29. John Hyde.	45. Public Grave-yard.
13. James Wigton.	30. James Stark.	46. Caleb Spencer.
14. { Solomon Cole.	31. { Dr. Shadrack Derby.	47. Jonathan Haskell.
15. { Samuel Cole.	31. { Dr. Jarib Dyer.	48. Nathan Wade.
16. John Williams.	31. { Elizabeth Judd.	49. Benjamin Wheeler.
17. Stephen Fuller.	32. Eli Judd.	50. Jonathan Slocum.
17. Abigail (<i>Fuller</i>) Bidlack.	33. Benjamin Bailey.	
	Wilkes-Barré Island.	Rev. Jacob Johnson.





CHAPTER XV.

THE BATTLE OF WYOMING—WILKES-BARRÉ ALMOST WHOLLY DESTROYED BY "BUTLER'S RANGERS" AND INDIANS—THE VALLEY OF WYOMING DESOLATED AND DESERTED—CAPT. SIMON SPALDING'S WESTMORELAND INDEPENDENT COMPANY IN THE CONTINENTAL SERVICE.

"Lo! where the giant on the mountain stands,
His blood-red tresses deep'ning in the sun,
With death-shot glowing in his fiery hands,
And eye that scorchieth all it looks upon;
Restless it rolls—now fixed, and now anon
Flashing afar—and at his iron feet
Destruction cowers, to mark what deeds are done."
—Lord Byron, in "*The Battle of Talavera*."

"Here of a truth raged battle, as though no combats beside
Reigned elsewhere. * * * * *
Here we beheld in his fury the war-god."
—Virgil's "*Æneid*."

The year 1778 brought great distrust and fear to the frontiers generally, but particularly to Wyoming. It was known early in the year that a large force was collecting at Fort Niagara, to be augmented by the Indians at Kanadesaga, Unadilla and Oghwaga, for the purpose of laying waste the frontiers of Pennsylvania and New York. As early as February General Schuyler wrote to Congress that from the best information he could obtain an attempt would certainly soon be made by the enemy to attack the frontiers. In a little while he wrote again to Congress, saying: "A number of Mohawks and many of the Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas will commence hostilities against us as soon as they can. It would be prudent, therefore, early to take measures to carry the war into their country. It would require no greater body of troops to destroy their towns than to protect the frontier inhabitants." Unfortunately, Congress had not the troops to use for either purpose.

Halsey (in "*The Old New York Frontier*," page 205) says: "Some hope of securing Indian neutrality still remained. At a council held on March 9th, at Johnstown, and attended by more than 700 Indians, an attempt was made to quiet them. The Senecas alone failed to attend. With Oriskany so recent and bloody a memory, it was strange indeed that any Mohawks or Cayugas should have come. The Senecas sent a

communication expressing their surprise (a surprise which is quite comprehensible) that 'while our tomahawks were sticking in their heads, their wounds bleeding and their eyes streaming with tears for the loss of their friends at Oriskany, the Commissioners should think of inviting them to a treaty.'* Stone notes as the result of the council that the Commissioners were persuaded that from the Senecas, Cayugas, and nearly all the Mohawks, 'nothing but revenge for their lost friends and tarnished glory at Oriskany and Fort Schuyler was to be anticipated.'"

By those men who were well informed it was believed, without question, that the Wyoming settlements would be among the first to be attacked; and this for several reasons. They were, in every sense of the word, *frontier* settlements; they could be easily and quickly reached from New York by way of the Susquehanna River; they were exposed and unprotected, and neither Pennsylvania nor Connecticut could come to their aid, and the Congress had not yet taken them under its wing. If the Wyoming people should be driven from their possessions, the only important barrier between the enemy in western New York and the Pennsylvania settlements below the Blue Mountains would thus be removed, and all those settlements, from the Delaware Water Gap to Sunbury, would be exposed to slaughter, havoc and fire. Further, it was well known that the Wyoming settlements had furnished to the Continental army an unduly large quota of their inhabitants (compared with other frontier settlements of the country), thus evincing their zeal and loyalty in and to the American cause. It was also well known that from the rich and fertile fields of Wyoming bountiful crops had been harvested each year during the progress of the War for Independence, and that in consequence Wyoming was able to furnish supplies of provisions as well as of men in order to keep up the contest for freedom.

These conditions aroused in the minds of those who were planning and managing the campaigns and forays of the enemy in western and central New York the firm belief that the Wyoming settlements ought to be exterminated. This belief was stimulated and strengthened by the violence of resentment, hatred and vindictiveness which the rough usage they had met with had aroused in the breasts of the Tories who had fled, or been driven, from the Susquehanna, and which they did not hesitate to manifest.

To Maj. John Butler at Niagara, especially, the destruction of the Wyoming settlements seemed to be positively necessary. In his correspondence with Sir Guy Carleton and others of the British military establishment, in the Spring of 1778, he frequently declared that it was his intention to march with his "Rangers" and their Indian confederates to the Pennsylvania frontiers, and thence to advance, as expeditiously as possible, to a union with the "southern army" under Sir Henry Clinton.† At that time this army was quartered in Philadelphia, the most direct routes to which, from southern-central New York, were by way of the rivers Susquehanna and Delaware. By the Susquehanna route Butler and his command could easily (provided they were not interfered with by the enemy) be conveyed in boats as far as Middletown‡—between the New York-Pennsylvania boundary and which town the only settlements of consequence on the river were those at Wyoming and Sunbury.

* See page 964.

† For example, see on page 971 a copy of a letter written by Major Butler to Sir Guy Carleton.

‡ Mentioned in a note on page 859.

These, Butler believed, could be destroyed with ease by the large force of "Rangers" and Indians which he expected to muster. Middletown and Philadelphia were distant from each other only eighty-five miles, but the intervening country was everywhere in the strong occupancy of the Americans, while Washington's army lay at Valley Forge, almost in what would be the most direct line of march from the Susquehanna at or near Middletown to Philadelphia. Nevertheless, notwithstanding these conditions, Butler wrote and talked much in the Spring of 1778 about joining Sir Henry Clinton with his "Rangers" and Indians.

About February 12, 1778, during a severe snow-storm, a party of forty or fifty Indians, led by Parshall Terry, Jr., and another Westmoreland Tory who were members of Butler's Rangers, arrived at the old deserted Indian village of *Friedenshütten* (previously described), near Wyalusing, where several white families were then living. In the neighborhood of Wyalusing lived Amos York, a native of New London County, Connecticut, who, with his wife and children, had settled in Westmoreland some five years previously. His house was visited by Terry and his party on February 14th, and the family were plundered of most of their bedding, wearing apparel, meat and grain. This spoil was loaded upon sleds, to which were hitched Mr. York's horses. His cattle and flocks were collected, and the best of them were taken, and then the marauders set off with Mr. York and Lemuel Fitch, another Westmoreland settler, as their prisoners. The party hurried northward to Fort Niagara as rapidly as possible, and the journey was one of incredible hardship and suffering to the prisoners.*

Early in March, 1778, Colonel Denison sent Lieut. Colonel Dorrance, with 150 men of the 24th Regiment, up to Wyalusing for the purpose of aiding the family of Amos York, and the families of a few other Whig settlers then living at and near *Friedenshütten*, to remove to Wyoming Valley. Arriving at their destination, the party tore down the church and some of the best log houses there which had formerly been occupied by the Indians, and made a raft of the timbers, on which, and in canoes, the fleeing families and their belongings were placed and floated in safety down the river to Wyoming Valley.†

The reiterated rumors of preparations on the part of the British and their Indian allies to attack the Wyoming settlements, were now engaging, as never before, the attention of the members of Congress. They saw, felt and acknowledged the exposed and defenseless situation of these frontier settlements; but Philadelphia was then, and had been since September, 1777, in the possession of the enemy, and, while from that vantage-ground the heart of the country was being assailed, and the whole force under the control of Congress was being concentrated for an important and decisive campaign, little aid but encouraging words could be afforded to the threatened frontiers. Finally, on March 16, 1778, at York Town (now York), Pennsylvania, where the Congress was sitting, the following was voted‡ by that body:

"*Resolved*, That one full company of foot be raised in the town of Westmoreland, on the East Branch of the Susquehannah, for the defence of the said town and the settlements on the frontier in the neighbourhood thereof, against the Indians and the enemies of these States; the said company to be enlisted to serve one year from the time of their enlisting, unless sooner discharged by Congress.

* For a more extended account of this incident see "The Harvey Book," page 910.

† See Craft's "History of Bradford County," page 28.

‡ See "The Journals of Congress," IV : 113.

"That officers be commissioned only in proportion to the number of men who shall be enlisted.

"That the same pay and rations be allowed to the company as to officers of the like rank and soldiers in the Continental army.

"That the Commissary General of Purchases contract with a suitable person to supply the company with provisions.

"That the company find their own arms, accoutrements, clothes and blankets.

"That the Colonel, and in his absence the next commanding field-officer of the militia at the said town of Westmoreland, be desired and empowered to superintend the said company; give orders relative to the stations it shall take for the defence of the country or other proper military services, and to see that the officers and men faithfully perform their duty, and on failure to give notice thereof to the Board of War."

At York Town, under the date of March 19, 1778, the Hon. Jonathan Bayard Smith wrote to the President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania as follows*:

"Upon an application from the settlers at Wyoming, or, as they call it, 'the town of Westmoreland,' Congress agreed to establish one company of troops there for its immediate defence, for one year."

Shortly afterwards Dethick Hewitt of Kingston, who, in October, 1777, had been commissioned Captain of the 2d Company, 24th Regiment, Connecticut Militia, was appointed and commissioned Captain to raise and command the Continental company arranged for as aforementioned, and he immediately entered upon the work of enlisting men. Within the course of a month or six weeks Captain Hewitt secured some forty men. In "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, XI: 111, it is stated: "If any record of his [Hewitt's] men was ever made out, it is unknown. Nathaniel Gates† was a Sergeant under him, and that is all that can be said of this third Wyoming independent company." On the authority of a statement made in writing by Col. John Franklin in 1828 (to be referred to hereinafter), we are able to state that Timothy Howe of Pittston was a Lieutenant in this company.

April 13, 1778, a town-meeting of the inhabitants of Westmoreland was held at Wilkes-Barré, when 120 freemen of the town—in addition to the number mentioned on page 945—took the oath of allegiance to the State of Connecticut;‡ John Dorrance was chosen "Constable of Westmoreland, and Collector of the State Tax for said town, for the year 1778," and Col. Nathan Denison and Anderson Dana were elected Representatives from the town of Westmoreland to the Connecticut Assembly to be held in the ensuing May. On April 21st another town-meeting was held, at which, in accordance with regulations adopted by the Connecticut Assembly, prices, to be observed and adhered to by the inhabitants, were fixed upon certain commodities, services, etc. The following items have been extracted from the schedule adopted:

"Good yarn stockings, a pair, 10 sh.; Laboring women, at spinning, a week, 6 sh.; Winter-fed beef, a pound, 7d.; Taverners [inn-keepers], for dinner, of the best, per head, 2 sh.; Metheglin, per gallon, 7 sh.; Beaver skins, per pound, 18 sh.; Shad, apiece, 6d.; Beaver hats (the best), each, £4; Ox work—for two oxen and tackling—per day, 3 sh.; Good hemp seed, a bushel, 15 sh.; Men's labor at farming—the three Summer months—per day, 5 sh. 3d.; Good check flannel (one yard wide), per yard, 8 sh.; Good white flannel (one yard wide), per yard, 5 sh.; Good tow and linen (one yard wide), per yard, 6 sh.; Tobacco, in hank or leaf, per pound, 9d.; Taverners, for a mug of flip, with two gills of rum in it, 4 sh.; Good barley, per bushel, 8 sh.; Making and setting shoes on a horse, all round, 8 sh.; Eggs, per dozen, 8d.; Strong beer, by the barrel, £2."

The General Assembly convened at Hartford May 14, 1778, and continued in session for some four weeks. Representatives Denison and

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, VI: 371.

† Then of Lackaway, but later of Kingston Township. When he enlisted he was only a few weeks past twenty-two years of age.

‡ As noted in the extract from the narrative of Elisha Harding, on page 918, among those who took the freeman's oath were several Tories from up the Susquehanna.

Dana of Westmoreland were in attendance during the entire session. Lieut. Col. Zebulon Butler (although absent from Westmoreland, on duty with his regiment—the 3d Connecticut) was appointed by the Assembly, and subsequently commissioned, “Judge of the County Courts in and for Westmoreland,” and Col. Nathan Denison was appointed and commissioned “Judge of the Court of Probate for the district of Westmoreland for the year ensuing.” Nathan Denison, Christopher Avery, Capt. Obadiah Gore and Zerah Beach were appointed and commissioned Justices of the Peace and Justices of the Quorum in and for the county of Westmoreland for the ensuing year, and Zebulon Butler, William McKerachan, Asaph Whittlesey, Uriah Chapman, Anderson Dana, Ebenezer Marcy, Stephen Harding, John Franklin, 2d,* Joseph Hamilton and William Judd were appointed and commissioned Justices of the Peace in and for the county of Westmoreland for the ensuing year.

The commission issued by Governor Trumbull under the date of June 1, 1778, to the abovenamed Justices, set forth their powers and duties very fully. The Justices of the Quorum were assigned “to assist the Judge of the county of Westmoreland to enquire of, hear and determine—by a jury or otherwise—all matters and things, civil and criminal, cognizable by said Court;” while the Justices of the Peace (including those who were likewise Justices of the Quorum) were assigned, “jointly and severally, to keep the peace within the county of Westmoreland; and to keep, and cause to be kept, all the Laws and Ordinances” that were or should be made “for the good, the peace, and conservation of the same, and for the quiet rule and government of the people within the county aforesaid; and to chastise and punish all persons offending in the County aforesaid against the said Laws or Ordinances; * * * and to hear and determine all causes, matters and things, civil and criminal, which any one Assistant” had by law to hear and determine.

At the aforementioned session of the Assembly John Franklin, Jr. (previously mentioned), Stoddard Bowen and Nathaniel Goss were respectively appointed and commissioned Captain, Lieutenant and Ensign of the 10th Company of the 24th Regiment, which had been organized and established in October, 1776, as noted on page 908; Lieut. Aholiab Buck of Kingston was promoted Captain of the 2d Company, in the room of Dethick Hewitt, holding a commission in the Continental army; Elijah Shoemaker was appointed and commissioned Lieutenant of the same company to succeed Aholiab Buck, promoted, and Jeremiah Bickford was appointed Ensign of the 4th Company.

Early in this same session, in consequence of a memorial presented by Representative Anderson Dana, the following was adopted by the Assembly :

“*Whereas*, by reason of the great distance that the inhabitants of Westmoreland are from the seat of Government, the Act regulating the prices of labor, produce, &c., within this State was in force a considerable time before the inhabitants of Westmoreland had any knowledge of the same; and thereby sundry of the inhabitants have sold sundry articles at a higher price than the price limited in said Act, and so by law cannot take the oath as by said Act is provided. *Therefore, Resolved*, That all the inhabitants of said town who have been guilty of any breach of said Act between the 20th of March and the 1st of May, 1778, be and are hereby discharged from any prosecution that already has been, or that may be, commenced against them.”†

* Sometimes referred to in the Westmoreland records at that period as “John Franklin, Jr.” Later he was known as Captain, and still later as Colonel, John Franklin.

† As to the Act of Assembly regulating prices, and providing penalties for a violation of the provisions of the Act, see Vol. I, “Records of the State of Connecticut.”

The following action was taken by the Assembly with respect to certain inhabitants of Westmoreland dwelling along the Susquehanna at some distance above Wyoming Valley:

"Upon the memorial [dated May 27, 1778] of Elijah Phelps, Lemuel Fitch, Richard Fitzgerald, Amos York, Benjamin Skiff, Benjamin Eaton, Benjamin Merry, John Williamson, Frederick Vanderlip, Nathan Kingsley, Nicholas Depew [De Pui], Elijah Brown, Elijah Phelps, Jr., James Foresyth, Thomas Millard, Jr., and James Wells, of the county of Westmoreland, showing to this Assembly that they were settled up the Susquehanna River nearly adjoining to the Indian settlement; and that by the unfriendly behavior of the Indians have been obliged to move off their farms; and praying to have their rates, or taxes, abated—made on the list of August, 1777—*Resolved*, That they be abated."

Craft, referring to this matter in his "History of Bradford County" (page 67), says:

"This petition is not a fair statement of facts, and was doubtless made without the knowledge of all whose names are mentioned. York, Fitch and Kingsley were at that date captives among the Indians; James Wells was in the Continental army, while some of the others were Tories in the British army."

What Dr. Craft states with reference to some of the foregoing memorialists being Tories is undoubtedly true, for their names will be found among those extracted from the roster of Butler's Rangers and printed on page 944; but it is not at all probable that, when the Assembly acted upon the memorial in question, it was known or even surmised by the members of that body that a single one of the memorialists had any connection with the enemy.

Towards the end of May Colonel Denison presented to the Assembly a memorial*—dated at Hartford, May 21, 1778, and signed by himself—setting forth that the inhabitants of Westmoreland had been greatly troubled by a number of Indians and Tories coming down from the Indian settlements on the North Branch of the Susquehanna and robbing several of the inhabitants in the northern part of the county "of their horses, cattle, and effects, taking prisoners, burning their houses," &c. Continuing, the memorial stated:

"The matter having been presented to Congress, they ordered one full company of foot raised by voluntary enlistment, for the defence of said County; engaging to said company the same pay, rations and ammunition as other Continental troops have. * * Upon the above encouragement it is very difficult to fill up said company [Capt. Dethick Hewitt's], * * and the memorialist prays that said company may be put on the same footing with respect to bounty, clothing and pay as the new levies in this State are." * *

This memorial, being discussed and acted upon in both Houses of the Assembly, was "negatived"; whereupon, on June 3d, Colonel Denison presented a second memorial,† wherein he set forth that he was the Colonel commanding the 24th Regiment of the militia of the State, and then continued as follows:

"That Westmoreland is a frontier town adjoining to the wilderness and a country of savages which have been hired by our merciless enemies to murder the peaceable inhabitants of these United States; and for the defence of this and the rest of the United States the memorialist has, in the years 1776 and 1777 and also in the month of January last, been obliged to send forth detachments from said regiment in scouting parties; and when there was danger of being attacked by the savages and Tories has called forth a part of said regiment to keep proper guards. And, as *no man goeth to war at his own expence*, the memorialist humbly prays your Honours to grant the common and usual wages and expences of said officers and men so called into service," etc.

This memorial having been taken into consideration, the following was passed by both Houses‡:

* Document "No. 96" in the collection of MSS. entitled "Susquehannah Settlers," mentioned on page 29, Vol. I.

† Document "No. 88", *ut supra*.

‡ See "Records of the State of Connecticut," II : 58.

"Resolved by this Assembly, That the Committee of Pay Table be, and they are hereby, authorized and directed to receive the pay abstracts of the officers and men (called into service as aforesaid) properly made out and attested, and adjust and settle the same * * in the same manner as is allowed to others of the militia of this State on like occasions."

During the May session of the Assembly a petition was received by that body, dated at Hartford, May 27, 1778, and signed by Jacob Anguish and George Kentner,* who described themselves as inhabitants of Westmoreland. They declared that "in the Spring of 1777 they lived up the Susquehanna about thirty miles above the main settlement, and by some evil and designing persons were induced to leave said settlement and remove up the river to some Indian lands. Soon after they were taken by a number of foreign Indians and carried to Niagara, and there obliged to go into the service of the King of Great Britain or into close confinement. Whereupon they went to batteauing in said service, and, as soon as they could find opportunity, got away and returned to their former settlement, about thirty miles above the main settlement."

Relating some other circumstances of minor importance the petitioners then set forth that, some time after their return to their "former settlement" (which was near the present borough of Tunkhannock, Wyoming County), "a number of persons, who were inimical to the United States, with a number of Indians came down the river and took and plundered sundry persons then living up said river. Whereupon the Colonel of the 24th Regiment in said State sent a party to take said party that had been taking, &c., as aforesaid; and on their way they found your memorialists, whom they suspected had been joining said plundering party, and they took and confined your memorialists in the common gaol in Westmoreland, and after some time sent your memorialists, with others, to the gaol in Hartford, where your memorialists are now confined.

"Your memorialists would beg leave to say that *they are friends to their country, and are willing to take the oath of fidelity* required in this State, and will to the utmost of their ability support the United States. They pray that they may be liberated from said gaol, and may return to their families in Westmoreland, who are in distressed circumstances—or in some other way grant relief to your memorialists." The Assembly forthwith took this memorial into consideration, and soon afterwards granted the prayer of the memorialists, who were immediately released from confinement. What became of Kentner we are

* The names of both these men are mentioned several times in the preceding pages, both having come to Wyoming with the settlers under The Susquehanna Company as early, at least, as July, 1771. (See page 696.) In July, 1772, Jacob Anguish, describing himself as "of Pittstown, in ye Susquehanna Purchase," conveyed to David Pixley, of Stockbridge, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, "one settling right in the township of Capouse Meadows, so called; which township was granted by The Susquehanna Company at Norwich, April 1, 1772, and ordered to be laid out." This deed was witnessed at Wilkes-Barré by Zebulon Butler and Ezekiel Peirce.

At Goshen, New York, under the date of January 27, 1773, "Jeremiah Colman" wrote to "the Committee of the Susquehanna Purchase" at Wyoming as follows: "Please to be so kind as to give Mr. BENJAMIN HARVEY the full charge of my Shawnee lots of land (I own right, and house that Orsburn built for me), if he [Harvey] shall do the duty of a right until I shall come or send my son. * * Discharge ANGUISH immediately from my lot. * * I understand that ANGUISH destroys the timber, and is a disagreeable person. I should be very glad to have him put off, and the care thereof given to Mr. HARVEY until I come or send other request." At Goshen, under the date of March 23, 1773, Jeremiah Colman addressed "to Capt. Z. Butler or Mr. Benjamin Harvey, at Sisquehanah," a letter reading as follows: "I am at this instant sending part of my family to Shawany. I hope you will immediately discharge ANGUISH and give the possession to my son Jesse. * * If my son wants any provision or other relief, please to give your assistance, and I will satisfy you."

George Kentner, or Kentnor, was admitted a proprietor-settler in Wilkes-Barré, September 24, 1771, and participated in the allotment of the township lands in April, 1772. (See pages 713 and 728.)

Craft (in his "History of Bradford County," page 65) says that Anguish moved up to the neighborhood of Tunkhannock; that Kentner remained near Wilkes-Barré until March 22, 1774, when he sold Lot No. 2 to William Stark and moved near Anguish, in the neighborhood of Tunkhannock. In the beginning of 1777 Anguish and Kentner removed to the neighborhood of Sheshequin, where, with sixteen others, they were captured in December, 1777.

unable to state, but Anguish, who was enrolled as a soldier in Butler's Rangers (see page 944)—which fact, it is quite probable, was not then surmised by the Assembly—made his way to Tioga Point, near the northern bounds of Westmoreland. There, a little while later, he joined the "Rangers" and accompanied them on their incursion against Wyoming, hereinafter described. In this connection it will be interesting to read a petition which was prepared for and signed by Jacob Anguish at Niagara in the Summer of 1784, and transmitted to Sir Frederick Haldimand, Governor of Quebec. The original petition is now among the "Haldimand Papers" (see page 963), and a copy of it is here printed for the first time.*

While the inhabitants of Wyoming were, in the Spring of 1778, united in the opinion that they were in imminent danger of an incursion by the savages, and that it behooved them to work together in harmony and with singleness of purpose for the protection of the entire settlement, yet, it seems, there were some who found time in the hour of danger to busy themselves about less important affairs. At the May session of the Connecticut Assembly there was presented a petition dated at Westmoreland, April 29, 1778, and signed by Josiah Stanburrough, Timothy Pearce, Benjamin Jones, Richard Halstead, and eighteen others, praying that ———, a citizen of Westmoreland who had been prominent in the affairs of the settlement for some time, should not be appointed a Judge of the Westmoreland County Court for the following reasons†:

"That he is a man of no religion, and doth not pay suitable regard to the Sabbath, but suffereth his family to saw boards in his saw-mill on the Sabbath-day, and also to go a hunting on the Sabbath-day. And furthermore, the said Judge appears when on the judgment-seat to be a party in causes depending in the Court before him. * * * And said Judge admitted an Indian belonging to some one of the tribes up the Susquehanna River to swear to a book account before him; and granted out a writ on said debt against

* PETITION OF JACOB ANGUISH.

"To Lieut. Col. DE PEYSTER, Commanding [Fort] Niagara:

"The Petition of JACOB ANGUISH, late a Ranger in Lieut. Col. Butler's Corps, Most Humbly Sheweth.

"That your Petitioner in the year 1777 quitted his Habitation near the Susquehanna, and joined Lieut. Col. Butler, under whose Command he went on the Expedition against Fort Stanwix, and was present at the Battle of Oriskany. That when the Army retreated he obtained permission from Lieut. Col. St. Ledger to return Home, in order to bring off his Family; but having the misfortune to be taken Prisoner on his journey, he was put into a Dungeon at Hartford where he was detained nine months.

"That during this confinement his sufferings had reduced him to such a state that the Americans found it necessary to release him, and permit him to return to his home. That on arriving there he found that a Party of Indians had plundered his House & carried off his wife and children Prisoners; he therefore joined Col. Butler a second time & went with him on the Expedition against Wyoming.

"That during the time that your Petitioner remained in the Dungeon at Hartford he was subjected to all the sufferings which Pain, sickness and intense cold could produce. That as he lay on the ground his clothes were sometimes frozen to it, and that one morning his Heel was frozen so fast in the mud that he was obliged to get one of his fellow Prisoners to disengage it—being himself so reduced by sickness that he was incapable of making any effort. That having been ever afterwards troubled with Pains in that foot & leg, an ulcer at last broke out upon the Heel, attended with a Disease of the Bone. That after having undergone great Torments for near two years, he was, upon the Reduction of the Corps of Rangers, admitted into the garrison Hospital at Niagara, where the Surgeons have found it absolutely necessary to Cut off his Leg.

"That being now Fifty-Nine years of age, deprived of a Limb & much reduced by a long course of Sickness and Distress, he is Utterly incapable of Maintaining himself and his Wife, & that they must therefore be reduced to the greatest Misery unless His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, should take their Case into consideration & be graciously pleased to make some small Provision for them. That Your Petitioner humbly hopes that in case he should not recover from the operation, His Excellency will nevertheless extend his Bounty towards his helpless Widow, Now between Fifty and Sixty Years of age.

"Your Petitioner concludes with humbly entreating that you will be pleased to lay his situation before His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, and he will, as in duty bound, ever pray, &c.

[Signed] "JACOB X ANGUISH."
his
mark

"NIAGARA, 4th August, 1784. I hereby certify the truth of the above Representation; & altho' I could not be a Witness of his sufferings in the Dungeon, I think it necessary to observe that when he joined me at Tioga, his limb was still swelled to an enormous Size.

[Signed] "JOHN BUTLER, Lieut. Colonel."

† The original petition is document "No. 99" in the collection of MSS., "Susquehannah Settlers," at Hartford.

one Stanburrough* before the County Court, when the Indian was not there and the defendant [Stanburrough] was in the army, a Commissary; and would not suffer said action to be continued, * * * and judgment was given against Stanburrough for about £20 on no other evidence than the Indian's own oath." * * *

Accompanying the foregoing petition was a "memorial," dated at Westmoreland, May 3, 1778, and signed by Samuel Gordon† and Thomas Wigton. The original is "No. 100" in the collection of MSS. entitled "Susquehannah Settlers" (mentioned on page 29, Vol. I), and a copy of it, in part, is here printed for the first time. It is as follows:

"Your Honours Memorialists being greatly concerned for the welfare of this settlement, and wish to see Justice, Judgment and Truth supercede Ignorance, Partiality & a Desire of Arbitrary Power. We shall not charge ———, Esqr, with Ignorance. How far he may be influenced by the latter principles we shall leave your Honours to judge, after a consideration of the following facts.

"In the case of Harris *vs.* Jones, Squire ———, being Judge of the Court, said, before the action was brought on, that Jones should not have the farm (meaning a farm about which Harris and Jones were then contending) nor should he (Jones) have liberty to live in Exeter; and on trial when the Judge was challenged as being some way interested in sd action would not go off the Bench; nor did he consult the Court whether he might sit as Judge, or otherwise. On trial of the case the Judge appeared as advocate for Harris & pled in his favour. * * *

"In a case of delinquency, Divine *vs.* Wigton, the Judge refused to let Wigton come into Court to defend himself, nor would he allow the action put over. Wigton's family being then in the small-pox the Judge alledged he might catch the small-pox of sd Wigton, tho' he shifted his cloaths. In a private conversation between Divine & Wigton's atty. Wigton's atty. insisted that Wigton had a right to come into Court to defend himself. The Judge overheard the conversation; told sd atty. that if Wigton came into court he (the Judge) would put Wigton & said atty. in a place they would neither like nor get easily out of. * * *

"The cases of Scovell & Cary & Jenkins & Marcy we shall not trouble your Honours with; they with many others are well known to the worthy gentlemen now chose to represent us. * * * The case of Saml. Gordon, one of yr. Honour's memorialists, who, out of regard to the welfare of this settlement, offered to venture his life to make a discovery of the situation of a number of Tories who lived up the river at Tioga & Sheshequin. [He] accordingly obtained liberty of Col. Denison; and, after said Gordon [had] asked the advice & opinion of the rest of the authority, proceeded. By the negligence of ———, who was to come to Wyalusing on a certain day, at a place appointed, and meet Gordon with a party of men to take sd Tories, sd Gordon and a number of respectable inhabitants were made prisoners and their effects [were taken] by the Tories. Gordon came to the place and staid one day and night over the time. ——— overtook a party of men on their way to Gordon, expecting ——— either as a civil or militia officer would head them according to promise. He refused, and advised them [to go] home. They obeyed his orders, & the night after a number of Tories assembled & took sd Gordon prisoner as above.

"After the sd Gordon got his liberty, &, with others of the prisoners taken with him, came home, Sq^r ——— industriously propagated a report that sd Gordon was a Tory, and that he could prove it. Gordon requested the Comtee (of which Col. Denison and Anderson Dana, Esq., are members) to cite the sd Gordon & ———, Esqr, before them and make Sq^r ——— produce his evidence. * *

"Your memorialists beg leave to observe further that Sq^r ——— is not a man of an exemplary life, which your memorialists can abundantly prove; neither would he suffer one of his sons either to go a soldier in the Continental service nor as an officer. * * * To sum up all in one word—his partial temper of mind, and an arbitrary mode of proceeding, render him very unfit for either a Justice or Judge of the County Court. We therefore pray your Honours [to] supply his place with a gentleman of known abilities, whose character may be the very reverse of Sq^r ———'s." * * *

The Westmorelander at whom these shafts were aimed learned in a general way what had taken place, and, under the date of June 1, 1778, wrote to Governor Trumbull, in part as follows:

"I hear from common report that a number of disaffected persons have, in a private manner and without giving me the least notice to defend, undertaken by a petition, or some such like instrument, to take from me one of the best of Heaven's blessings—a good name. By which means I understand that it has pleased the Assembly, for the aforesaid reasons, *not to appoint me* to the offices which I sustain; which also tends to bring me into contempt, shame and disgrace."

* See pages 912 and 913.

† See page 910.

Towards the close of the May session of the Assembly the following petition* (in the handwriting of Representative Anderson Dana) was presented and read:

"To the Honorable Ginnarell Assembly of the State of Connecticut Now seting at Hartford the Memorial of Anderson Dana of Westmoreland In said state humbly sheweth:

"that since the seting of this Assembly your Memorilist has had Intelligence from said Westmoreland that the Indians have kill'd and taken 25 persons on the West branch of the Susquehannah River: and have killed and Destroyed many persons Near the head of the East Branch West of Albany and appear very surly and Insolent in the upper part of s^d Westmoreland. Which gives grate Reason to the Inhabitants of said Westmoreland to believe that the Indians Intend to make Warr:

"Whereupon your Memorilist would begg leve to observe: that unless there can be a company raised to Defend s^d town it Will oblige the militia of s^d town to go a scouting & garding to def^d s^d town: and oblige them to Neglect raseing Provision for the support of the Inhabitants: and your Memorilist would beg leve further to observe that the Honorable Congress has commissioned officers† in s^d town for a company to gard s^d town, with only the Incoragement of 40/- per month to a soldgier, without any Bounty; and by long tryel it is found that said company in that way cannot be raised;

"Whereupon your Memorilist humbly Prays your Honours to take the Distrest case of the town of Westmoreland into your wise consideration and order such further Incorgement to each non commissioned officer and soldier to be paid out of the Treasury of this State to induce s^d company to be fitted for the Defence of said town; or In sum other way grant Relieff as your Honours in your grate Wisdom shall think proper, and your memorilist in Duty bound shall ever pray.

"Dated Hartford June 10th, 1778.

[Signed] "ANDERSON DANA."

This memorial having been duly considered, the following action was taken by the Assembly‡:

"Resolved by this Assembly, That for further Encouragement of Raising the Company in the Memorial refer^d to, that the sum of thirty shillings p^r month be and the same is hereby allow'd and granted to each non commission'd officer and soldier who shall inlist into & serve in s^d company from the time of their respective inlistments, as a bounty, untill the 1st day of December next, unless sooner discharged." * *

Let us now turn in the direction of Fort Niagara and learn what has been going on in that locality since the beginning of the year 1778.

Early in January Major Butler entered into a new treaty with the Indians, making them many presents—in particular, 300 of Burgoyne's silver medals to their young warriors. About that time Butler's Rangers mustered in the neighborhood of 125 men. Under the date of February 2, 1778, Major Butler made to Sir Guy Carleton, Governor of Quebec, a "return of the Corps of Rangers to serve with the Indians," and at the same time wrote to him the following letter, now published for the first time.§

* The original is now preserved in the collection of MSS. entitled "Susquehannah Settlers"—referred to on page 29, Vol. I.

† Capt. DETHICK HEWITT and Lieut. TIMOTHY HOWE, previously mentioned.

‡ See "Records of the State of Connecticut," II: 57.

§ The original letter will be found in the "Haldimand Papers"—B. M. 21,756-1, XCVI: 117. The collection of documents known as the "Haldimand Papers" comprises a vast number of letters, reports, muster-rolls, etc., accumulated by Sir FREDERICK HALDIMAND during a long and eventful military and official career. This collection is now preserved in the British Museum, London.

Sir FREDERICK HALDIMAND, abovementioned, was born in the Canton of Neuchâtel, Switzerland, in October, 1718. He was appointed a Captain in the regiment of Swiss guards in the service of Holland, May 1, 1755, and January 4, 1756, was appointed, from the Dutch service, Lieutenant Colonel of the "Royal American Regiment," or "62d Foot," described in the note on page 346, Vol. I. Very shortly afterwards he set sail for America, and during the portion of the year 1756 following his arrival here he was commandant of the British troops garrisoned at Philadelphia. In 1757 he was in command of the royal troops protecting the western frontiers of Pennsylvania against the Indians. In June, 1758, he was at Fort Edward, New York, and later in that year at various posts on Lake Champlain. In September, 1759, he was in command of his regiment at the battle on the Plains of Abraham, preceding the fall of Quebec (see note "‡," page 578, Vol. I), and in the campaign of 1760 he was in command of the second division of Amherst's army, as noted in the third paragraph on page 482, Vol. I. In 1763 and '64 he was still in the British military service in this country, having attained the rank of Brigadier General.

In 1775 General Haldimand (then in England, and a Major General) was appointed Inspector General of the British forces in the West Indies. In August, 1777, he was notified by Lord George Germain that he had been appointed "Captain General and Governor-in-chief of the Province of Quebec, and General and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's forces in said Province and the frontiers, etc.," to succeed Sir Guy Carleton. (See page 927.) He was desired to sail for Quebec immediately, but was unable to do so, and it was not until June 30, 1778, that he landed at the city of Quebec. The same day, he wrote Lord Germain that he had "taken command of the troops, as well as assumed the government,"

"Sir.—In my last to your Excellency of the 14th ult. I did myself the honor of acquainting you with the favourable event of our conferences with the Indians, the particulars of which I now transmit to you.

"Your Excellency will perceive from their own sentiments the reasons they have for not alarming the rebels this winter on the Frontiers of the Province of New York, which, by certain accounts they have from their spies, they find are too well guarded by the prudent measures of Mr. Gates* (in cantoning a considerable part of his army in those parts most exposed to be attacked), with any prospect of success—particularly at a season when they could not retreat without a certainty of being pursued by a force too great for them to contend with.

"This cautious measure they hope will deceive the Rebels & divert their attention in the spring from that Quarter, where they intend to make a very formidable Irruption with their whole collected force into the frontiers of New York & glut that revenge they so impatiently wish for, for the loss of so many of their men near Fort Stanwix.

"Since the conclusion of the Council I have the strongest assurances of the fidelity of the Senecas & Cayugas, who are the leading People of the Six Nations. Upon the first Report of an intended incursion into their country by the Rebels from the Susquehanna, they have unanimously resolved to defend themselves with that spirit & obstinacy for which they are remarkable, & also to retaliate as soon as the season of the year will permit. To strengthen their resolution they have had recourse to some superstitious rites which has often produced effects upon a fierce & Barbarous People.

"But, what gives me more satisfaction, is the pleasure I have to inform your Excellency that, upon receiving a Belt of Invitation from [General] Schuyler to attend a Council with the rebels and the Indians still adhering to them, at Johnstown, the 17th instant, the Chief of the Senecas rejected the invitation and sent back the Belt, telling the Messengers, who were an Oneida & a Tuscarora, that they had no ears to hear any Messages from them, neither would they nor any of their people attend their calls; adding that the blood of their people was still reeking which he [Schuyler] was the occasion of spilling. However, to know the result of this Council, they are determined to have spies amongst them. When it is ended, I shall faithfully transmit to your Excellency all the particulars.

"The request made to your Excellency by the Indian chiefs in Quebec they frequently renewed in council to Colonel Bolton and myself; namely, the establishing a Post at Ontario. The reasons they give are many. By so doing, they say, the King's Troops [will] have an easy entrance into the country of the Six Nations; which, if not done, they think the Rebels will seize upon it themselves, as they apprehend the meeting at Johnstown is called to sound the disposition of the Indians upon that head. That Ontario being in possession of the King's Troops would especially prevent the rebels from building vessels on the Lake, and at the same time put a stop to any designs that may have been formed against this post. That it would afford a safe refuge to their women and children in case their attachment to the King should bring the [Rebel] Army into their Country in such numbers as they (if unassisted) would be too weak to oppose. They also observe that the fidelity of the Onondagas & Tuscaroras, who, from their vicinity to the Rebels are more exposed & therefore not so firm as if their situation was more secure, would by that means be effectually secured. For these reasons and others the principal men of the Senecas & Cayugas have warmly requested the taking possession of that Post. * * *

"Mr. Joseph Brant† with about 30 Mohawks have a few days ago set out for the Indian Boundaries, with a view of being near in case the enemy should put their threats of Entering into the Indian Country in execution. The Indians have put their spies out all along their Frontier to discover if the rebels are assembling. I have wrote and sent messages to the Chiefs to know if my assistance with as many Rangers as I have would be wanted before the return of those people, whom they have sent out, not thinking it pru-

and that he had presented his commission as "Vice Admiral." Under the date of July 25, 1778, General Haldimand wrote to Lord Germain that he had "been installed into the civil and military government of the Province—Sir Guy Carleton transferring all papers, records," &c., to him. Immediately afterwards Sir Guy set out for the city of New York.

The character of Haldimand as Governor of Quebec has been described in most unfavorable terms. Garneau says (in his "History of Canada") that he was an imperious old soldier, good at the head of troops, but little suited by his training for the government of a people accustomed to the rule of law; that he only enforced obedience by inflexible rigor; imprisoned citizens by hundreds—making no distinction between the innocent and the guilty. There are two events of great interest to Canada in which General Haldimand took a leading part. One was the negotiation with Vermont for its reunion with the British Crown, and the other was the reception and settlement in Canada of the American Loyalists before and during the Revolutionary War and after its conclusion.

By the Indians—or at least the Mohawks—General Haldimand was called "Governor *Asharekewa*" ("Big Sword"). In 1784 Governor Haldimand signed a decree by which a tract of land six miles wide, on both sides of the Grand River, from its mouth to its source (in what is now the Province of Ontario), was ceded to the Mohawk tribe and certain allied tribes as a reward for their fidelity to the British Crown during the American Revolution. This tract of country became known as the "Brant Reserve" and later as the "Grand River Reserve." The present county of Brant, including the city of Brantford, Ontario, comprehends a part of this Reserve.

General Haldimand continued to serve as Governor of Quebec until 1786, when he was succeeded by his predecessor, Sir Guy Carleton, and returned to England. He died in Neufchatel, June 5, 1791. In 1857 the papers of Sir Frederick Haldimand were presented by his nephew, Mr. W. Haldimand—by whose care they had been preserved—to the British Museum, and they form the collection now known as the "Haldimand Papers," as before remarked.

* Gen. HORATIO GATES of the American army.

† See pages 933 and 965.

dent to make any motions towards the inhabitants till Spring, unless the Indians should be in danger of being attacked. For those reasons given by *Siengerochte*,* in the name of the whole nations, in his last answer, I hope & wish Mr. Brant's attempt may not bring upon them those consequences they seem to be aware of.

"Mr. Brant (who is, I believe, known to your Excellency, & [is] very deserving of the character of an active & intelligent [man], and very willing to do everything in his power for the public good) having represented that he has been employed two years past without any allowance, & out of hopes of receiving any reward for his past services from Col. Guy Johnson, has desired me to lay his situation before your Excellency, praying that you would allow him some certain pay for his future support. I humbly hope your Excellency would be pleased to attend to his request, as he is very deserving of your favor.

"The Indians of the Six Nations & those from the westward have exerted themselves in laying waste the Country most exposed to them. From the east [*sic*] branch of the Susquehanna to the Kiskiminitas Creek upon the Ohio, and from thence down to Kankawa River (an extent of many hundred miles), is now nothing but an heap of ashes. Such of those miserable people as have escaped have taken refuge in small forts. Affairs appear to be now growing desperate about Fort Pitt. A number of those people having sent a Deputation to the Six Nations, requesting a passage through their country, received for answer that their country was always free & open to the King's good subjects, being only shut against rebels, & that they might pass when they pleased. They are said to be about 200 in number, & may be expected here or at Detroit early in the spring.

"I have now given your Excellency a full detail of everything relative to His Majesty's Interest amongst his Indian allies, & have the greatest hopes it may be attended with the desired success. I have the honor to be

[Signed] "JOHN BUTLER."

Under the date of April 8, 1778, Lieut. Col. Mason Bolton, in command at Fort Niagara, wrote from that place to Sir Guy Carleton at Quebec, in part as follows†:

"I received the honour of your Excellency's favour dated November the 8th, and am happy to find my conduct has been such as to merit your approbation. It is possible and probable I may err. However, I will venture to assure you, Sir, that no man can have the King's service more at heart than I have. * * * The savages, if I can credit reports, are determined to assist us, and from my own observation I have no reason to doubt them. They are now calling in all their people most exposed to the Rebels, and assembling their fighting men in each village, who will be ready to oppose Schuyler whenever he attempts to put his threats in execution against them on this Post.

"Major Butler intends leaving this Post in a few days with his Corps, in order to consult with *Siengorachte*‡ (chief warrior of the Senecas), who has now an *almost unlimited command over the Six Nations*, by what Joseph [Brant] informs me. Therefore, when your Excellency will favour me with your orders, I have no doubt but the Major will put them in execution. However, it's not improbable the savages may think it necessary to commence hostilities sooner. In that case I believe he must acquiesce; but at the same time I am convinced he will do his utmost to prevent any attempts the Rebels may have in view against this Post, as far as it lies in his power. * * * I have received the following intelligence by the Indians employed to watch Schuyler's motions. * * * They say the northern army is commanded by a French Marquis, one Difat.§ * * * All accounts confirm Washington being killed and his army defeated in December last, and that Gates was sent for to take the command." * * *

On April 8th Lieut. Colonel Bolton wrote also to Capt. Francis Le Maistre, Deputy Adjutant General in Canada, in part as follows:

"I have also acquainted Major Butler his own name is to be mentioned in the accounts of expenditure for the Indian Department which will be observed for the future. The Major, I believe, intends appointing Sergeant Turney|| a Second Lieutenant in his corps of Rangers. He [Turney] left this place two days after his arrival with the express for Detroit." * * *

* SAYENQUERAGHTA. See page 968.

† See the "Haldimand Papers"—B. M. 21,756-1, XCVI-I:195.

‡ SAYENQUERAGHTA, previously mentioned.

§ Undoubtedly the Marquis de LAFAYETTE was meant. General Gates was at that time President of the Board of War, and it was part of the scheme of the "Conway Cabal," evolved early in 1778, to secure the alliance of LAFAYETTE by offering him the command of an expedition to invade Canada.

|| JOHN TURNERY, SR., was one of the original sergeants of the "Rangers." Cruikshank (in "The Story of Butler's Rangers") refers to him as "a veteran soldier of many years' service." In the Spring of 1778 Major Butler appointed Turney a Lieutenant in the "Rangers," but he was not commissioned as such by the Governor until February 8, 1779. His name is mentioned several times hereinafter. John Turney, Jr., was a private in the "Rangers."

At Fort Niagara, under the date of April 10, 1778, Major Butler wrote to Sir Guy Carleton, as follows*:

"Sir.—As the season of the year is now hastening on for action, the Indians of the Six Nations are busied in bringing off such of their people and friends as are nearest to the Rebels, to places of more security. When they have done, they are more than ever determined to strike that stroke they resolved upon last fall, in Council—the minutes of which I did myself the Honor of sending to your Excellency in my last.

"I am in daily expectation of a message from them, to acquaint me that they are ready; and as I am convinced that my being with them may be of use to accelerate their departure & direct their motions, I intend to march with what 'Rangers' I have with me to act with them, when I hope to be considerably reinforced by *those Rangers I have ordered in from the Susquehanna*, as well as by a number of Loyalists from the back settlements—near one hundred men being already engaged to serve as 'Rangers' by an officer whom I sent out for that purpose.

"Although the Indians of the Six Nations have not acted with their collective force this last winter, for reasons which they gave in Council, yet I can with great Truth assure your Excellency that they have not been idle. I have frequently sent out parties to the Susquehanna, from whence, after having destroyed their upper settlements, they have brought in some Prisoners & about 70 scalps. Some Parties are yet out, [of] whose success I have not heard.

"A few days ago an Indian arrived, whom I had sent down to attend Schuyler's meeting.† He tells me Schuyler recommended in the strongest terms to the Indians a *neutrality* in the present troubles; not through fear (he said) of them, but purely for their own safety, & to prevent their losing so many of their people as they did last Summer. He [Schuyler] also observed that as he saw to his sorrow but very few of the Six Nations there, that he did not look upon them as a Council. He therefore advised them that, upon their return home, they should call a general Council of their nations at the Onondago, & consider well what he had told them; which when they had done, & had agreed to the proposed neutrality, he declared his intentions of coming to Oswego—observing that as they had not hindered the King's Troops from coming through their country last year, he hoped as friends and Brethren they would not hinder him, adding that if they did not agree to what he proposed, that he should for the future treat them as enemies wherever he met them. He finished by telling them that his Intention of coming through their Country was only to remove those People who had given them bad advice, & occasioned the loss of so many of their principal Warriors. I have the peculiar satisfaction, arising from the fidelity of the Six Nations, to assure your Excellency that the majority of them are inclined to pay little regard to his advice, as they are now busily employed in preparing to act quite opposite to it, and have also positively refused to hold the meetings at Onondago.

"The last accounts I have from Albany contradict the Report of the Rebels building Boats & making preparations for coming to Oswego. They also say there are 700 men at Fort Stanwix, & that considerable Fortifications have been added to it, as well as large quantities of Provisions and Stores deposited there. That large numbers of the Rebels had gone off for Canada as if for a winter Expedition (great quantities of hand-slays & creepers having been provided), & that they intend to pass the Isle au Noix & St. John's & surprize Montreal; and that the Marquis DE FIRT‡ commands the northern army, in place of Mr. Gates.

"A few days ago I received a Letter from Mrs. Butler acquainting me with the ill state of health of my son Walter, occasioned by his long & severe confinement in Goal at Albany.§ I would therefore beg leave of your Excellency to request (if not improper) the favor of having him exchanged, & hope your Excellency will be pleased to take this request into your consideration. His treatment has, I believe, been the more severe for no other reason than that of *being my son!*

"By this opportunity I transmit a Pay-list of the officers & rangers of the Indian Department, not yet incorporated, from the 24th of June to the 24th of December, 1777, amounting to £1,020, 10sh. 9½d., Halifax; also an account current for the pay of the Two Companies of 'Rangers,' &c., for the same time, in which there remains a balance in my favor of £1,331, 18sh. 2½d., Halifax. These accounts, with the proper drafts, will be presented by Mr. Phynn, & will, I hope, meet with your Excellency's approbation.

"I have the honor to be, Sir, &c.,

[Signed] "JOHN BUTLER."

At Fort Niagara, under the date of May 1, 1778, Major Butler wrote to Sir Guy Carleton at considerable length concerning the fidelity of the Six Nation Indians to the British cause, the prisoners taken by them,

* See the "Haldimand Papers"—B. M. 21,765, CV:27.

† At Johnstown, New York, on March 9th. See page 954.

‡ Marquis de LAFAYETTE.

§ See page 929, last two paragraphs.

etc., and stated that he was preparing for his expedition against the frontiers and expected to set out from Niagara for "the Seneca country" the next day. Accordingly, on May 2d, Major Butler began his march from Niagara at the head of his corps of "Rangers," then comprising but two complete companies, one of which was commanded by Capt. William Caldwell, mentioned on page 940. The Captain of the other company was Walter N. Butler (who was the senior Captain of the corps); but, as previously mentioned, he was then a prisoner in the hands of the Americans. Who commanded his company at that time we are unable to state, but in all likelihood it was Lieut. Benjamin Pawling, a former resident of Westmoreland, who was, about 1780, promoted to a captaincy in the "Rangers."

It is probable that the "Rangers" were accompanied from Niagara by some Indians under the command of Capt. John Johnston (mentioned on page 932) of the Indian Department, as Lieut. Colonel Bolton, in a letter to Sir Guy Carleton under the date of May 12, 1778, transmitting certain accounts "for Indian expenses," referred to the large number of Indians collected at the fort, and stated that Major Butler had "gone with the Indians on an expedition."

The "Seneca country" referred to by Major Butler—that is, the country of the *Eastern Senecas*—at that period lay chiefly within the bounds of the present counties of Livingston and Ontario, New York,* and the principal town of the Senecas, or their capital, was Kanadesaga; or, according to Lewis H. Morgan, *Ga-nun-de-sa-ga* in the Seneca dialect, meaning "new settlement village."† Genesee Castle, or "Little Beard's Town," containing 128 substantial log houses, and located at or near the present town of Cuylerville, just west of the Genesee River, in Livingston County, was the largest Seneca town in 1778 and 1779; but Kanadesaga was the capital of the nation, and was commonly called "The Seneca Castle." At a later period it was known as "Old Castle," or "Old Castle Town." It was situated some 108 miles, "as the crow flies," east-south-east of Fort Niagara, and a mile and a-half or two miles north-west from the north-western corner of Seneca Lake, within the present limits of the town of Geneva, Ontario County; and, as noted on page 437, had been located there since about 1756.

The town was finely situated on a level stretch of ground through which ran a brook, and it was compactly built. In 1778 and 1779 it consisted of about fifty dwelling-houses, with thirty more in the immediate vicinity. The houses in the town—some of which were good, framed buildings—were irregularly built around a large, green plot, on which had stood the stockaded fortification (the remains of which, indicating a structure of considerable size, were plainly visible in 1778) erected by Sir William Johnson, as previously mentioned. Beautifully situated near the shore of the lake, about a mile and a-half from the town, in the midst of an extensive corn-field, was a large frame-house, with two or three smaller houses near by. These were known as "Butler's build-

* See pages 111 and 121, and map on page 33, Vol. I.

† Gen JOHN S. CLARK (mentioned on page 170, Vol. I) has stated that *Kanadesaga* signifies "the Grand Village," and that the town was so called because the residence of the chief sachem of the Senecas was located there. This statement was based, undoubtedly, upon what Sir William Johnson wrote in 1763 concerning the town in question, which was to the effect that "*Kanadesero*" (he so called it, in the Mohawk dialect) meant "the Grand Village;" not that it was different from the other villages, but because the *Turtle*—the most noble of all the clans of the Seneca nation—was the dominant, or ruling, clan of the town. Also, it was the residence of *Sayenqueraghta*, the grand representative of the nation, to whom was committed the charge of lighting the council-fire of the Six Nations.

ings" and "Butler's quarters," and were always occupied by Maj. John Butler and his white associates whenever they visited Kanadesaga in an official or a military capacity. An extensive apple-orchard was within the bounds of the town, and many apple-trees were growing throughout the fields in the neighborhood—some of the trees appearing to be twenty or thirty years old in 1778. About half a mile north of the town was a large peach-orchard, and wild-plum, mulberry, hickory-nut, walnut and butternut trees were there in great abundance. Large and well-cultivated corn-fields lay to the north and north-east, at some distance from the town. In the town was a large council-house, and about a half mile distant, in a north-easterly direction, in the midst of a corn-field, stood a noble elm-tree, known as "the great council-tree of the Senecas." It was still standing in 1879, at which time its trunk measured, near the ground, twenty-five feet in circumference.

At Kanadesaga dwelt the celebrated Seneca war-chief *Gy-ant-wahia*, or "Cornplanter" (mentioned on page 164, Vol. I); but the chief man there in 1778, and for several years previously, was *Say-en-que-ragh-ta*,* or "Old Smoke," or "Old King," as he has more commonly

* *SAY-EN-QUE-RAGH-TA* belonged to the Turtle clan of the Senecas, as previously noted, and, according to Col. Daniel Claus (a son-in-law of Sir William Johnson, and frequently mentioned hereinbefore), was "descended from a brave and loyal family, distinguished for their attachment to the Crown and to British interests so early as the reign of Queen Anne"; the head of which family was presented by that Queen "with a coronet—the only mark of distinction of that kind ever given to an Indian." The Seneca chief thus honored was either the father or grandfather of *Sayenqueraghta*, and was one of the five Indian "kings" taken to England by Col. Peter Schuyler in 1710 (as mentioned on page 175, Vol. I), during the last years of Queen Anne's reign.

The pronunciation of an Indian's name varied in the different dialects of the several nations of the Iroquois. Then the fancies of different writers, in the use of syllables, or words, and letters to express the sounds heard, varied also a good deal. Hence the name of *Sayenqueraghta* is found variously written, as, for example, "*Seaguarrahee*," "*Sangerachta*," "*Siengerochie*," "*Siengorachte*," "*Saengerachton*," "*Gajinquechto*," "*Giengwahito*," "*Gucingerachton*," "*Cayenquaraghta*," "*Kayingwaurto*," and "*Kayinguaraghtoh*," and in upwards of a score more ways. (See George S. Conover's "*Sayenqueraghta*, King of the Senecas," and the Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden's "*The Massacre of Wyoming*," mentioned in previous pages.)

The first mention we make of this chief is in the account (page 235, Vol. I) of the journey of the missionaries Cammerhoff and Zeisberger from Wyoming Valley to central New York in the Summer of 1750. *Sayenqueraghta* was then living at Ganeststage. He was still living there in June, 1754, when he attended the Congress at Albany, New York, described in Vol. I, page 262, *et seq.* *Takeghsatu* was then the principal chief of the Eastern Senecas, and was one of the Indians who executed the deed to Thomas and Richard Penn described on page 268, Vol. I. *Sayenqueraghta* signed neither that deed nor the one to The Susquehanna Company. (See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VI: 128.) In October, 1758, both *Takeghsatu* and *Sayenqueraghta* (then a "war captain") attended the conference at Easton, Pennsylvania, described on page 379, Vol. I. At that time both chiefs resided at the new town of Kanadesaga, whither they had removed in 1756; and in going to and returning from Easton they passed through Wyoming Valley, tarrying for a time, on each occasion, at the village of Teedyuscung, described on pages 310 and 371, Vol. I.

By the Spring of 1763 *Sayenqueraghta* had succeeded *Takeghsatu* as chief sachem of the Eastern Senecas, and in May of that year he took an important part as one of the deputies from the Six Nations) in a conference held with the Governor of Connecticut at Hartford, relative to the Susquehanna lands. (See Vol. I, page 415.) In April, 1764, as one of the deputies of the "whole Seneca nation," *Sayenqueraghta* signed "Preliminary Articles of Peace" at Johnson Hall, New York, as described on pages 436 and 437, Vol. I. His signature being the first one (of the Indians) to the treaty, indicates that he was the chief or leading sachem. The signature—"Tagaanadie"—to the left of, and on the same line with, that of *Sayenqueraghta*, is the signature of the latter's eldest son.

In January, 1765, the Rev. Samuel Kirkland (whose name is several times mentioned in the preceding pages, and a sketch of whose life will be found in Chapter XVIII), under the protection of a convoy sent by Sir William Johnson, went to the Senecas as a missionary. Upon his arrival at Kanadesaga (twenty-three days after leaving Johnson Hall), he was taken to the house of *Sayenqueraghta*, "the chief sachem," who received him kindly. The next day a council was convened, and the message of Sir William Johnson having been delivered, was received with great applause. It was then determined that Mr. Kirkland should remain with *Sayenqueraghta* till some more convenient place could be provided; but within a few weeks after his arrival he was formally adopted as a member of this chief's family. A number of the chiefs assembled in the council-house, the members of *Sayenqueraghta*'s family being present, sitting apart by themselves. Mr. Kirkland was waited upon and invited to repair to the council-house. On his entrance one of the chiefs, after a short period of silence, spoke as follows: "Brothers, open your ears and your eyes. You see here our white brother, who has come from a great distance, recommended to us by our great chief, Sir William Johnson, who has enjoined it upon us to be kind to him, and to make him comfortable and protect him to the utmost of our power. He comes to do us good. Brothers, this young white brother of ours has left his father's house, and his mother, and all his relations. We must now provide for him a home. I am appointed to say to you and to our young white brother that our head sachem adopts him into his family. He will be a father to him, and his wife will be a mother, and his sons and daughters his brothers and sisters."

"The head sachem [*Sayenqueraghta*] then arose," says Kirkland in his journal (see his "Life" in Sparks' "Library of American Biography," XV: 167), "and took me by the hand, and called me his son, and led me to his family. I thanked him, and said I wished the Great Spirit might make me a blessing to his family. I then shook hands with his wife and children, and with all who were convened on the occasion." The sachem's house being crowded by his own family, and resorted to by many visitors, it was determined that Mr. Kirkland should reside at a house near by, occupied by an Indian family consisting of a man, his wife and niece. Unfortunately, a few days later, this Indian man died very suddenly in the night, having been in perfect health, apparently, the day before. A num-

ber of the inhabitants of the village were strongly disposed to charge the sudden death to either the presence, or some act, of Mr. Kirkland. Thereupon a council was assembled (which continued in session for several days), the opening speech at which was made by *Sayenqueraghta*, in part as follows: "Brothers, this is a dark day to us; a heavy cloud has gathered over us. The cheering rays of the sun are obscured. A great and awakening event has called us together—the sudden death of one of our best men. A living example of peace, sobriety and industry is taken from us. Our whole town mourns, for a good man is gone. Our white brother had lived with him a few days. Our white brother is a good young man. He loves Indians. He wishes to do them good. He comes recommended to us by Sir William Johnson, who is commissioned by the great King beyond the waters to be our Superintendent. Brothers, attend! The Great Spirit has supreme power over life. He has most certainly brought about this solemn event by His will. Brothers, let us deliberate wisely; let us determine with great caution; let us take counsel with a tender mind."

Speeches were made by various members of the council, and then *Sayenqueraghta* made the closing speech, in which, among other things, he said: "You imagine that it would be agreeable to the mind of the Upholder of the Skies that our English brother's life should make satisfaction for the death of our brother, and then all would be peaceful and pleasant in the future. I am surprised, I am grieved at my heart, I am ashamed of these suggestions. They may be the fruits of jealousy or ignorance or a bad heart. This young white brother was committed to our care by Sir William Johnson, who enjoined upon us to be kind to him, to protect him from all harm, to let no evil befall him by our neglect. He came with a pure intention to do us good. Who can say he has done any bad thing since he came among us? Who among us can lift up his hand to kill an innocent man? I should rather die myself than wish to live and see the evils that would befall our nation should we do this wrong. Hearken, I beseech you, to my advice. Repent, and correct what has been amiss in some of your talk, and never let the white people know—and especially Sir William Johnson—all and everything that has passed in this council. Bury the hatchet deep in the ground, with all jealousy and animosity against our white brother."

This closing speech of *Sayenqueraghta* bore down all opposition. No reply was made. His advice was assented to by all but a small minority, and, after a general shout of applause, "which made the council-house ring", *Sayenqueraghta* said, "Our business is done; I rake up the council-fire." Thereafter, during his stay at Kanadesaga, Mr. Kirkland resided with *Tekanada*, or *Tagaanadie* (the eldest son of *Sayenqueraghta*), and his family, in one of the block-houses of the old palisaded fortification built by Sir William Johnson. During this time he lived in great harmony and friendship with the Senecas, who were referred to by him in a letter as "a nation the most savage and barbarous of any upon the continent."

In the Spring of 1765 the inhabitants of Kanadesaga suffered very greatly for lack of necessary and substantial food, and towards the end of April the want of provisions became so pressing, and the prospect of starvation so imminent, that Mr. Kirkland, accompanied by *Tagaanadie* and his family, set out by water for Sir William Johnson's for a supply of food. After many adventures and some misfortunes—including the death of *Tagaanadie's* wife—the surviving members of the party returned to Kanadesaga the last of June with an ample stock of necessities. Mr. Kirkland left the Seneca capital finally in May, 1766, and was accompanied to Lebanon, Connecticut, by his adopted brother *Tagaanadie*. En route they arrived at Hartford while the General Assembly of Connecticut was in session, and received "distinguished attention", together with a present of £20, from the Governor and members of the Assembly. At the time of Mr. Kirkland's residence in Kanadesaga *Sayenqueraghta's* family consisted of his mother, aged ninety years, his wife, who belonged to the Cayuga nation, and at least two sons and two daughters. One of the daughters was the wife of Capt. Roland Montour, mentioned on page 207, Vol. I, and on a subsequent page of this chapter.

In November, 1768, *Sayenqueraghta* was one of the Six Nation deputies present at the Fort Stanwix treaty, described on pages 448 and 452, Vol. I; in July, 1771, he was present at an Indian conference held with Sir William Johnson at Johnson Hall; and in an account (see "New York Colonial Documents", VIII : 424-8) of a congress of some of the principal chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations held at Johnson Hall, April 18, 1774, *Sayenqueraghta* is named as "the chief of the Senecas", and is noted as having made a lengthy speech to Sir William Johnson. At a congress of Six Nation Indians held at Johnstown in September, 1774, in consequence of the appointment of Col. Guy Johnson as the successor of his father-in-law in the office of Superintendent of Indian Affairs, a number of chiefs—including *Sayenqueraghta*—were presented to Colonel Johnson, the speaker saying: "These are all great men, who rule us. They are of one mind, resolved to remember Sir William Johnson's words and follow your advice. They are men to be trusted." March 2, 1775, Colonel Johnson distributed some presents to the principal men of the Six Nations—particularly to "*Sayenqueraghta*, the faithful chief of all the Lower [or Eastern] Senecas", and his family. (See "New York Colonial Documents", VIII : 559.)

According to Col. Daniel Claus *Sayenqueraghta* was in command of the Senecas at the bloody battle of Oriskany (see page 936), where seventeen of his nation—among them many leaders—were killed at the first onset. The Senecas were greatly exasperated by this loss, and although they revenged themselves by killing many of the Americans, "chiefly with spears and lances", they were not satisfied, says Claus. After the battle of Oriskany *Sayenqueraghta* accompanied John Butler to Quebec, as mentioned on page 938. As to the whereabouts and doings of *Sayenqueraghta* in 1778 after the battle of Wyoming, and in 1779, some mention is made in the subsequent pages of this chapter, and in Chapters XVI and XVIII. After the destruction of Kanadesaga early in September, 1779 (as related in Chapter XVIII), *Sayenqueraghta* and his family repaired to Fort Niagara.

In the latter part of 1779, or early in 1780, Sir Frederick Haldimand received from Lord George Germain a commission signed by King George appointing Joseph Brant a "Colonel of Indians". This commission was evidently issued in response to the plea made to Sir Guy Carleton in behalf of Brant by Maj. John Butler in February, 1778, as set forth in the latter's letter on page 965. Accompanying this commission was a box of prints, or engravings, of Brant, after "Lord Warwick's picture of him"; some of which prints General Haldimand was instructed to send to the Mohawks, and then to dispose of the remainder as a "memorial" of Brant's services. In reply, General Haldimand wrote to Lord Germain in part as follows (see the "Haldimand Papers"):

"I have received His Majesty's commission for Joseph Brant, and your Lordship observes very justly that his conduct merits every mark of our attention and regard; but Joseph's situation amongst the Six Nation Indians is very different from the idea those who are not acquainted with it must, from his superior talents, conceive. To speak in their style, he has been [only] very lately known on the war-path. He is now distinguishing himself in that line, but it will be some time before he is acknowledged by them even upon a footing with very many (as they conceive) more experienced and greater warriors. Besides, the notice that has been taken [of him] by us in consequence of his connection with Sir William Johnson, his being civilized, and, more particularly, for his good services, has, from a jealousy paramount among the Indians, procured as many enemies among his own people as friends.

"Among this number is *Schenderachto* [*Sayenqueraghta*], King of the Senecas, and by many degrees the most leading [man], and the man of most consequence and influence, in the whole of the Six Nations, and by whose interest and intrigues Major Butler has been able to carry through many essential points. He is brave, prudent, and perfectly attached to Government—more strongly so since the alliance [of the Americans] with the French, to whom he has an unconquerable aversion. Were so great a mark of distinction as is proposed for Joseph to pass him, it might—and I am sure it would—be productive of very dangerous consequences. For which reason I must take it upon me to sup-

press the commission and likewise the pictures, until I have His Majesty's further pleasure. I should hope this affair has not been so publicly mentioned at home as to reach Joseph's knowledge."

In the Spring of 1780 *Sayenqueraghta* and his family were living at "Five Mile Meadows", distant about five miles from Fort Niagara; but in June of that year they established themselves at a point on Buffalo Creek, some four miles from Fort Erie. Early in 1781 *Sayenqueraghta*, in command of a party of Senecas, set out from Fort Niagara on a marauding expedition. After the return of the party Col. Guy Johnson wrote from Niagara to Governor Haldimand, under the date of February 19, 1781, that the party had not been "so successful as expected." At Niagara, under the date of June 1, 1781, John Butler (then Lieut. Colonel), wrote to Captain Matthews that "the Seneca chief *Sayenqueraghta*, with about 250 warriors, has gone off to attack a village near Fort Pitt [Pittsburg, Pennsylvania]. A party has been ordered to join them." At Niagara, under the date of March 23, 1782, Brigadier Powell wrote to Sir Frederick Haldimand that he would "do everything in his power for the expedition ordered", and would "detain *Schiandaraghty* and 200 of his best men", who were "preparing to go to Fort Pitt." The expedition above referred to was planned to create a diversion in western Pennsylvania in favor of the Indians on the rivers Ohio and Miami, who were about that time menaced with a formidable attack by the forces commanded by Brig. Gen. George Rogers Clark of Virginia. (See note "†" on page 131, Vol. I.)

About the last of June, 1782, "the expedition ordered", as above-mentioned, set out from Niagara under the joint command of Captain Powell and *Sayenqueraghta*. Some 250 Indian warriors and about fifty enlisted soldiers—presumably "Rangers"—composed the force. They proceeded southward into Pennsylvania, and on July 12th crossed the Allegheny River and entered Westmoreland County. On July 13th the laborers at work in a harvest-field about a mile north of Hannastown (a settlement of some thirty cabins and a small stockade, near Loyalhanna Creek, on the old Forbes road, about thirty miles east of Pittsburg, and about three miles north-east of the present town of Greensburg) spied the foremost Indians skulking about the fields. Some, seizing their guns, hurried back to the stockade, while others carried the news through the country. Within a few hours the invaders surrounded Hannastown. They did not attack the stockade (where nearly all the people were gathered), but, having first sacked the cabins in the settlement, burned them to the ground. Then they repaired to Miller's settlement, about three miles away, where they destroyed more property and captured several of the settlers. Thence the invaders marched back to Fort Niagara, taking with them some thirty prisoners, bound, and loaded with the plunder of their captors.

In 1782 or '83 *Sayenqueraghta*—then a very aged man—removed from Buffalo Creek to a new location, in Erie County, New York, some five or six miles south of the present city of Buffalo, near a stream now known as Smoke's Creek. In April, 1784, Governor Clinton of New York sent a messenger to Niagara to invite the Indians in that locality to come down to Albany to hold a council with him and the Commissioners of Indian Affairs. To the messenger the Governor gave these instructions: "*Sayenqueraghta*, the Seneca sachem, must have particular attention paid to him, and you must privately promise him that you will recommend him to the notice of the Commissioners." The old King died in the Spring of 1790 at his home near Smoke's Creek. As noted on page 164, Vol. I, he was succeeded in the office of head-chief of the Seneca nation by "Cornplanter", who for some years then had been chief of the Western Senecas—many of whom were located along the Allegheny River.

Sayenqueraghta was, in 1778, a large, portly man, of commanding presence. Col. William L. Stone, in his "Life and Times of Red Jacket", says that *Sayenqueraghta*, or "Old Smoke", was "the most powerful, as he was deemed the wisest, sachem of his time. He was the principal sachem, or civil chief, of the nation, and his word was law. When he thought proper to convene a council it was only for the purpose of announcing his intentions, and none said nay to his behests. His infallibility was never questioned."

"This glowing tribute to *Sayenqueraghta*", says George S. Conover in his "*Sayenqueraghta, King of the Senecas*", previously referred to, "who is here called 'Old Smoke', and who received that cognomen not only from the fact that 'smoke' was in his name, but also because he held the prominent official position as the 'smoke-bearer'—the sole and only custodian of the council-fire among the Senecas—shows the reverence and veneration with which he had been held by the Senecas, and the great influence and prominence he had attained."

While the official position held by 'Old Smoke' gave him great prominence, yet his greater popularity and influence resulted from his individual personal merit. He was a valiant warrior—his bravery and sagacity in war won for him the trust and confidence of his people. He was a wise and judicious counselor, and this secured for him their respect and esteem. 'Red Jacket', at the Pickering treaty at Canandaigua in the Fall of 1794, testified of him that he was "a man of great understanding." His superior talents, together with his good and sterling qualities, gained for him the regard and veneration of the Indians, and secured for him a greater prominence and a more commanding influence than that possessed by the sachems, or obtained by any of the chiefs, of his time. He was, indeed, one of the most distinguished men of the Iroquois—the most popular and prominent of the Senecas—always a firm friend where he pledged fidelity; possessing a warm and generous heart; had the respect of enemies and the love of friends; was brave, sagacious, wise, with a tender heart, as sympathetic as a woman."

At an interview held by the Hon. O. H. Marshall of New York, in 1864, with the venerable chief "Seneca White", at the house of the latter on the Cattaraugus Reservation, he told Mr. Marshall that "Old Smoke" was the most influential man among the Senecas in the Revolutionary War, and that he opposed the Indians taking any part in the war."

Sayenqueraghta was succeeded in the office of "Bearer of the Smoking Brand" by a Seneca chief who was thereafter known as *Gai-en-gwah-toh* ("The Smoke has Disappeared"), or "Young King." He was born about 1760 near the site of the present village of Canandaigua, New York, and was probably the nephew, on his mother's side, of the "Old King." "Young King" was a man of lofty stature and herculean mold, and of great force of character, "though not endowed with the rare intellectual qualities which rendered his uncle the most influential Seneca chieftain of his period." Col. Thomas Procter (see Chapter XVIII), who was delegated by President Washington in 1791 to treat with the Indians, visited the Senecas at Buffalo Creek in April of that year. "Young King" was then apparently the leading man of his nation, or second only to the great war-chief, "Cornplanter" (see page 164, Vol. I). He seemed to be largely under the influence of Col. John Butler and the British. Procter reported that "Young King" was fully regimented as a Colonel—red, faced with blue—as belonging to some royal regiment, and equipped with a pair of the best epaulets."

During the War of 1812 "Young King" espoused the cause of the United States against the British, and in an engagement was seriously wounded. In his earlier days he was addicted to intemperance, but on his conversion to Christianity he became a zealous advocate of temperance, as well as the leading promoter of education and progress in his tribe. During his more reckless days, in a brawl—where the testimony shows he was not the aggressor—he lost an arm and suffered other mutilation; and yet to the last his gigantic figure and commanding features "wore the grandeur of a desolated and battered Colossus." "He was the first man who built a rod of fence on the Buffalo Reservation, where the missionaries first resided; and often, in the cold days of Winter, would be seen on Saturday crossing the creek in his little canoe, to see if the church were supplied with fuel for the Sabbath, and if it were not, with his one hand wielded the ax and chopped the little pile, which he also carried to the door to be sure that it was ready for the morning service." His manners are said to have been peculiarly suave and refined, while his hospitality and benevolence were proverbial. He died in 1835, and was buried in the old mission cemetery at East Buffalo; but in October, 1884, his remains were removed and, together with those of "Red Jacket" and thirteen other Seneca chiefs, reinterred in Forest Lawn Cemetery, Buffalo, with imposing ceremonies, under the auspices of the Buffalo Historical Society.

been called. In 1777 and 1778 he was, as noted on pages 935 and 965, the "principal war-chief of the Senecas," and had "almost an unlimited command over the Six Nations." Although then an aged man, he was still unusually robust and active, and upon him, more than any other chief of the Six Nations, Major Butler relied for effective assistance in his projected incursions upon the frontier settlements of New York and Pennsylvania.

Butler and his "Rangers" arrived at Kanadesaga about the 10th or 12th of May, and on the 15th the former wrote the following letter* to Sir Guy Carleton and despatched it to him at Quebec by the hands of Capt. Walter N. Butler, who had just escaped from Albany (in the manner described on page 930) and joined his father at Kanadesaga.

"Sir.—Having an opportunity by Capⁿ Butler, who has been so fortunate as to make his escape from the Rebels (being under sentence of death with them), I thought it my duty to acquaint your Excellency of my arrival here with a body of 'Rangers.' I have had a meeting with several of the principal Chiefs of the Seneca Nation, who express the greatest desire to join me in an attack on the Frontiers of the rebellious Colonies. I am to have a general meeting of all the Chiefs and Warriors of the Seneca Nation in a few days, in order to their proceeding with me to the Yonandala,† on the Susquehanna River, which I have fixed as a place of Rendezvous for the Warriors of the Five Nations, as being near the inhabitants & where I can supply myself with Provisions from the Provinces of New York, Jersey, or Pensilvania; & likewise where a number of friends to Government are to join me—*of whom twenty-six have come to me since my leaving Niagara.*

"There is just now a party of Senakies [Senecas] come in who have had an action with a number of the Rebel forces on the Ohio, in which the Indians prevailed, drove the Rebels into their stockade fort, took two prisoners & thirteen Scalps. The Indians lost one man killed and four wounded. There is still one hundred & fifty warriors out on the back of Jersey & Pensilvania Governments, whose return I expect dayly. There is none gone on the Frontiers of New York, except Lieut. [Barent] Frey of the 'Rangers' in company with Joseph Brant, who I have sent to make an attempt to bring off the Mohawks in the Rebels' country, as we mean in a body to strike that part of the Country.

"I have the greatest prospect of completing the body of 'Rangers' your Excellency was pleased to empower me to raise, on my arrival in the back settlements of the Colonists. I must refer your Excellency to Capt. Butler for the intelligence in this quarter, as I have communicated to him every particular that has come to my knowledge. Permit me to assure your Excellency I shall not leave anything undone in my power to forward his Majesty's Service & to join the Southern Army. I am, &c.,

[Signed] "JOHN BUTLER."

Butler found the Senecas suffering severely from the lack of both food and clothing, through the stoppage of the usual channels of trade by the war; but, with great unanimity, the tribe was still resolute in its hostility to the Americans. A day or two after his arrival at Kanadesaga Butler was joined by Joseph Brant, who, in the latter part of the previous January, had set out from Fort Niagara for the "Indian boundaries," as noted on page 964. Halsey (in his "The Old New York Frontier") says: "Early in the year [1778] Brant had reached Oghwaga and Unadilla. His main purpose was not to kill frontiersmen, but to obtain food—food for his own men and for those of Butler, who

* The original is among the "Haldimand Papers," B. M. 21,765, CV :39.

† Unadilla (first mentioned on page 451, Vol. I) was located on both sides of the East, or North, Branch of the Susquehanna River, in the present counties of Otsego and Delaware, New York, just east of where the Unadilla, or Tianderha, River empties into the Susquehanna. "As the crow flies," it was ninety-three miles south-east of Kanadesaga. Halsey says that by the Autumn of 1777 "not a patriot remained in Unadilla. Indians were fortifying the place." * To Unadilla meanwhile went deserters from the American army, and runaway negroes. By the middle of November Unadilla had become a haunt of some of the worst elements brought into activity by the Border Wars." Late in the Spring of 1778 a committee of Tryon County, New York, reported to the Council of Safety: "We have lately had a scouting party to Unadilla, who gave us information that a number of disaffected people have collected at that place, and from appearances they are making preparations for some expedition. Some say it is meditated against the frontier of Ulster County, while others say it is intended against this county. Unadilla is a receptacle for all desertions from the army, runaway negroes, and other bad people. We therefore judge it extremely necessary to have that nest eradicated, and until that is done, we can never enjoy our possessions in peace, for these villains carry off all the cattle they can find, besides robbing the well-affected inhabitants." The persons thus described by the Tryon County committee were undoubtedly the "friends to Government" who were expected to join Major Butler, as he had reported to Governor Carleton.

expected soon to follow him into the Susquehanna Valley, his destination being Wyoming. Brant also aimed to collect men who, as Tories, would serve under Butler, and was 'not to fight or make any alarm. If possible, to avoid it.' From Oghwaga he went first into the Delaware Valley, where he got about seventy head of cattle and some horses, while sixty or seventy inhabitants joined his forces and returned with him to Oghwaga. For Brant's assistance Butler had sent forward to Unadilla a man named John Young,* and to Oghwaga one named McGinnis, a former Susquehanna settler who had turned Tory."

Butler almost immediately despatched Brant and Lieutenant Frey of the "Rangers" from Kanadesaga, with a small party of "Rangers" and Indians, "to bring off the Mohawks"—as Butler reported to Sir Guy Carleton in the letter reprinted on page 971. The remnant of the Mohawk tribe still dwelt in the heart of the Mohawk Valley, about 125 miles due east of Kanadesaga, in the present counties of Herkimer and Montgomery, New York, and thither Brant and Frey directed their steps. Towards the end of May Butler and his "Rangers" set out from Kanadesaga—not for Unadilla (which place, one would presume from a reading of Butler's letter of May 15th to Sir Guy Carleton, they were intending to reach as soon as possible), but for Chemung, an Indian town of fifty or sixty houses on the north bank of the Chemung, or Tioga, River (mentioned on page 34, Vol. I), some eight or ten miles south-east of the present city of Elmira. Chemung lay very close to the New York-Pennsylvania boundary-line, was "about two days' journey from Oghwaga" (frequently mentioned hereinbefore), and, "as the crow flies," was sixty-two miles south-south-east of Kanadesaga—from which place it could be easily and quickly reached by way of Seneca Lake.

Butler reached Chemung about the 1st or 2d of June. In the meantime (on May 30th) Brant had fought the battle of Cobleskill, shortly after which Sergeant John Young of Butler's Rangers, in the "Old England District," on Buttermilk Creek, in what is now Otsego County, publicly read a proclamation from Major Butler, "desiring all the friends to the Government to join him, and to bring in all their cattle, together with their wives and families, and they should be kindly received by the said Butler." About that time Brant's men lay near Charlotte River, some twenty miles from Cherry Valley, and "as one party came in, another went out, to the destruction of the smaller settlements."

At Fort Schuyler, New York, under the date of June 15, 1778, James Dean, an agent in the Indian Department under the control of Congress, wrote to General Schuyler, in part as follows†:

"I have just received an authentic account that the belt some time since sent to the Cayugas and Senecas, to call them to a proposed meeting at Onondaga, was returned last Saturday [June 13th]. What reply the Senecas made to it I have not been able to learn. Most likely they took no notice of it, as of several others which have been sent for the same purpose. * * * The substance of Mr. [John] Butler's late conference with the Indians at Kanadesaga was to desire them to attend him on his proposed expedition; which *the Senecas refused to do*, because so large a party of their people were down in our country. He has, however, collected a considerable party of Indians of various tribes, with whom—as he gives out—he is determined to join Joseph Brant upon the frontiers of this country. It is supposed he is by this time as far on his way as Onohogwage [Oghwaga]."

* Formerly of Westmoreland, and previously mentioned several times in these pages. He was a Sergeant in Butler's Rangers. See page 944.

† See "Public Papers of George Clinton," II : 457.

In the "Public Papers of George Clinton" (III: 539) is printed an affidavit of one Robert Jones, made before Henry Wisner, Esq., at Minisink, July 10, 1778, in which occur the following paragraphs:

"Joseph Brant came there* [about the first of June, 1778] with six Indians and two or three Green Coat soldiers† and stayd two days. He ordered the witness, with nine families who lived at that place, to go with him, if friends to Government; if not, to take their own risk. Himself and four families with said Brant went to Unadilla; the other five soon followed. Brant did not insist on their going, but would take their cattle. Neither would he protect them unless they went with him. After that the witness and one John Falkner went with said Brant to Oghwaga. After being there some time an express came from Butler to Brant, ordering him to march immediately to Tioga [Point]; which orders Brant immediately obeyed, and stayd eight or nine days, saying, when he returned, that he had been at a treaty; that the Indians refused to join in an expedition to the northward unless they first were assisted to cut off the inhabitants of Susquehanna; at which treaty it was agreed that *Butler should go to Wyoming*, and that Brant should stay at Oghwaga. Brant, in the meantime, was to collect all the provisions he could against the time Butler was to be at Oghwaga. * *

"Brant then formed an expedition against Lackawaxen for the purpose of collecting provisions, and went one day on his march, when an express was sent after him requiring him to return immediately [to Oghwaga], on account that a party from the northward was expected to attack Unadilla. Brant immediately returned, and despatched all the white men he could to the assistance of Unadilla, and two days after—being last Sunday [July 5, 1778]—said Brant followed after, with all the Indians at that place [Oghwaga]. * * The examinant also says that Butler is not to come down to Minisink (as he understood from Brant), but was to go from Wyoming on an expedition against Cherry Valley, and to be joined by Brant."

The large body of Senecas that had been out on the war path along the West Branch of the Susquehanna having returned to Kanadesaga, *Sayenqueraghta* and 300 or 350 warriors came south from there by way of Seneca Lake and Chemung, and joined Butler and his "Rangers" about the 15th or 20th of June at Tioga Point (see page 34, Vol. I), whither the latter had proceeded from Chemung some days previously. Before leaving Chemung Butler had sent a messenger to Brant at Oghwaga, bidding him repair without delay to Tioga Point. Butler had received information concerning an expected movement of Sir Henry Clinton's army, which, if it took place, would cause him (Butler) to change the plans laid out for his campaign. This news was to the effect that Clinton was about to evacuate Philadelphia and march for New York. (The evacuation actually took place on June 18th.) Brant arrived promptly at Tioga Point, where a conference, or council, between Butler and the chief Indians there gathered was held—as related in the affidavit of Robert Jones hereinbefore quoted from.

Halsey says that Brant's failure to take part in the expedition against Wyoming "was consistent with his career in this war. His hostility and that of the Mohawks under him was not against Pennsylvania, but against the New York frontier, where lands, rightfully theirs, were theirs no more, and where lived the men who had overthrown them at Oriskany. That Butler should go to Wyoming was also consistent with the work Butler had undertaken to do. Butler represented the cause of England, not the cause of the Indians, and there in the Wyoming Valley lay one of the most populous and defenseless settlements that existed remote from the seaboard. To attack and destroy it, was to invite detachments for its defense at the expense of the American army which Howe, Cornwallis and Clinton sought to overthrow."

From the conference at Tioga Point Brant hurried back to Oghwaga, leaving Butler and his "Rangers" and *Sayenqueraghta* and his

* The "Old England District," previously mentioned.

† Butler's Rangers, some of whom then, and all of whom later, wore green uniforms.

Senecas at Tioga Point to complete the preparations for their expedition down the Susquehanna; and there we will leave them for a short time. On June 18th Brant reached Springfield, near the head of Otsego Lake, and destroyed it. He then destroyed Andrustown and other settlements near by. In a report made at the time to Governor Clinton of New York concerning these occurrences it was stated:

"Several people, who had been made prisoners, and did escape, affirm that Brant was the commander, and that his party consists of about 500. So much is certain that his number encreaseth daily; many very lately did run off, moved by disaffection; others join him, moved by fear, and several are forced to take up arms against us, or to swear allegiance to the King of Britain. We are informed that Brant boasted openly that he *will be joined at Unadilla by Butler*, and that within eight days he will return and lay the whole country waste."

The reader has undoubtedly noticed that in the petition presented to the Connecticut Assembly by Representative Anderson Dana, under the date of June 10, 1778 (see page 963), mention is made of the fact that the Indians had then recently "destroyed many persons near the head of the East Branch" of the Susquehanna. This (as explained on page 972) was the work of Joseph Brant and his band.

As soon as the Assembly had acted on the aforementioned petition, in the manner noted, Representatives Denison and Dana hastened from Hartford to their homes in Westmoreland. Here, upon their arrival about June 20th, they found the inhabitants wrought up to a high pitch of excitement, because the situation of affairs at and near Tioga Point, considered in connection with certain events which had taken place in the upper settlements of Westmoreland, portended an early and a devastating invasion of Wyoming Valley. They learned, among other things, that in the latter part of May Sebastian Strobe, who resided with his family at Wysox, in the "North District" of Westmoreland (see page 947), had come down to Wilkes-Barré to procure help to aid in removing his family and belongings to a place of safety down the river. Upon his return to Wysox after a few days' absence he had found his family gone and his house in ashes. Shortly after his departure a band of Indians had appeared at his home, captured the inmates, plundered the house and set it on fire. The captives were taken to Tioga Point, where they were given over to the custody of an officer of the "Rangers;" and at that place they remained during the carrying on of the preparations for the attack upon Wyoming.

On June 2d John Jenkins, Jr., had arrived at the home of his father (Jenkins' Fort, in Exeter), having a short time before escaped from the custody of his Indian guards while being taken from Albany to Kanasaga, as mentioned on page 806. He brought information that a large number of the Tories from up the Susquehanna had wintered at Fort Niagara with the British and Indians; that they had been insolent and abusive to the prisoners from Westmoreland detained there, and had threatened to return in the Spring to their deserted homes on the Susquehanna, bring the Indians with them, drive the settlers off, and take possession of the country themselves; that a plan of this sort had been concocted at Niagara before he (Jenkins) left there for Montreal, early in the previous April. This was the first reliable information the people of Wyoming had received relative to the threatened invasion of their settlements; although it had been known much earlier that an attack upon the frontiers, somewhere, was to be made by the forces collected at Niagara. However, as Mr. Jenkins had left Niagara in April, he was

not aware that Major Butler and his "Rangers" had set out from there for Kanadesaga a month later; and furthermore, neither this fact nor the fact that Butler and his forces had arrived on the borders of Westmoreland was yet known to the inhabitants of the town.

On the 5th of June a band of Indians accompanied by six Tories—presumably "Rangers"—had come down the river to the neighborhood of Tunkhannock, where they captured Elisha Wilcox, — Pierce, and some other settlers, and plundered the homes of still others, who managed to escape down the river to Wilkes-Barré, where they arrived in the night of the 6th. The news brought by these fugitives caused much excitement, and on the next day—although it was Sunday—the inhabitants of the Valley set to work to strengthen their various fortifications. Many of the inhabitants of Exeter removed from their scattered and unprotected homes to the shelter of either Jenkins' Fort or Wintermute's Fort (see pages 886 and 924), while the inhabitants of the upper end of Pittston removed to Pittston Fort (see page 885).

On the 12th of June William Crooks and Asa Budd of Kingston had gone up the river a little way beyond Tunkhannock on a hunting and scouting expedition. Crooks remained at the abandoned house of John Secord (who was with the enemy) to spend the night, while Budd went a couple of miles farther up the river, to hunt down by fire-light. When the latter was within a short distance of Secord's he discovered a number of persons fording the river below. Putting out his light he made for the shore and informed Crooks of what he had seen. Crooks, with his gun in his hands, ran out of the house, but, having left his ammunition behind, returned for it. Just as he was coming out the second time he was shot dead by an Indian, who, with his companions, immediately fled. This was the first life of a white man taken within the bounds of Westmoreland by the Indians since the massacre of October, 1763.

On June 17th a party of six men from Jenkins' Fort had gone up the river in two canoes to endeavor to discover the whereabouts of the enemy. The men in the forward canoe landed about six miles below Tunkhannock, on the west side of the river, opposite the locality later known as Osterhout's, or La Grange, and ascended the bank. There they discovered a band of armed Indians and white men running towards them. They gave an alarm, hurried back to their canoe, and endeavored to paddle to the farther side of an island, situated at that point, in order to escape the fire of their pursuers which was being poured in upon them. The canoe in which were Miner Robbins (an enlisted man in Captain Hewitt's company), Joel Phelps and Stephen Jenkins was fired upon, and Robbins was mortally wounded (he died the next day) and Phelps was severely wounded. Jenkins escaped unhurt, although his paddle was shattered to pieces in his hands by a shot. In the attacking party was Elijah Phelps, a private in Butler's Rangers (see page 945), who was a brother of Joel Phelps and a brother-in-law of Miner Robbins, abovementioned.

The foregoing incidents increased the anxiety already distractingly painful. But an event soon occurred of more exciting importance. Two Indians who had formerly lived in Wyoming and were acquainted with the inhabitants, came down the river with their squaws on a visit, professing warm friendship; but there was a suspicion that they were spies,

and directions were given that they should be carefully watched. An old companion of one of them, with more than Indian cunning, professing his attachment to the natives, gave his visitor drink after drink of rum, when the latter, in his maudlin condition, avowed that the Indians were preparing to cut off the Wyoming settlements—the attack to be made soon; and that he and his companions had come down to see and report how things were. Thereupon the two Indians were seized and placed in confinement, while the squaws were sent away.

About the first of June Lieut. Col. Zebulon Butler had come to Wilkes-Barré on leave of absence from his regiment, which, forming a part of the brigade commanded by Brig. Gen. Samuel H. Parsons (see page 657), in the northern army commanded by Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates, was stationed near the Hudson River, not far from West Point. Immediately upon his arrival here Colonel Butler learned enough of the situation of affairs to convince him that direct and strenuous efforts ought to be made to properly protect the inhabitants of Wyoming Valley against the anticipated incursion of the enemy; therefore, securing a fresh horse, he set out for York, in York County, Pennsylvania, which, since September 30, 1777, had been the seat of the General Government, and where the Continental Congress was then in session.* Arriving at his destination after a tedious journey of several days, Colonel Butler repaired without delay to the War Office and made an earnest appeal for the sending of a detachment of Continental troops to Wyoming. He asked that—whether other troops were available or not—at least the two Westmoreland Independent Companies of Durkee and Ransom should be despatched to assist in defending the families and property of their members against the invading savages.

At that time Washington's army, with the exception of a few detachments absent on special duty in different localities, was still encamped at Valley Forge. Among those organizations which were away on detached service were the companies of Durkee and Ransom. Having spent the Winter at Valley Forge, they had been ordered to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in April or May, 1778, to assist in guarding the large number of Hessians and other soldiers of the British army who had been captured by the Americans and were confined in barracks at Lancaster as prisoners-of-war. The Westmoreland companies had been considerably decimated by deaths, desertions and discharges, and they were soon to be still further reduced in numbers. Colonel Butler returned from York to Wilkes-Barré by way of Lancaster, and from him Captains Durkee and Ransom and their officers and men gained their first knowledge of the dangers which then threatened the people of Wyoming.

On the very day that William Crooks was murdered, as narrated on page 975, Lieut. Col. George Dorrance of Kingston (who was in command of the 24th Regiment during Colonel Denison's absence from Westmoreland as a Representative to the Connecticut Assembly, as previously mentioned) addressed to the Board of War† a carefully-written statement concerning the conditions then existing on the northern bor-

* In the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society is an original draft of an account against the "United States" in the handwriting, and in favor, of Colonel Butler, bearing date "Wyoming, December 1, 1778," and including the following items: "To expenses from Wyoming to Board of War at Little York, £18, 4sh.; horse hire for said journey, £7, 10sh."

† The Board of War had been created by the Congress in the Autumn of 1777. Its duties were extremely important and complicated, embracing those now performed by the War Department, with extraordinary functions arising from the exigencies of the time, in the novel circumstances of the crisis. It stood between the Congress and the Commander-in-Chief, communicating in conference and formal written correspondence with both, and devising and concerting all necessary arrangements to carry out the military administration of affairs.

ders of Westmoreland, and concluding with an appeal for troops and ammunition. This document was despatched to York by the hands of Lieut. Asahel Buck (see page 468, Vol. I) of Kingston, who, but a short time before, had resigned his commission as Second Lieutenant of the 1st (Durkee's) Westmoreland Independent Company and returned to his home.

Lieutenant Buck reached York on the 17th or 18th of June and presented Lieutenant Colonel Dorrance's appeal to the Board of War, which body, about the same time, received from Brig. Gen. Oliver Wolcott, then at York, a forcible communication relative to the situation at Wyoming. "No more touching and heroic poem was ever written," declared the Hon. Stanley Woodward a few years ago,* "in the dry formula of human history, than the appeal made by the Wyoming people to their Government, to send home their husbands and sons to protect them from savage massacre, and the malevolence of the Tory miscreants who loitered along the edges of the settlement, spying out its weak and vulnerable points, and keeping the enemy well advised of the situation."

The cry from Wyoming was at last heeded by the Board of War, and on Friday, June 19, 1778, Col. Timothy Pickering, a member of the Board, wrote in its behalf the following letter† to General Washington, now printed for the first time.

"Sir: So many of the soldiers are taken from the ranks for various purposes, and so many troops detached for the defence of the frontiers, that 'tis with much regret we intimate the necessity of detaching more; yet the facts stated in the enclosed papers seem to require it. The letter from Lieutenant Colonel Dorrance was brought down by Lieutenant Buck, who will have the honour of delivering this to your Excellency. He can give some further information. The other paper was presented [to the Board of War] by General Wolcott, a delegate in Congress from Connecticut.‡

"In addition to these representations we would only observe, that Durgee's§ and Ransom's companies are *now so very much reduced*, that their absence from the army will be of small consequence, though probably their services against the Indians will be of considerable importance. As your Excellency will be furnished with all the requisite information on the subject, we beg leave to refer to your decision, whether or not those two independent companies shall be detached for the purposes above mentioned; and Lieut. Col. Zebulon Butler permitted to remain in that quarter to direct the operations of the force which shall be collected there.

"We shall be glad to be informed of your determination in this case, and at the same time to be favored with a return of the two companies, that Congress may judge of the propriety of throwing them into one. The Board will report to Congress the expediency of offering the same encouragement for filling up the company [Hewitt's] now raising at Wyoming as they have given lately to others alike circumstanced."

This letter and the communications received from General Wolcott and Colonel Dorrance were intrusted to Lieutenant Buck, with instructions to repair to the headquarters of General Washington, who, that very day, broke camp at Valley Forge and started in pursuit of Sir Henry Clinton and his army on their retreat from Philadelphia to New York.

Shortly after the departure of Lieutenant Buck from York on his errand to Washington, the Board of War decided to lay before the Congress, without further delay, a report, together with certain recommendations, relative to the *three* Westmoreland Independent Companies—Dur-

* See "Proceedings and Collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," IV: 107.

† The original draft of the same is among the "Pickering Papers" (XXXIII: 197), mentioned on page 29, Vol. I.

‡ And also Brigadier General commanding the 6th Brigade, Connecticut Militia, of which the 24th, or Westmoreland, Regiment was a part, as previously mentioned.

§ The 1st Westmoreland Independent Company, in the Continental service, commanded by Capt. Robert Durkee. As mentioned in the last paragraph, page 460, Vol. I, the surname Durkee was generally pronounced "as if spelled *Durgee*."

kee's, Ransom's and Hewitt's—in the Continental service. As a result the Congress took the following action* on Tuesday, June 23, 1778.

"The Board of War report, 'that the two independent companies raised in the town of Westmoreland, *lately commanded* by Captains Durkee and Ransom, are reduced by various causes to about eighty-six (86) non-commissioned officers and privates; and that there is no chance of their being completed to the establishment; that the said companies *are now detached* from the main army for the defence of the frontiers.'

"*Whereupon, Resolved*, That the two independent companies lately commanded by Captains Durkee and Ransom, which were raised in the town of Westmoreland, be united and form one company.

"That Lieutenant SIMON SPALDING be appointed Captain, and Lieutenants TIMOTHY PEIRCE and PHINEAS PEIRCE, Lieutenants, of said company—the said Lieutenants to rank: Timothy Peirce from the 16th of January last, and Phineas Peirce from the 1st of April last, the times they were respectively appointed to act as Lieutenants in the said companies. * * *

"*Resolved*, That each non-commissioned officer and soldier who hath enlisted or shall enlist in the company of foot ordered to be raised in the town of Westmoreland, on the East Branch of the Susquehanna, by the resolution of the 16th of March last,† shall receive the sums (for finding his own arms, accoutrements and blankets) as were allowed by a resolve of the 16th *inst.* to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the two regiments raising in Virginia and Pennsylvania, to serve for one year; the said sums to be paid them immediately upon their passing muster before the Colonel or, in his absence, the next commanding officer of the militia in the said town, and producing the necessary articles of equipment mentioned in the said resolve of the 16th *inst.*

"*Resolved*, That the sum of 1,440 dollars be granted to the Board of War, to be issued to Colonel Denison, of Westmoreland aforesaid, to enable him to pay the allowances above mentioned; he to be accountable for the same."

At Fort Arnold, on the Hudson, the day after the foregoing action was taken by Congress at York, Brig. General Parsons (previously mentioned) wrote to Col. Zebulon Butler at Wyoming in part as follows:

"The General [Gates] approves of your remaining with ye people of Wyoming until the danger of an attack from ye Savages is over, or you receive further orders. * * Let me know nearly the distance from you to the town of the Senecas and Cayugas, for special reasons."

When Colonel Pickering wrote to General Washington that the two Westmoreland Independent Companies (Durkee's and Ransom's) were then "very much reduced," and when, two or three days later, the Board of War reported to Congress that these companies were "reduced by various causes to eighty-six non-commissioned officers and privates," they did not exaggerate the facts. These companies had then been in existence about twenty-one months, during which time they had lost from their ranks a large number of privates and non-commissioned officers by deaths, desertions, and discharges for disabilities. Of the officers, Lieut. Peren Ross and Ensign Matthias Hollenback had resigned and left the service in December, 1777, and Lieut. Asahel Buck had resigned in February or March, 1778, and returned to his home, as previously mentioned.

Immediately after the visit of Lieut. Colonel Butler to Lancaster (as narrated on page 976), where he made known to the men from Westmoreland the distressful situation of affairs in their town, Captains Durkee and Ransom and Lieut. James Wells, Sr., forwarded their resignations to headquarters. This fact was not yet known to Colonel Pickering on June 19th, but was learned before the Board of War made its report and recommendations to the Congress. Captain Ransom and Lieutenant Wells started for Wyoming Valley without much delay, and with them, or shortly afterwards, more than twenty-five of the enlisted men of the two companies left the ranks, with or without leave, and hastened to Wyoming Valley to the relief of their beleaguered families and

* See "The Journals of Congress," IV: 263, 264.

† See page 956.

friends. "Imperious necessity, above all earthly law, consecrated the deed. That they did not *all* return shows the influence of discipline and their love of order." Some, or all, of the enlisted men who thus unceremoniously hastened to their homes, took part in the battle of July 3, 1778; and those who survived that action subsequently returned to the ranks of the combined companies, under Captain Spalding. For example, Rufus Bennet, Thomas Baldwin, Thomas Neill, James Stark, Jr., and Constant Searle, Jr., were five such.

The American army crossed the Delaware into New Jersey (at what is now Lambertville) on June 21st, and a day or two later Lieutenant Buck arrived at Washington's headquarters. Receiving certain documents from the General he hastened back to the Board of War, and by that body was directed to convey, as expeditiously as possible, to the new Westmoreland Independent Company at Lancaster, an official order to march for Wyoming immediately. Lieutenant Buck lost no time in executing his commission, and, having seen the company in question set out from Lancaster, he proceeded on his homeward journey, by way of Sunbury and Northumberland. He arrived at the latter place on the 3d or 4th of July,* and there and then receiving from some Wyoming fugitives, who had just come down the Susquehanna, his first news of the invasion of Wyoming, he proceeded no farther.†

Captain Spalding and his company (accompanied by Capt. Robert Durkee, who had been unable to leave for Wyoming with Captain Ransom) marched from Lancaster on the 26th or 27th of June. Their route lay through the counties of Lancaster and Berks to Reading, thence to Bethlehem, to Nazareth, to the Wind Gap, and thence, over the "Lower Road" (leading from the Delaware River), to Wilkes-Barré. (See pages 445 and 646.) The distance from Lancaster to the Wind Gap is, in a bee-line, about eighty miles; but, by the roads over which it was necessary for Captain Spalding's company to march, the distance was considerably greater. From the Wind Gap to Wilkes-Barré, by the "Lower Road" (which, however, was not much more than a bridle-path at that time), the distance was about forty-five miles.

So far as the present writer is aware, the only authentic roster of Captain Spalding's Westmoreland Independent Company now accessible is the one printed in "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, XI:116-118. It is, however, a very imperfect and unsatisfactory record, to say the least. Where the original was found, from which the printed copy was made, or who possessed it, the editors of the "Archives" have failed to state. It is very evident that the roster in question was not made up from a muster- or pay-roll of the company as it existed in July

* In the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society is an original document, of which the following is a copy—now printed for the first time. "Accompt of my expence in public service going from Wyoming to and attending on the Board of War at York town in the State of Pennsylvania, and from that to headquarters in the Jerseys, and back to the Board of War, and from that to Lancaster. Expenses paid in dollars, 76; for my time, 22 days @ one dollar per day, 22 dollars; the ride of my horse, which was near 600 miles, 22 dollars. [Total] 120 dollars.

Northumberland, July 4, 1778.

[Signed] "ASAHEL BUCK."

† Westmoreland the 26 July, 1778, personally appeared the abovenamed Asahel Buck and made oath to the above account, and that the same is truly and justly charged.

[Signed]

"NATHAN DENISON, Justice of the Peace."

"Camp at Westmorland, 28 September, 1778. This is to certify that the service and expences mentioned in the above account is justly due to Mr. Asahel Buck, and I desire it may be paid to him agreeably to his request. Test—

[Signed]

"ZEBⁿ BUTLER, Lt. Col. Comdg."

† At Fort Augusta, Sunbury, Pennsylvania, under the date of July 4, 1778, Col. Samuel Hunter, County Lieutenant of Northumberland County, wrote to Vice President Bryan of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, as follows (see "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, VI:624): "The bearer of this letter carries with him dispatches and intelligences of the most alarming and serious consequences. By his accounts Wyoming will not long be able to oppose the rapid progress of the enemy. * * * We have not language to paint the consternation of this county!"

and August, 1778, for there are to be found in the roster the names of some men who left the military service in the previous June, the names of some who did not enlist in the company until 1779 or 1780, and the names of five or six others (for example, Justus Porter, Nathan Beach, Crocker Jones, Ebenezer Park and Benjamin Bidlack) who were never connected with the company. With the aid of original, authentic data to be found in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, the present writer has prepared from the "Archives" roster the following roll of Captain Spalding's Westmoreland Independent Company in the service of the United States.

*Captain, Simon Spalding; * First Lieutenant, Timothy Peirce† (succeeded in August, 1778, by John Jenkins, Jr., as narrated on page 806);*

* SIMON SPALDING, (JR.), was born in Plainfield, Windham County, Connecticut, January 16, 1742, son of Simon and Anne (*Billings*) Spalding, and a descendant in the sixth generation of Edward Spalding, the first of this family to come to America. Simon Spalding, Jr., was married at Plainfield April 15, 1761, to Ruth Shepard (born in 1742). March 7, 1769, he bought of Isaac Shepard of Plainfield one original "right", or share, in The Susquehanna Company, and four years later removed from Plainfield to Wyoming Valley. In May, 1774, the township of Wooster (its name was later changed to Standing Stone) was laid out on both sides of the Susquehanna River, in what is now Bradford County, Pennsylvania (see the map facing page 468, Vol. I); and, as mentioned on page 811, Simon Spalding became one of the first settlers in that township. In less than a year thereafter, however, he removed thence to the district of Plymouth, in Wyoming Valley, and in September, 1775, was one of the company of adventurers who went from Wyoming to Warrior Run, on the West Branch of the Susquehanna, to establish a settlement. (See page 843.) December 6, 1775, Simon Spalding was chosen Constable of the town of Westmoreland, and in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society there is preserved an interesting legal document evidencing an early attempt on the part of Constable Spalding to enforce a judicial mandate. The document in question is a writ "in a plea of the case", issued against B. and J. Cole of Westmoreland by Zebulon Butler, Justice of the Peace in and for the county of Litchfield, Connecticut, under the date of March 28, 1776. By the writ the officer serving it was directed to attach the estate or goods of the defendants, to the value of £9, and for want thereof, to attach the bodies of the defendants—to answer two weeks later at the dwelling-house of the said Justice in Wilkes-Barré. Upon the back of the writ is endorsed the following return: "29 March, 1776. Then by virtue of the within writ I attached 3 cows shune to me to Be the estate of the with yn mensined Defts and also Read the with yn writ yn the hering of the with yn mensined Defts, & have sd. cows for trial. test pr. me. [Signed] "SIMON SPALDING, Constpl."

Simon Spalding was an enrolled member of the 3d Company (Samuel Ransom, Captain), 24th Regiment, Connecticut Militia, in 1775, and in December of that year he took part in the battle at "Rampart Rocks." He continued to reside in Plymouth until he entered the Continental service as Second Lieutenant of the Second Westmoreland Independent Company. As Captain he was stationed with his company at Wilkes-Barré from August, 1778, till January, 1781 (except during two or three brief periods of absence on military expeditions, as hereinafter more fully related), when he and his command were ordered to join the United States forces operating along the Hudson. At that time his family were residing in Wilkes-Barré. In the Summer of 1782 Captain Spalding was honorably discharged from the military service, and returned to Wilkes-Barré.

Captain Spalding took part in the Hartley and Sullivan expeditions against the Indians (fully described in subsequent chapters), and upon both occasions he was impressed with the apparent fertility of the soil, and other fine natural features, of the valley of Sheshequin, within the bounds of the town of Westmoreland, and now comprehended in Bradford County, Pennsylvania. It seemed to be "a most inviting territory for occupation and settlement." Therefore, in May, 1783, accompanied by his wife, four daughters and two sons, and by Joseph Kinney (his son-in-law), Benjamin Cole, Hugh Foresman, Thomas Baldwin, Capt. Stephen Fuller, and the latter's sons John and Reuben, Captain Spalding removed from Wilkes-Barré to Sheshequin and settled in the upper part of the valley, on the left bank of the Susquehanna, in what is now the township of Sheshequin.

In the note on page 718 we state that Captain Fuller "removed to Sheshequin—then in Tioga Township, Luzerne County, and now in Athens Township, Bradford County." What we intended to state was that he removed to Sheshequin, later in Tioga Township, Luzerne County, and then (*i. e.* still later) in Athens Township, etc. Further, in this connection, we desire to correct another unintentional error, to be found on page 834. The original township of Ulster—sometimes referred to as the "Old Town of Ulster"—was located on the east side of the Susquehanna, and not on the west side as stated on page 834. (See map facing page 468, Vol. I.) The original Sheshequin—or ancient *Sheshequinung*, or *Scheshchiquanink* of the Indians—lay on the right bank of the Susquehanna, within the present limits of Ulster Township, Bradford County, and opposite the present Sheshequin.

Under the date of July 4, 1785, Col. John Franklin, a member of the "Standing", or Executive, Committee of The Susquehanna Company, issued to Captain Spalding, as a "half-share-man", three certificates (Nos. 278, 282 and 283) entitling him to as many "half-rights" in the Susquehanna Purchase, under the vote passed by the Company July 13, 1785. (See a subsequent chapter for a full account of this "half-right" scheme.) These certificates were immediately "entered" in the proposed township of Ulster, which was subsequently surveyed and laid out (so as to include the lands upon which Captain Spalding was then located) as mentioned on page 834.

In May, 1788, Simon Spalding was elected, and subsequently commissioned, Lieutenant Colonel of the "Upper Battalion" of Pennsylvania militia in Luzerne County, and in 1793 he was appointed and commissioned by Governor Mifflin Brigadier General in the militia. This office he held until April, 1799, when he resigned and was succeeded by Lord Butler of Wilkes-Barré. In 1791 and again in 1792 he was elected the Representative from Luzerne County to the Pennsylvania Legislature. In 1797 he was one of the founders of the Academy at Tioga Point, now Athens. He was a member of the Connecticut State Society of the Cincinnati. He was made a Free Mason in Newtown Lodge, New York, but upon the constitution of Rural Amity Lodge, No. 70, F. and A. M., at Tioga Point, May 21, 1798, under a warrant granted by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania July 6, 1796, he became a member of that Lodge.

Charles Miner describes General Spalding as having been "a large man of imposing and pleasing appearance", and prints the following eulogium from Col. Joseph Kingsbury, the General's son-in-law: "General Spalding was a man calculated to gain the love and esteem even of a savage. A better hearted man I was never acquainted with. He had a peculiar tact in pleasing the redskins". He seems to have been "brave, and a friend to all mankind"—as the inscription on his tombstone states. He died at Sheshequin January 24, 1814, his wife having died there October 1, 1806.

Second Lieutenant, Phineas Peirce;* *Sergeants*, Thomas Baldwin, Peregrine Gardner, John Hutchinson, Thomas McClure, Thomas Neill, Thomas Williams and — Whitman; *Corporals*, Benjamin Clark, Jeremiah Coleman, Jr., and Azel Hyde; *Privates*, Mason F. Alden, Amos Amesbury, — Austin, James Bagley, Waterman Baldwin, Isaac Benjamin, Charles Bennett, Oliver Bennet, Rufus Bennet, David Brown, James Brown, Jr., Moses Brown, Asa Burnham, John Carey, William Carroll, Gideon Church, John or Joel Church, Nathaniel Church, Benjamin Cole, Benjamin Cole, Jr., — Colton, William Conover, William Cornelius, David Crouch, Daniel Denton, Nathaniel Evans, Frederick Eveland, Frederick Follett, William French, John Franklin, Elisha Garrett, Ambrose Gaylord, Justus Gaylord, Jr., John Halstead, Richard Halstead, Henry Harding, Israel Harding, Timothy Hopkins, Lawrence Kinney, William Kellogg, Jr., Rufus Lawrence, Elisha Matthewson, William McClure, John Neal, Thomas Parks, Josiah Pell, Nehemiah Patterson, Thomas Pickett, John Peirce (killed in the battle of Wyoming), Thomas Porter, George Palmer Ransom, Elisha Satterlee, Constant Searle, Jr., Shadrack Sill, Stephen Skiff, Asa Smith, Isaac Smith, Jr., James Smith, William Smith, James Stark, Jr., John Stark, Nathan Stark, Ira Stephens, Roswell Stephens, Stephen Still, John Swift, William Terry, Samuel Tubbs, Ephraim Tyler, — Underwood, Elijah Walker, Obadiah Walker, James Wells, Jr., Nathaniel Williams, Richard Woodcock, John Worden.

Colonel Butler returned to Wilkes-Barré from his flying visit to the Board of War at York about the same time that Colonel Denison arrived home from Hartford, and steps were immediately taken by these two officers—aided by various officers of the 24th Regiment, and by the civil authorities of Westmoreland—to make the best preparations possible in the circumstances to defend the inhabitants of Wyoming Valley against an incursion from their savage and worse than savage foes. Everywhere there was bustle and anxiety. It was expected that an attack would cer-

Gen. Simon and Ruth (*Shepard*) Spalding were the parents of the following-named children: (i) Sarah, born January 31, 1763; married at Wilkes-Barré, June 22, 1781, to Joseph Kinney (born at Plainfield, Connecticut, in 1755; was a soldier in the Revolutionary War; was a Free Mason; was for a short time in 1788 and '89 one of the Judges of the Luzerne County Courts; he died at Sheshequin June 3, 1841). Mrs. Sarah (*Spalding*) Kinney, having borne her husband seven daughters and four sons, died at Sheshequin June 9, 1840. (ii) John, born November 14, 1765; was a fifer in his father's company for a time, and accompanied him on the Sullivan expedition; later he took an active part in the Pennsylvania State militia, and in 1788 was elected and commissioned Captain of the Sheshequin company; some years subsequently he was commissioned Colonel; for several years about 1799 he kept a tavern at Sheshequin; he was a member of Rural Amity Lodge, No. 70, F. and A. M.; he was married October 1, 1783, to Welthea Ann Gore (mentioned on page 835), who bore him eleven sons and three daughters. Colonel Spalding died January 19, 1828; and his wife died January 2, 1854. (iii) Rebecca, born December 16, 1773; married at Sheshequin August 23, 1789, to William Witter Spalding (born at Plainfield, Connecticut, November 18, 1767), and some years later they removed to Genesee, New York, where she died in April, 1813; he died at Wysox, Pennsylvania, October 16, 1845. William W. and Rebecca (*Spalding*) Spalding were the parents of five sons and five daughters. (iv) Mary, born July 20, 1776; married at Sheshequin March 14, 1792, to the Rev. Moses Park (born at Preston, Connecticut, August 1, 1766; settled in Sheshequin soon after 1785; in 1797 removed to the State of Ohio; in 1801 returned to Pennsylvania and settled at Athens, where he died May 30, 1817; he was a member of Rural Amity Lodge, No. 70, F. and A. M.). Mrs. Mary (*Spalding*) Park bore her husband five daughters and six sons. She died May 2, 1842. (v) Anna, born April 21, 1779; married at Sheshequin February 1, 1797, to Joseph Kingsbury (born at Enfield, Connecticut, May 19, 1774; settled in Sheshequin in 1793 as a land-surveyor; for many years was postmaster at Sheshequin and a Colonel in the State militia; was for eighteen years Worshipful Master of Rural Amity Lodge, No. 70, F. and A. M.; died January 22, 1849). Mrs. Anna (*Spalding*) Kingsbury bore her husband five daughters and five sons. She died at Sheshequin September 18, 1864. (vi) George, born September 5, 1782; died May 26, 1800, unmarried. (vii) Chester Peirce, born June 18, 1784; married in 1806 to Sarah Tyler; died at Palmyra, New York, in 1811.

† Mentioned in the note on page 711. He marched for Wyoming from Lancaster with his company, and did not hurry home "from the seat of war in New Jersey", as incorrectly stated in the above-mentioned note.

* The youngest brother of Lieut. Timothy Peirce, as noted on page 711. He was probably an original member of the 2d Westmoreland Independent Company, commanded by Captain Ransom, although his name does not appear on any of the rolls now known to be in existence. According to the Resolution of Congress (see page 978) he had been promoted Lieutenant, of either the 1st or the 2d Company, April 1, 1778.

tainly be made, and soon; but the precise time could not be calculated. Almost daily spies, or scouts, were sent up the river from the Valley, but they were unable—perhaps unwilling—to venture farther than Wyalusing. In no instance did any of them get as far as Tioga Point, and so the *true* state of affairs at that place was neither known nor approximately surmised at Wyoming. Care sat on every brow in Wyoming, and fear dwelt in many a heart too stanch to allow a syllable of apprehension to escape from the lips. The daily vocations of the people were attended to as usual, but the indispensable labors of the field were performed by armed men.

The one and only cannon in the settlement—the old 4-pounder mentioned in earlier pages—was in the fort at Wilkes-Barré; but, there being no shot on hand for firing from it, arrangements were made to use it for an alarm-gun, to warn the people of approaching danger and to summon the militia to their places of rendezvous. Every company of the 24th Regiment, including the “Alarm List” companies (see page 922), was ordered to be ready at a moment’s warning. Indeed, every man and youth in the Valley who possessed the strength and skill to load and fire a gun, and who *had, or could procure, a gun*, was called into service and trained. Two deserters from the British army—Abraham Pike, who had fled from Boston several years before, and — Boyd, a fine, active, young fellow from Canada, who had been a Sergeant—were in the Valley, and they made themselves useful in aiding to train the militia.

During those last days of June the inhabitants generally—particularly those dwelling in isolated localities—sought the protection afforded by the several forts, stockades and block-houses in the Valley. Probably the largest number of people gathered at Forty Fort (see pages 774 and



FORTY FORT, AS IT IS SAID TO HAVE APPEARED IN 1778.

Reduced reproduction of a drawing by Edmund L. Dana, Esq., originally published in Pearce's "Annals of Luzerne County."

885), owing to its larger dimensions and promise of greater security. Concerning this fort it is stated in "Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania" (I:438) that "in 1777 it was partly rebuilt, adding much to its strength, as well as its dimensions. Opinions differ as to its size; the better authority seems to be that it enclosed an acre or more of ground. In-



VIEW DOWN THE SUSQUEHANNA FROM FORTY FORT CEMETERY.

From a photograph taken in 1802.

Forty Fort (erected in 1772) stood on the right bank of the river, at the bend.

deed, recent excavations disclose the remains of the timbers in place, extending in one direction 220 feet, indicating in connection with other circumstances an inclosure of at least an acre. The walls of this fort were of logs, the material generally used in such defenses; these were set upright in a trench five feet in depth, extending twelve feet above the surface of the ground, and were sharpened at the top. The joints or crevices between the upright logs were protected by another tier of logs planted and secured in like manner, thus forming a double wall. Barracks, or huts, were built along the walls within the fort, for the shelter of the occupants; the roof of these buildings serving as a platform from which the garrison could defend the works; and the space in the center, surrounded by the barracks, was used as a parade. The inclosure was rectangular in shape, having a gateway opening towards the north, another towards the south, and small sentry towers at the four corners, rising a few feet above the walls. A strong flowing spring at the margin of the river, below the structure, supplied water to the fort. Access to the spring was rendered safe by means of a sunken passageway, having the top protected by timber work, leading down from the fort."

Turning our attention now in the direction of Tioga Point, where Maj. John Butler and his forces established themselves early in June, we find that during the greater part of the month active preparations were carried on there for the descent on Wyoming. Boats and canoes were built, a large quantity of provisions was collected for the subsistence of the expedition until it should arrive at Wyoming, and additions, both of white men and Indians, were made almost daily to the ranks of the invaders.

Nearly every writer of Wyoming history, heretofore, has stated, in substance, that the white men of this expedition numbered about 400, consisting of Butler's Rangers, a detachment of Sir John Johnson's "Royal Greens," and a number of Tories from Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey. It is very doubtful if any white man (with one exception, mentioned hereinafter) joined the expedition who was not already an enlisted member of Butler's Rangers; or, if he was not a member of the corps when he arrived at Tioga Point, was not soon thereafter regularly mustered into the British service as a "Ranger." The regiment of Sir John Johnson (see page 934) was in service in another part of the country—at a considerable distance from Tioga Point and the valley of the Susquehanna—in June and July, 1778. This regiment, which was composed largely of Tories from the Mohawk Valley, was not a corps of scouts, or rangers, but a light infantry organization, and was officially designated as "The King's Royal Regiment of New York." For convenience it was usually referred to as "Sir John Johnson's Regiment," and unofficially, by contemporaneous writers, it was often called "Johnson's Royal Greens,"* from the color of the uniforms worn by the men. But this last title was, in a sense, a misnomer, for all the Provincial military organizations in the British service in America during the Revolutionary War wore green uniforms. This fact was probably unknown to the inhabitants of Wyoming who, in July, 1778, saw those "Rangers" of Butler's corps who then wore green uniforms, and pre-

* In the "Introduction"—written by William L. Stone—to the "Orderly Book of Sir John Johnson" (published at Albany, New York, in 1882), we find this statement: "We learn, among other items, that Sir John Johnson's regiment never, in a single instance, in this Orderly Book—although elsewhere invariably known as such—is called the 'Royal Greens.'"

sumed that they were some of "Johnson's Royal Greens." (It was not until December, 1778—as stated on page 943—that *all* the "Rangers" were mustered at Fort Niagara and supplied with the distinctive uniforms which had been provided for them.)

The Indians who took part in the Wyoming expedition were chiefly Senecas, under the supreme command of *Sayenqueraghta*. There were in addition, however, some Delawares (mostly of the Monsey clan), Onondagas and Cayugas, and probably a few warriors from other tribes. There was at that time a small Indian village on the Tioga Point peninsula, near its extremity. Three miles up the Tioga River was a small village known to the whites as "Shawnee," and nine miles farther was the large village of Chemung. One mile south of the mouth of the Tioga River, on a broad and fertile plain on the right, or west, bank of the Susquehanna (near where the village of Milan, in the township of Ulster, Bradford County, now stands), was a small Indian village known to the whites as "Esthertown;" while five miles farther south, on the site of ancient Sheshequin (formerly described), was another small village. From all these villages the expedition received many recruits—nearly the whole population of Esthertown, headed by the principal personage of the place, "Queen Esther,"* being among the earliest ones to flock to

* "QUEEN ESTHER", previously mentioned on pages 917 and 918, belonged to the Seneca nation, being the fourth child of Margaret Montour, or "French Margaret," and a younger sister of the famous Catharine Montour, or "Queen Catharine", mentioned on pages 206 and 207, Vol. I. Esther Montour was born about 1720, and at an early age was married to a certain *Ach-co-bund*, or *Eg-ho-bund*, a chief of the Monsey clan of the Delaware nation. The earliest knowledge we have of him dates no farther back than the year 1768, when, according to the records of the Moravian missionaries, he was chief of a small village at Sheshequinunk, or Sheshequin (the present village of Ulster), mentioned on page 980. The Rev. David Craft (author of the "History of Bradford County") states that Sheshequinunk was an old Indian village, abandoned during Pontiac's War, but afterwards (about 1765) resettled by two distinct bands of Indians—*Eghobund*, with quite a number of Delawares, on one side of what is now Cash Creek, and another band of Christian Delawares under *Wehoholahund* on the other side. The latter was probably the chief "James Davies" (mentioned in the note on page 443, Vol. I), who belonged to the Unami, or Wanamie, clan of the Delawares.

According to the Moravian records Zeisberger, the missionary, tarried over night at Sheshequin in May, 1766, and preached to the natives. In 1768 the Moravian Brethren again visited the place and found a village of twelve huts—but whether above or below the creek is not stated. Between February 4, 1769, and May 6, 1772, John Rothe and his wife Mary, Moravian missionaries who had formerly preached and taught at *Friedenshütten* (the Indian village mentioned on page 220, Vol. I, and on other pages), labored among the Indians in the village at Sheshequin of which "*Achcobund* was chief." Other Indians of note in Provincial history who resided there at that time were "Joe Peepzy" (mentioned on page 331, Vol. I) and "Isaac Still" (mentioned on page 364). "The Friedenshütten mission received accessions from this Indian town, and seventeen of its inhabitants accompanied the Moravian Indians to the West in June, 1772". (See page 733.) After this exodus *Eghobund* and the remnant of his clan removed five miles up the river and established the village subsequently known as Esthertown. About that time *Eghobund* died, and thenceforth his widow Esther—who was a woman of intelligence and shrewdness, and had considerable influence among her people—managed with a firm hand, and without interference, the affairs of the little village, including the cultivation of the extensive flats contiguous thereto. In a very short time Esther became known to the whites as "Queen Esther", and her village as "Esthertown."

According to a letter written at Elmira, New York, October 18, 1853, by the Hon. Thomas Maxwell (born at Tioga Point in 1790) to H. R. Schoolcraft, and printed in the latter's "Indian Tribes of the United States", V : 670, Mrs. Jane Whittaker was a daughter of Sebastian Strobe, and was one of the members of his family captured by the Indians about the first of June, 1778, as narrated on page 974. Mr. Maxwell's letter reads, in part, as follows:

"Mrs. Whittaker narrates that previous to her captivity she had often seen Queen Esther at her father's house, where she was always a welcome visitor and hospitably received; that she talked English poorly, yet making herself understood upon ordinary subjects. She boasted, however, that there was another language with which she was quite as familiar as with the Indian. Although it was not so stated by the narrator, this was probably the French. Mrs. Whittaker describes her as tall, but rather slight in form; cheek bones not high; complexion not as dark as that of the [ordinary] Indian; hair, black, but soft and fine, unlike the heavy, black hair of the squaw; her form erect and commanding, and her appearance and manners agreeable. A sister lived with her by the name of Mary, who was tall, and resembled the Queen in personal appearance, except that she was much heavier. Both of them had been often at the house of Mr. Strobe and were on friendly terms with his family.

"Queen Esther's influence with the natives was unbounded. When she appeared among them she was treated with the utmost deference. Her costume was rich and showy, with a profusion of glittering ornaments, and comported well with her claims to deference and queenly dignity. She wore a necklace of pure white beads, from which was suspended a cross made of stone or silver. * * * After her capture Mrs. Whittaker received many marks of kindness from the forest Queen. During the preparation for the attack upon Wyoming, the family of Mr. Strobe were detained at Tioga Point, as has been before stated. At this time they were visited in a friendly way by their old friend Queen Esther, who showed them many marks of kindness. On one occasion when about to return home she desired to have the little captive accompany her to her castle for a visit, and although the distance was not great Mrs. Strobe declined her proffered civility. The refusal did not seem to make her angry, for she acquiesced in it after discovering the reluctance of the mother to be parted, even temporarily, from her child. Afterwards, in company with her mother, Mrs. Whittaker crossed the river and rambled over the premises of the Queen.

Butler's standard. The miscellaneous Indians—that is, those who were not Senecas—were placed under the command of Capt. John Johnston* (mentioned on page 985), an officer of the Indian Department under Col. Guy Johnson, the Superintendent.

Everything being in readiness the expedition set forth from Tioga Point in the morning of Saturday, June 27th. In his report made to Lieut. Colonel Bolton, some twelve days later, Major Butler stated that his forces, upon his arrival at Wyoming, had consisted of "about 500 Rangers and Indians." But, without doubt, he, for various reasons, belittled them; because, according to statements (printed at length hereinafter) made at the time, and later, by certain inhabitants of Wyoming whose knowledge of the subject was pretty complete and whose opinions on most matters were reliable, the invaders numbered about 700. However, various chroniclers of Wyoming history—from Chapman up to present-day writers—have made diverse statements as to the number of the invaders; none placing it lower than 800, and some fixing it as high as 1,600. Our own judgment is that there were no more than 250 "Rangers,"† some 350 Seneca warriors, and probably 100 "mis-

"The plain upon which the so called castle stood was on the west side of the Susquehanna, near the mouth of the Chemung, not far from and in full view of the 'Point' at the confluence of those two rivers. The main building was a long, low edifice, irregular in shape, built of hewn logs and planks, but neatly done, with a porch at the doorway of some architectural pretension, and surrounded by quite a number of other buildings."

Queen Esther had several children, only one of whom, however, has been mentioned by her biographers—the son who is said to have been killed at Exeter, as described on page 991, *post*. Mary, or "Molly", Montour, sister of Esther, lived with the latter for some time at Esthertown. She is said to have been married to a well-known Indian, *Kanaghragait*, or "John Cook", sometimes called the "White Mingo", who died at Fort Wayne in 1790. In September, 1760, Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania was notified by the Indian Agent at Shamokin that John Hutson (brother-in-law of "Queen" Catharine Montour, as mentioned on page 207, Vol. I) had arrived there in eight days from Margaret Town, and delivered to the Agent, for the Governor, a string of wampum and a speech, or letter, "sent by Catharine, daughter of 'French Margaret'," relative to her bringing down in the Autumn two white prisoners who were in her custody. This letter also set forth that Catharine's "sister Molly" had gone "to the Allegheny with the white woman she has prisoner." (See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records", VIII : 499.) Upon one occasion, about 1790, while Mrs. Hannah (Gore) Durkee (see page 835) was living at Scipio, Cayuga County, New York, "Queen Esther" came to her house in the evening on her way to Onondaga, accompanied by her sister "Molly", who was much intoxicated, and was carrying a papoose on her back. They asked for shelter for the night, which was furnished them. At that time the home of Esther was at Canoga (the birth-place of the famous Seneca chief "Red Jacket"), west of Cayuga Lake, in what is now Seneca County, New York. She had abandoned Esthertown in the Autumn of 1778, and some time later was married to an Indian known as "Steel Trap" and as "Tom Hill." Dr. Craft says she died at Canoga about 1800.

Some writers—notably William L. Stone, in his "Poetry and History of Wyoming"—have refused to entertain the belief that "Queen Esther" was in Wyoming Valley at the time of the battle of July 3, 1778, and the subsequent massacre. Stone says, "the remotest belief cannot be entertained that she was the Hecate of that fell night. A night, indeed, of terror, described with truth and power by the bard of 'Gertrude' as the dread hour when

"Sounds that mingled laugh and shout and scream—
To freeze the blood, in one discordant jar—
Rung to the pealing thunderbolts of war."

But Stone confused Esther Montour with her sister Catharine—"Queen Catharine"—who seems to have been a very different kind of a woman. "Queen Esther" was well known to many intelligent and reliable people in Wyoming Valley—as for example: Colonel Denison, Col. John Franklin and Lieut. Roasel Franklin—and they united in declaring that she was present and was seen by them at the time of the surrender of Forty Fort. Other reliable witnesses—named hereinafter—testified as to her presence and her conduct at "Bloody Rock." Peck, in his "Wyoming", gives an account (on page 154) of a visit which "Queen Esther" made to Wyoming in the Autumn of 1777, when she was seen and talked to by Martha Bennet (later Mrs. Philip Myers), who also saw her at Forty Fort, at the head of the hostile Indians, on July 4, 1778.

* At Fort Niagara, under the date of October 30, 1780, Col. Guy Johnson wrote to Governor Haldimand that the intemperate habits of Capt. John Johnston would necessitate his leaving the corps of officers attached to the Indian Department. At Montreal, under the date of October 10, 1781, Captain Johnston wrote to Governor Haldimand that he was ready to go out "on a scout or an expedition." Captain Johnston's name appears again in subsequent pages.

† Among the "Haldimand Papers" (B. M. 21,765—CV : 58-78) is a "Pay-list of the Several Companies of Butler's Rangers, from December 24, 1777, to October 24, 1778." This covers, of course, the period within which the Wyoming incursion occurred and the battle of July 3, 1778, was fought; and it extends beyond the last-mentioned date nearly three months, during which time Walter N. Butler and other officers of the corps who had not been at Wyoming joined the main body with a considerable number of new recruits. The "Pay-list" in question contains the names of the commissioned officers, non-commissioned officers and privates of six companies (the full number of companies in October, 1778, as well as in the following December—as noted on page 943, *ante*). The 1st, or "the Major's", Company, was commanded by Maj. John Butler, the commander of the corps, and the 2d, 3d, 4th and 5th Companies were commanded, respectively, by Captains Walter N. Butler, John McDonnell, Peter Ten Broeck and William Caldwell. The 6th Company, which was composed of only twenty-seven privates, had no officers. The other five companies comprised, each, one Captain, one First Lieutenant, one Second Lieutenant, three Sergeants, three Corporals, fifty privates and three "contingent men"—making the total strength of the corps, at that time, 310 men.

cellaneous" Indians, including a few squaws from the villages at and near Tioga Point—making a total of about 700.

To convey all these people down the Susquehanna many boats and canoes were required; and, as the flotilla sailed along on the placid bosom of the river, in a quiet and orderly manner, the sight must have been a remarkable one. In the evening of Monday, June 29th, the flotilla arrived without any mishap at the mouth of Bowman's Creek, eighteen miles north of Wilkes-Barré "as the crow flies," but twenty-nine miles by way of the winding river. There the expedition encamped for the night. The next morning (June 30th) the boats of the flotilla were left at Bowman's Creek, while the late occupants of them marched down the river along either bank, and the remaining members of the expedition floated down stream in their canoes. Thus they proceeded for about two miles to the "Three Islands," near the present village of LaGrange, when the canoes were beached on the west shore of the river, and the whole expedition assembled there. A division of the forces was then made, and shortly afterwards a considerable body of Indians, accompanied by four or five "Rangers," marched southward along the right bank of the river, while the main part of the forces, with Major Butler and *Sayenqueraghta* at their head, marched back of the mountain (which skirts the river at that point) and proceeded southward.



NEAR THE MOUTH OF SUTTON'S CREEK, EXETER TOWNSHIP, LUZERNE COUNTY.
From a photograph taken in 1903 by the writer.

On June 26th Capt. Dethick Hewitt, in command of a small scouting party, went up the river from Wyoming, whither he returned in the afternoon of the 30th with the news that a large party of the enemy was slowly advancing towards the Valley. In the morning of the 30th, before the return of Captain Hewitt and his party, and therefore before the

inhabitants of the Valley were aware of the proximity of the enemy, a party of twelve men and boys went from Jenkins' Fort in the lower end of Exeter to that part of the township adjacent to the mouth of Sutton's Creek, distant about five miles. The party was composed of Benjamin Harding, Stukely Harding, Stephen Harding, Jr., John Gardner,* a boy named Rogers (about eleven years of age), James Hadsall and his sons James and John (the latter a boy), Ebenezer Reynolds and Daniel Carr (sons-in-law of James Hadsall), Daniel Wallen, and a negro named Quocko, a servant of William Martin. Benjamin and Stukely Harding carried their guns with them. Arriving at their destination the Hardings, together with John Gardner and the boy Rogers, went to work in the corn-field of Stephen Harding, Jr., on the flats about three-quarters of a mile up the river from the mouth of Sutton's Creek, while the Hadsalls and the remainder of the party went to work, some in Hadsall's corn-field on an island just above the mouth of Sutton's Creek, and others in Hadsall's tan-yard on the mainland, near by.

Toward the close of the afternoon Michael Showers† and Frederick Anker‡ came to the field where the Hardings were at work. These two men were inhabitants of Westmoreland, and had formerly resided in the North, or "Up the River," District of the town, but were then numbered among the occupants of Wintermute's Fort, and were suspected by the inhabitants generally of being Tories. When these men approached the field one of the Hardings was standing on guard as a sentinel, while the rest of the party were endeavoring to finish the hoeing of the corn before sunset. Showers and Anker suggested to the sentinel that if he wanted to turn in and help with the hoeing they would take his place as sentinel. This was assented to, but after a short time Showers and Anker disappeared. Suspecting them of treachery, Stephen Harding, Jr., went to get the horses of his party (which were at some little distance), preparatory to starting for Jenkins' Fort. When he returned to where he had left his companions he found that they had quit work, and were slowly passing southward to a deer-lick which they had resolved to visit—their path lying through a deep, narrow ravine, along the bottom of which a small brook ran to the river. In this ravine were concealed some of the Indians and Tories who had marched down from the vicinity of "Three Islands;" and, having been joined by Showers and Anker, they awaited the coming of the Harding party. When the latter appeared they were fired upon, and

* See foot-note on page 254, Vol. I.

† MICHAEL SHOWERS was, as noted on page 945, regularly enlisted in Butler's Rangers. In August, 1787, he was living at Niagara, when and where he presented, under oath, to the British Commissioners (referred to in the third paragraph of the note on page 931) a claim for losses which he had sustained on account of his loyalty to the Crown during the Revolutionary War. The original affidavit of Showers is preserved in the British archives, and therein it is set forth that he was a native of America; that he lived on the North Branch of the Susquehanna, in Northumberland County, when the war opened; that he occupied a tract of 300 acres of the "disputed lands", which he had taken up in 1772; that he had cleared thirty acres and built a house; that he had settled on this land under a "right" from Connecticut, but had got a promise to have his title "confirmed" under Pennsylvania; that in 1778 he escaped to the British army with Frederick Anker, and served to the close of the war in Butler's Rangers; that he lost at Wyoming "stock, oxen, cows, sheep and hogs", the value of which, in connection with that of his land lost, amounted to £377 in New York currency. The records show that the Commissioners rated Showers' loss at £86, and allowed him that amount December 7, 1787.

‡ FREDERICK ANKER, or ANGER, as his surname was sometimes written, was, as noted on page 944, regularly enlisted in Butler's Rangers. In 1787 he was living with his family at Niagara, and in August of that year he filed with the British Commissioners (previously mentioned) a claim setting forth, under oath: That he was a native of Germany, and had come to America in 1757; that when the Revolutionary War broke out he was living on the North Branch of the Susquehanna, in Northumberland County, where he had "one-half a proprietor's right on the disputed lands", for which he had paid seventy-two dollars; that he first went to the Susquehanna region in 1772, cleared twenty acres of land, and built a house, barn, etc.; that, with Michael Showers, he escaped to the British army in 1778, and "he (Anker) and his two sons served in Butler's Rangers to the close of the war"; that he lost his land and all he had—three horses, seven cows, etc., valued at £372, 18sh. The Commissioners determined his loss at £77, which amount was allowed him December 7, 1787.

Benjamin and Stukely Harding were wounded. They promptly returned the fire, and then a bloody melee ensued. The Indians, with their spears and tomahawks, rushed upon the Hardings, while the latter clubbed their guns and fought furiously and bravely, resisting until, pierced through with spears, they fell, and then were hacked and cut to pieces with tomahawks, and scalped. John Gardner, having no weapons,



THE SCENE OF THE MASSACRE OF THE HARDINGS.
(The ravine mentioned was just beyond the thicket in the foreground.)
From a photograph taken by the writer in 1903.

took no part in the fight, but was taken prisoner. Stephen Harding, Jr., and the boy Rogers escaped without wounds and ran into the thick woods near by.

In the meantime another party of this same band of Indians and Tories had sneaked down to Hadsall's tan-yard, near the mouth of Sutton's Creek (which was just fourteen miles from Fort Wilkes-Barré, and less than twelve miles from Forty Fort, by the winding course of the river), where they captured James Hadsall, Sr., his son-in-law Daniel Carr, and the negro Quocko. They then lay in wait for the men who were at work on the island, who, a little later, as they were landing from their canoes, were fired upon. James Hadsall, Jr., was killed, Ebenezer Reynolds was wounded, but, with Daniel Wallen, managed to flee to the woods. Young John Hadsall, who had remained behind the rest of the party in order to make fast the canoe, plunged into a thicket of willows and drift, that overhung the water close by, as soon as he heard the firing. The Indians, missing one from the party which had landed from the canoe, went to the river's margin to search for him, and one of them walked out on a log just over where Hadsall was lying, but did not discover him.



VIEW FROM MOUNT LOOKOUT, LOOKING SOUTH.

The figure in the foreground is pointing in the direction of the battlefield of Wyoming. In the middle-distance, directly above the pointing hand of the figure, is the site of Fort Fort, while Wilkes-Barre lies in the background in line with the head of the figure.

The elder Hadsall, John Gardner, Daniel Carr and Quocko were taken by their captors (the two bands of the war-party which had come down the river from "Three Islands" having reunited) some three miles up Sutton's Creek, to about a mile east of where the village of Orange, in Franklin Township, Luzerne County, is now located, and there they bivouacked that night (June 30th). During the night James Hadsall* and Quocko the negro† were subjected by the Indians to excruciating and protracted tortures, culminating in the death of both men.

Meanwhile the main body of the invaders, under Major Butler and *Sayenqueraghta*, had marched from the river at "Three Islands" in a direct course, south-south-east, through the uninhabited and unbroken country back of the mountains which skirt the right, or west, bank of the Susquehanna. A somewhat difficult march of twelve miles—in the course of which the locality east of the present village of Orange, abovementioned, was passed through‡—the little army arrived at a point just back of Mount Lookout (described on page 48, Vol. I), and there they bivouacked§ early in the evening of June 30th. A large extent of Wyoming Valley lies spread out before the eyes of the beholder standing upon the summit of Mount Lookout (see the illustrations facing page 989 and page 990), and from that eminence Forty Fort, Jenkins' Fort, Wintermute's Fort and Pittston Fort were distinctly visible to Major Butler and his officers. In the morning of July 1st Major Butler was joined at his Mount Lookout encampment by the detachment of his command which had wrought destruction in upper Exeter and then bivouacked near Orange.

Young John Hadsall, who had secreted himself in a thicket, as previously narrated, ventured out of his hiding-place after nightfall, and made his way down to Jenkins' Fort, where he arrived safely and made known the circumstances of the capture and death of his companions to their waiting and anxious friends and relatives. Stephen Harding, Jr., Ebenezer Reynolds, David Wallen and the boy Rogers fled through the woods, and, after wandering all night, succeeded in reaching Jenkins' Fort early the next morning. Intelligence of the unexpected calamity which had occurred was at once (in the morning of Wednesday, July 1st) sent to all parts of the Valley, and the utmost alarm and consternation

* JAMES HADSALL, SR., came to Wyoming from Stonington, Connecticut, where all his children were born. He was a proprietor in The Susquehanna Company as early, at least, as June, 1770 (see page 658), at which time he was probably in Wyoming Valley. He was certainly here in October, 1771, and in May and July, 1772—in the last-mentioned month being joined by his son James. They were both here in October, 1772. (See page 752.) James Hadsall, Sr., was an early settler in the township of Exeter, which was laid out by The Susquehanna Company in November, 1772, as narrated on page 467, Vol. I. He owned considerable land near the mouth of Sutton's Creek, where he carried on farming and conducted a small tannery. In 1776, in partnership with James Sutton, he built and operated the first grist-mill and saw-mill in Exeter Township, on Sutton's Creek, a short distance from the river. These mills were destroyed by the Tories and Indians, either just before or soon after the battle of Wyoming. The mill irons were carried away, with the exception of the crank, which is now preserved in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, as a relic of one of the earliest mills in the Wyoming region.

James Hadsall, Sr., and his wife (who died prior to 1778) were the parents of several children, some of whom were: James (killed at Sutton's Creek June 30, 1778), Stephen (born in April, 1766), Edward, John, Joseph and William Hadsall. The last four were all residents of and taxpayers in Exeter Township in 1796. In 1805 Edward Hadsall removed with some of his family from Exeter to Martinsville, Ohio, where a number of his descendants now reside. His son James (born March 20, 1786) remained in Exeter, but later removed to the adjoining township of Franklin, in Luzerne County, where he was living in 1880 at the advanced age of ninety-four years. Daniel Carr, the son-in-law of James Hadsall, Sr., who was carried away a prisoner by the Indians, is said to have been held in captivity several years. Stephen Hadsall, who was in his thirteenth year at the time of the battle of Wyoming, fled to Stonington soon thereafter, and did not return to Wyoming until he had grown to manhood. About 1800 he settled in what is now Monroe Township, Wyoming County, where he married, and where he died January 17, 1847.

† See Vol. I, pages 149 and 166, relative to the aversion of the Indians of early days to negroes.

‡ See the map facing page 790, and the "Map of North-eastern Pennsylvania" in Chapter XXIII.

§ Near where are now located the grounds of the Wyoming Camp-meeting Association.

prevailed. The people of Wyoming well knew that it was no picnic- or excursion-party which had come down from the North and was now



lurking somewhere near their borders. The Westmoreland militia, therefore, were hastily ordered to assemble. Old men and youths quit their employments, seized their muskets, and hurried to the places of rendezvous. Retirement or flight was deemed impossible. It seemed that there could be no security except in victory!

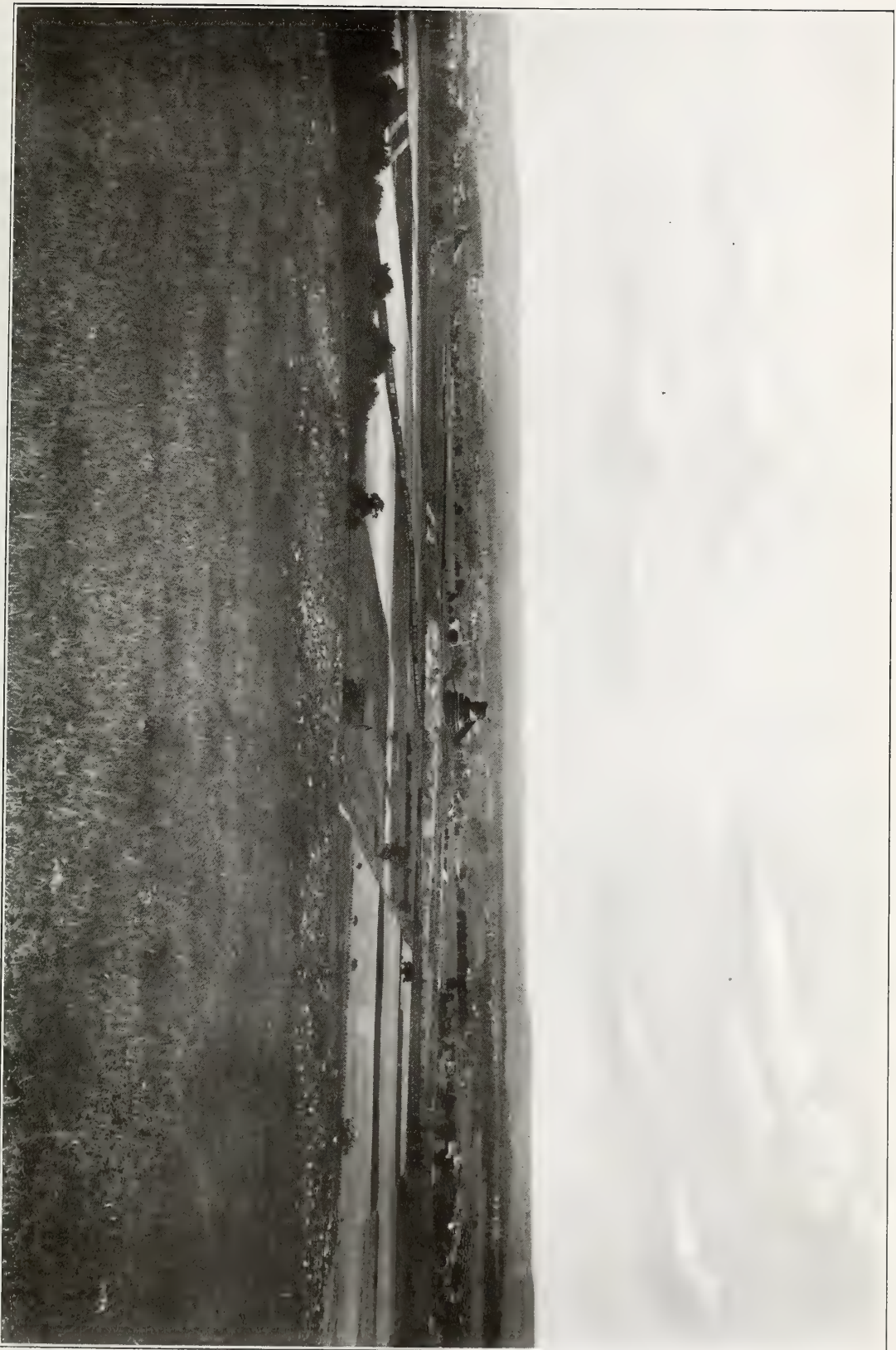
These brave men were not soldiers by profession, bred to arms, but were men from the everyday walks of life—mechanics, husbandmen, peaceful cultivators of the soil. Nor were they the vassals of a proud chieftain, rousing them, in barbarous times, by the blind impulse of attachment to his family, or engaging them to espouse his quarrels by the music and entertainments of his ancestral castle. These men were themselves the chieftains of their own cause, highly instructed in the nature of it, and, from the best principles of patriotism, resolute in its defense. They were not unacquainted with the circumstances of their situation, and their unpreparedness for battle with a superior force. It was alone the pure love of freedom and of right, burning bright in their souls, that could engage them to embark in the bold and perilous undertaking which then faced them. Well might they have chanted the war-song of the Tyrolese of earlier days :

“ We have sworn by that God,
Who can keep us and save us,
To fight for the land
Which our forefathers gave us.

“ We have sworn by our love,
By that spell which hath bound us,
To fight for the maids
And the mountains around us.”

Nearly 400 of the men of Wyoming Valley, fully armed and equipped for fighting, gathered in the course of the morning of July 1st at Forty Fort. Colonel Denison, as the chief officer of the Westmoreland militia, was there, naturally and properly in command; but as Lieut. Col. Zebulon Butler of the Continental army was then at his home in Wilkes-Barré, as previously mentioned, and as he was a soldier of many campaigns, and an officer of much wider experience than Colonel Denison, the latter sent for him to come to Forty Fort and take *actual* command of the expedition, which he himself would accompany as the *virtual* commander. In the circumstances this plan met with the approval of all the officers of the 24th Regiment on the ground, and Lieutenant Colonel Butler accepted the proffered post without hesitation.

Everything being in readiness the Westmorelanders set out from Forty Fort, led by Colonels Denison and Butler. Sternly and silently they marched, without banners and without music. It was their design, and they fully expected, to meet the invaders and attack them before they could reach the settlements in the Valley; but they marched up along the west bank of the river to Sutton's Creek—a distance of about ten miles—without meeting a single hostile. At the creek they halted, and a squad of men, under the command of Lieut. Roasel Franklin, was



VIEW OF WYOMING VALLEY FROM MOUNT LOOKOUT.

Mount Lookout Colliery is shown in the middle-distance, near the center of the picture, and to the left of that lies the battlefield of Wyoming.

From a photograph taken in 1902.

sent forward to the scene of the murder of the Hardings. The mutilated bodies of the two men were found where they had fallen the previous evening, and near them were seated two Indians, evidently with the expectation that, should the friends of the dead men come for their remains, they (the Indians) might obtain other victims. Lieutenant Franklin's party came upon the Indians without warning, and, firing upon them, one was shot dead where he sat, while the other, only slightly wounded, ran to the river and attempted to escape by swimming. However, he was pursued in a canoe by Lieutenant Franklin and one of his men, who despatched him with setting-poles.* The bodies of the Hardings were brought down to Jenkins' Fort, and the next day were interred in the Jenkins' burial-ground—at the junction of Linden and Wyoming Avenues, within the present limits of the borough of West Pittston.

After a tiresome march of twenty miles and more, and without having effected any results of consequence, the Westmorelanders returned to Forty Fort in the early evening of July 1st. Almost immediately thereafter those men of the expedition whose families were neither in Forty Fort, nor in any one of the other forts or stockades in the Valley, hastened to their respective homes to look after the welfare of their families, and, if thought necessary, to remove them to one of the several places of refuge and security. At this time Wintermute's Fort was occupied by the following-named persons and their families: Philip Wintermute, Christopher Wintermute, John Wintermute, Daniel Ingersoll, David Smith, James Gorduce, Stephen Gardner, Joseph Baker, Jesse Lee, Peter Harris, Michael Showers, Frederick Anker and Elisha Scovell. Several of these men were believed to be Tories by the authorities of Westmoreland, but as yet the latter had not secured any positive evidence in support of their belief. Elisha Scovell, as Lieutenant of the 7th (Exeter) Company of the 24th Regiment, was, by the choice of the people occupying Wintermute's Fort, in command of the same.

At that period a marsh, or morass, thick with timber and brushwood, extended for some distance in the Valley near the base of Mount Lookout, beyond which Abraham's Plains stretched to the river, as described on page 50, Vol. I. A large portion of the surface of these plains—particularly in the upper part of Kingston Township and in the lower part of Exeter Township—was then, and is now, elevated about ten or twelve feet above the remaining portion, being divided from it by a sharp offset, or declivity. The depressed portion of the plains—lying between the abovementioned declivity and the margin of the river—comprises the rich alluvial bottom-lands, or "flats," which were cultivated in a small way by the Indians, and have been extensively cultivated by the whites ever since the Valley first came into their possession. Wintermute's Fort stood on the edge of the declivity described above, and between it and the morass previously mentioned the gravelly plain was sparsely covered with a growth of yellow- and pitch-pine trees and oak shrubs, forming what Major Butler described as "a fine, open wood."

About the time that the expedition to upper Exeter had set forth from Forty Fort, two of the Wintermutes had left their fort and gone

* It has been stated, by more than one writer, that one of these two Indians was a son of Queen Esther, previously mentioned.

over to Mount Lookout (which was directly north-west, a mile and a-half distant), ostensibly to scout, but actually—as the people learned later—to communicate with Major Butler, and to conduct him and his forces down into the Valley by way of the gap lying north-east of Mount Lookout (as seen in the illustration facing this page). This treacherous business was completed early in the evening of July 1st, shortly after Colonels Butler and Denison and their men had returned to Forty Fort. With quietness the enemy bivouacked in the woods about three-quarters of a mile distant from Wintermute's Fort, to which place the two Wintermutes then repaired, accompanied by Lieut. John Turney, Sr. (see page 965), of the "Rangers." Calling for admission, the gate of the fort was opened to them, and immediately upon their entrance Lieutenant Turney demanded, in behalf of Major Butler, and in the name of King George, the surrender of the fort. Daniel Ingersoll, who was present, on learning of the perfidy that had been practised, began to prepare for resistance, and his wife seized a pitchfork to aid him; but the Wintermutes soon gave them and the other occupants of the fort to understand that Major Butler would be welcomed there. In the circumstances there was nothing to do but to surrender, and so Lieutenant Scovell executed with Lieutenant Turney "Articles of Capitulation for Wintermoot's Fort," dated July 1, 1778, and reading as follows*:

"Article 1st. That Lieut. Elisha Scovell surrender the Fort, with all the stores, arms and ammunition, that are in said fort, as well public as private, to Major John Butler.

"2d. That the garrison shall not bear arms during the present contest; and Major Butler promises that the men, women and children shall not be hurt, either by Indians or Rangers."

Later in the evening, accompanied by a detachment of "Rangers," Major Butler entered the fort and took up his quarters there—all the prior occupants (except the Tories) being detained there under guard. The next morning (July 2d), toward noon, Major Butler despatched Capt. William Caldwell (see pages 940 and 944) of the "Rangers," with a white flag, to Jenkins' Fort, to demand its surrender. Caldwell was accompanied by a squad of his men, among whom were Parshall Terry, Jr., Elijah Phelps† and Thomas Hill, formerly of Westmoreland. (See pages 902 and 903.) The occupants of this fort were, at that time, few in number, consisting mostly of women and children, while several of the men were wounded and sick (as for instance, Joel Phelps and Ebenezer Reynolds), and others were incapacitated for fighting by either age or physical disability. Miner Robbins, James Hadsall, Jr., Benjamin and Stukely Harding, John Gardner and Daniel Carr had been inmates of the fort, but they had been either killed or captured by the enemy, as previously related. Stephen Harding,‡ Sr., Captain of the 7th (Exeter)

* See Miner's "History of Wyoming", page 254.

† According to Cruikshank's "The Story of Butler's Rangers", page 111, Elijah Phelps was settled in 1783 as a farmer on the Crown lands at Niagara-on-the-Lake. (See page 945.) His home in Westmoreland had been where the village of Mechopany, Wyoming County, now stands.

‡ STEPHEN HARDING, abovementioned, was born in 1723 in Rhode Island, being one of the five sons of Capt. Stephen Harding, who was at one time of Warwick, Rhode Island, and later became a resident of that part of the town of New London, Connecticut, which is now Waterford. Stephen Harding first abovementioned was married about 1747 to Amy Gardner (mentioned on page 254, Vol. I), and they settled in Colchester, New London County, Connecticut. This Stephen Harding early became a member of The Susquehanna Company, and his name (written "Harden") appears among the names of the grantees in the Indian deed of 1754 (see page 272, Vol. I), he being the owner of one "right" in the Susquehanna Purchase. Inasmuch as his father-in-law, Stephen Gardner, and his brother-in-law, John Jenkins, came with the original settlers from Connecticut to Wyoming in 1762 (see page 403, Vol. I), it is fair to presume that Stephen Harding also was here, either in the year mentioned or in the ensuing year—although his name is not to be found in the meager list of those settlers which has been preserved. He was, however, undoubtedly one of the "First Forty" settlers of 1769, as noted on page 473, Vol. I, and was one of those who were taken into custody by the Pennsylvania authorities, conveyed to Easton, and committed to jail. Upon his release therefrom under bail, he set out for his home in Connecticut.



VIEW OF A PART OF THE BATTLEFIELD OF WYOMING.

Mount Lookout Colliery is seen at the left, while in the middle background lies Mount Lookout.

From a photograph taken in May, 1902.

Company, 24th Regiment, was in command of the garrison, and as no adequate means of resistance existed, the fort was surrendered to Captain Caldwell, who drew up and signed with Judge John Jenkins the following articles of capitulation:

"Between Major JOHN BUTLER, on behalf of His Majesty King George the Third, and JOHN JENKINS.

"*Art. 1st.* That the Fort, with all the stores, arms and ammunition, be delivered up immediately.

"*2d.* That Major John Butler shall preserve to them, intire, the lives of the men, women and children."

During the whole of July 2d Major Butler remained at Wintermute's Fort directing the sending out of scouts, as well as parties to

So far as we can learn from the records of The Susquehanna Company Stephen Harding did not return to Wyoming again until November or December, 1771. (See list of settlers, page 715.) As noted on page 717, he was voted a settling right in the new township of Lackawanna in December, 1771, and by the Spring of 1772 he was joined by his son Stephen, Jr. (See page 732.) When, in November, 1772, the township of Exeter was erected, as related on page 467, Vol. I, Stephen Harding and Stephen Harding, Jr., became proprietors in the same, and a year or two later removed thither. When the 24th Regiment, Connecticut Militia, was organized, Stephen Harding, Sr., was established and commissioned Captain of the 7th Company. (See page 857.) In May, 1778, Captain Harding was appointed and commissioned one of the Justices of the Peace in and for the county of Westmoreland for the ensuing year; and in May, 1779, he was reappointed to the same office.

Shortly after the battle of Wyoming Captain Harding and his family repaired to Colchester, Connecticut. They were still there in the Spring of 1781, when, under the date of May 5th, STEPHEN HARDING, STEPHEN HARDING, JR., ELISHA SCOVELL, JONATHAN SCOVELL and WILLIAM MARTIN (all previously residents of Exeter in Westmoreland) addressed to the General Assembly of Connecticut a memorial, in which they set forth: That they belonged to Westmoreland, and were inhabitants of the town in July, 1778, when, with others, they were driven away from their possessions, and with great difficulty escaped with their lives, "whilst many of our [their] families were killed by the enemy"; that they had come to the town of Colchester for a place of residence until they could return to their lands in Westmoreland; that the civil authority in Colchester had caused them to be taxed as inhabitants of Colchester, and "refused to admit of the exemption granted by the Assembly to Westmoreland", etc. This memorial having been presented to and considered by the Assembly at its session in May, 1781, the prayer of the memorialists was "negatived". (The original memorial is document "No. 142" in the collection of MSS. entitled "Susquehanna Settlers", mentioned on page 29, Vol. I.)

With his family, Captain Harding returned from Connecticut to Exeter in 1784, and there he continued to reside until his death, October 11, 1789.

Capt. Stephen and Amy (Gardner) Harding were the parents of nine sons and three daughters, all born at Colchester, Connecticut. The sons were as follows:

(i) Stephen, born about 1749; served for a time in Capt. Robert Durkee's Westmoreland Independent Company (see page 894), but was discharged for disability; his home, prior to the Spring of 1778, was in Exeter, near Sutton's Creek, and upon his return from Connecticut in 1784 he again took up his residence there; about 1798 he was a Captain in the Pennsylvania militia; he died in Exeter August 4, 1816.

(ii) Thomas, born about 1751; died in 1813.

(iii) Benjamin, born in 1753; killed by Indians June 30, 1778.

(iv) Stukely, born in 1755; killed by Indians June 30, 1778.

(v) Israel, born in 1756; served throughout the Revolutionary War as a private, first in Captain Durkee's company, and later in Captain Spalding's company; after the war was married to Lydia Reed, and later they settled in what is now Eaton Township, Wyoming County, Pennsylvania, where he died May 7, 1835.

(vi) Micajah, born in 1761; in 1796 he was a taxpayer in Exeter Township; subsequently to 1800 he was a Captain in the State militia; he died in 1845.

(vii) Elisha, born August 8, 1763; at the time of the incursion of the Tories and Indians in 1778 he was with the other members of his father's family in Jenkins' Fort, which he had helped to build in 1777; after the battle and massacre of July 3d he fled to Connecticut; returned to Wyoming Valley in the Spring of 1784; in the following Autumn was married to Martha Rider of Pittston, and settled in that township; in 1789 removed to what is now Eaton Township, Wyoming County; from 1799 till 1812 was a Justice of the Peace; in 1804 was elected one of the County Commissioners of Luzerne County; died August 1, 1839. He was the father of seven children, some of whom were: Mary (born about 1787; married to Thomas Mitchell), Elisha (born in 1790; married, 1st, Amy Jenkins, and 2d, Nancy Jackson; was a Justice of the Peace thirty years; Benjamin F., one of his sons, was a Senator from Oregon in the XXXVIIth Congress), Jesse (born in 1802; married in 1826 to Nancy Miller), John (who settled near Bowman's Creek).

(viii) John, born about 1765; married about 1789 to Mrs. Affa (Baldwin) Jenkins, widow of his cousin Benjamin Jenkins (see page 805); settled in Exeter, and, at a later period, kept for some years the "Red Tavern", a well-known stage-coach stand on the turnpike about a mile north of Sutton's Creek; died in Exeter in 1826. Mrs. Affa (Baldwin) Harding (born in Connecticut December 4, 1760; died in Exeter March 15, 1832) was married (1st) in 1777 to Benjamin Jenkins, as previously mentioned, and they became the parents of one son and two daughters. Elizabeth, the elder daughter, married Elder Davis Dimock, and Mary, the younger, married John, son of Waterman Baldwin. John and Affa (Baldwin) Harding were the parents of seven children—(1) John, (2) Isaac, (3) George, (4) Hiram, (5) Henry, (6) Affa and (7) Celinda. (2) Isaac Harding (born in Exeter in 1797) was married about 1818 to his second cousin, Nancy Harding, of Exeter. December 15, 1818, he was appointed and commissioned a Justice of the Peace; from 1825 to 1828 he was one of the Commissioners of Luzerne County; in 1846 he removed to Pawpaw Grove, Lee County, Illinois, where, later, he was elected one of the Judges of the County Court; died in 1854. Isaac and Nancy (Harding) Harding were the parents of four children—Lester, Nancy, Garrick Mallery and Isaac—all of whom, with the exception of Garrick Mallery, removed to Illinois. For a sketch of the life, and a portrait, of Garrick Mallery Harding, see a subsequent chapter.

(ix) William, the youngest son of Capt. Stephen and Amy (Gardner) Harding, was born about 1767, and died in 1825.

During the French and Indian War Stephen Harding, Sr., served from April 6 to November 6 in the campaign of 1760 (see the third paragraph on page 482, Vol. I), as a private in the 12th Company (Thomas Pierce of Saybrook, Captain) of the 2d Connecticut Regiment, commanded by Col. Nathan Whiting. (See "Connecticut Historical Society's Collections", X : 208.)

collect cattle and provisions in the upper end of the Valley for the subsistence of his men. From time to time during the day Indian chiefs and officers of the "Rangers" passed to and fro between the camp of the invaders in the woods and Butler's headquarters. Colonel Denison, who had established his headquarters at Forty Fort, four miles distant, also sent out scouting parties to endeavor to ascertain the strength and exact location of the enemy. Captain Hewitt was in command of one of these parties, and was shot through the hand; one of his men, Samuel Finch, was captured by the "Rangers," while another man, also named Finch,* was shot and scalped by the Indians near the gorge in the mountain subsequently known as Carpenter's Notch and then as Shoemaker's Hollow. Later the same day a considerable party went out from Forty Fort to bring in the remains of Finch, and did so without interruption. Afterwards it was learned that a large body of Indians had lain concealed within striking distance, and could easily have destroyed the Westmorelanders; but, for reasons of their own, refrained.

In a series of articles† written in 1828 by Col. (formerly Capt.) John Franklin, relative to the battle of July 3, 1778, the author stated: "July 2d [1778], at nine o'clock in the evening, I was in Huntington [Township], a mile from my home, at a neighbor's, when I received by an express the following letter:

" 'KINGSTON, 2d of July, 1778.

" 'To Capt. JOHN FRANKLIN.—*Sir*, you are commanded to appear forthwith, with your company, at the Forty fort in Kingston. Don't let your women and children detain you, for I don't think there is any danger at present, for the enemy have got possession of Wintermoot's fort, and I conclude they mean to attack us next. You will act as you think prudent about ordering the women and children to move to Salem; but you must not wait one moment to assist them. [Signed] 'NATHAN DENISON, Colonel.'

" 'To Capt. WHITTLESEY.‡—You are desired to forward the above with all possible expedition. Don't let anything detain this; press a horse if needed.

[Signed] 'NATHAN DENISON, Colonel.' "

"My company," continued Franklin, "lived scattering—a part in Huntington and the remainder along the river from Shickshinny to near Berwick; the greatest number, however, lived in Salem. The letter was copied [by me] and sent to my Lieutenant, Stoddard Bowen, at Salem, with directions to have him meet me at Shickshinny early the next morning, with all of the company that could be collected in that quarter. Notice was also given to every family in Huntington. Two of the company from Huntington were at that time in 'Shawnee' [Plymouth], and three at Shickshinny.

"Early in the morning of July 3d I took my family to a neighbor's house, where I met with six men, all that could leave Huntington with safety to the women and children. We marched to Shickshinny. Lieutenant Bowen had been there, and taken with him three men§ who were there, and had been gone an hour; he had left a Sergeant to collect the men in Salem and follow him. We had gone but a short distance when we met an express, Benjamin Harvey, with a letter from Lieut.

* Miner says ("History of Wyoming", Appendix, page 56) that "three of the Finch family (John, Daniel and Benjamin) were killed at the time of the invasion—two in the engagement, and one murdered by the Indians the day previous, near Shoemaker's Mills."

† These articles were originally printed (in February, 1828) in *The Towanda Republican* (Towanda, Bradford County, Pennsylvania), and were republished in *The Wyoming Herald* (Wilkes-Barré) of September 5, 12 and 19, 1828.

‡ Capt. ASAPH WHITTLESEY of Plymouth.

§ One of them was Silas Harvey, third son of Benjamin Harvey of Plymouth, mentioned above in Captain Franklin's letter as the "express."

Col. George Dorrance, informing me that 'the Tories and Indians, *about 600 in number*,' were in possession of Wintermoot's fort; that he expected they would attack Kingston next, and requested my assistance, with my company, 'with all possible speed.' He had also written a few lines to a Captain Clingman,* who was then stationed at Fort Jenkins,† near Fishing Creek, with ninety men, requesting his assistance with his company at Kingston. I also underwrote a few lines to the same purport."

There was not much hope or expectation of Clingman's company marching to the assistance of the people of Wyoming Valley, because it was a company of Pennsylvanians, not in the Continental service; and, owing to the bitter feeling which had been engendered by the Pennamite-Yankee contest prior to the Revolutionary War, it was deemed improbable that the Pennsylvanians of Northumberland County would feel much interest in the salvation of the Wyoming settlements. Yet it was thought that their humanity might prompt them to do their duty, and that they would come to assist in driving back the Tories and the Indians. However, they did not come.

By hard riding over the very primitive and rough road which skirted the right bank of the Susquehanna, Benjamin Harvey was enabled to accomplish his mission to Captain Clingman and return to Forty Fort by the dawn of July 4th.

During the whole of Thursday, July 2d, Colonel Denison at Forty Fort and Lieut. Col. Zebulon Butler at Fort Wilkes-Barré were engaged in summoning all the men they could reach to assemble in arms—accompanied by their women and children—at Forty Fort, Pittston Fort and Fort Wilkes-Barré. It was a day of excitement, alarm and terror, and the men of Wyoming were not slow in responding to the call to arms.

The 24th, or Westmoreland, Regiment, Connecticut Militia, as then organized and "established," comprised, in reality, nine regular companies and two "Alarm List"‡ companies. On paper there were *ten* regular companies, but the organization of the 9th, or "Up the River," Company had been effectually broken up by various causes, and its former officers and privates were widely dispersed. Some of the original members of the company, who had turned out to be Tories, were serving in Butler's Rangers,§ while the officers of the company then in commission were located as follows: Captain Carr was at Forty Fort, Lieutenant Kingsley was a prisoner in the hands of the Indians (having been captured in May or June, 1778), and Lieutenant Fox, having escaped from Indian captivity a short time before, was in the lower part of Northumberland County—as noted on page 917. Of the nine regular companies of the regiment the 8th (commanded by Capt. Eliab Farnam) was too far away to be relied upon for aid at that time; besides, there was a probability that the Indians would make an attack on the Lackaway settlement, and therefore the 8th Company was needed for its defense. The 7th (or Exeter) Company was in a measure *hors de combat*. Its

* Capt. JOHN CLINGMAN of the 8th Company, 2d Battalion, Northumberland County Militia, commanded by Col. James Murray. May 1, 1778, Clingman's company numbered seventy-three officers and men.

† FORT JENKINS was located on the north, or right, bank of the Susquehanna River, about midway between the present towns of Berwick and Bloomsburg, Columbia County, Pennsylvania. It had been built in the Autumn of 1777, or early in 1778. It consisted of a stockade about 60 x 80 feet in size, surrounding the house of a Mr. Jenkins.

‡ See pages 911 and 921.

§ See hereinafter a statement made by John Depue.

Captain (Stephen Harding) and Lieutenant (Elisha Scovell*) having surrendered to the enemy, were detained as prisoners, temporarily, together with several privates of the "7th;" while other members of the company had been either slain or captured by the enemy a short time before, as previously narrated. John Jenkins, Jr., Ensign of this company, in command of a number of the rank and file, was at Forty Fort, while a few other members of the company had joined the garrison in Pittston Fort.

The remaining companies of the 24th Regiment were located and officered on July 2d as follows: The 1st (or Lower Wilkes-Barré) Company had rendezvoused at Fort Wilkes-Barré. Its officers were: James Bidlack, Jr.,† *Captain*; Asa Stevens,‡ *Lieutenant*; Daniel Downing,§ *Ensign*. The 2d (or Kingston) Company was at Forty Fort, and its officers were: Aholiab Buck,|| *Captain*; Elijah Shoemaker,|| *Lieutenant*; Asa Gore,¶ *Ensign*. The 3d (or Plymouth) Company rendezvoused at the stockade on "Garrison Hill," Plymouth, but later in the day marched to Forty Fort, its officers being: Asaph Whittlesey,** *Captain*; Aaron Gaylord,†† *Lieutenant*; William White, *Ensign*. The 4th (or Pittston)

* During the French and Indian War Elisha Scovell served from April 16 to November 30, in the campaign of 1759 (see page 482, Vol. I), as a private in the 7th Company (Amos Hitchcock of New Haven, Captain) of the 2d Connecticut Regiment, commanded by Col. Nathan Whiting; and in the campaign of 1762 (see page 482) he served as a private from March 16 till December 3 in the 7th Company (Eldad Lewis of Southington, Captain) of the 2d Connecticut Regiment. (See "Connecticut Historical Society's Collections", X : 138, 334.)

† See sketch of James Bidlack, Sr., on page 999.

‡ See page 729.

§ DANIEL DOWNING, in partnership with Benjamin Bailey and Asa Stevens, owned and operated a saw-mill in Wilkes-Barré Township in 1788. In 1789 Daniel Downing was a tax-collector in Wilkes-Barré; and in 1796 Daniel Downing and Daniel Downing, Jr., were taxpayers in the township. The former died in Wilkes-Barré in June, 1813, and Reuben Downing and Daniel Downing were appointed administrators of his estate. In one of the articles written by Col. John Franklin, as previously mentioned, it is stated that, at the battle of Wyoming, "Ensign Daniel Downing was wounded by a ball through the leg, but saved himself by hiding in a bunch of brush until dark."

|| See page 468.

¶ See page 836.

** ASAPH WHITTLESEY was born in Wethersfield, Connecticut, May 12, 1753, the eighth child of Capt. Eliphalet Whittlesey (born in 1714) and his wife Dorothy (married December 16, 1731), daughter of Capt. Martin Kellogg of Wethersfield. Between 1759 and 1771 Eliphalet Whittlesey removed with his family to Kent, Litchfield County, Connecticut. His name appears among the names of the grantees in the Indian deed of July, 1754, as the owner of one "right" in the Susquehanna Purchase. His son David (born August 18, 1750) was in Wyoming Valley during the Summer of 1769 (see pages 498 and 509), and his son Asaph was here for awhile in 1770. Capt. Eliphalet Whittlesey was one of the New Englanders who arrived here in July, 1771, under the command of Capt. Zebulon Butler to besiege and dispossess the Pennamites. (See page 694.) Asaph Whittlesey's name appears in the lists of Wyoming settlers who were on the ground in May and October, 1772. (See pages 732 and 752.) In March, 1774, upon the organization of the town of Westmoreland, he was chosen one of the Constables of the town. In May, 1774, Capt. Eliphalet Whittlesey conveyed to Asaph, "in consideration of natural affection", certain lots in the District of Plymouth which he had drawn some two years previously as one of the proprietors of Plymouth. Asaph Whittlesey settled in Plymouth in 1773 or '74, and his home was on the banks of a little stream—subsequently known for many years as Whittlesey Creek—within the present limits of the borough of Plymouth. Upon the organization of the 24th Regiment he was commissioned Ensign of the 3d Company. In May, 1777, he was appointed and commissioned a Justice of the Peace in and for Westmoreland, and in May, 1778, he was reappointed to the same office.

Capt. Asaph Whittlesey fell in the battle of Wyoming, and was survived by his wife Abigail (who, prior to February, 1801, was married, 2d, to ——— Starks) and three daughters—Anna, Abigail and Laura—all of whom were still living in 1801. Anna Whittlesey became, in 1800, the wife of Joel Camp, one of four brothers who were pioneer merchants in Owego, New York. Letters of administration upon the estate of Capt. Asaph Whittlesey were granted by the Probate Court of Westmoreland to Isaac Tripp, December 14, 1778 (see page 467), Jonathan Slocum being surety on a bond for £500. The original inventory of the estate of Captain Whittlesey—the personality as appraised by Obadiah Gore and John Jenkins, Jr., June 20, 1779, and the realty as appraised April 4, 1781, by Phineas Nash and James Nisbitt—is now preserved in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. The items included in it are as follows: "One coverlid, 15sh.; one coverlid, 10s. 10d.; 1 blue great-coat, 13s. 10d.; 1 blue jack-coat, 4s. 10d.; 1 small puter plater & 7 plates, 4s. 10d.; 1 old pair of p. irons, an old hoe & spade, 5s. 8d.; a small tramel, 2s. 8d.; a pair of tongs, 3s. 12d.; a pair of flat-irons, 2s. 8d.; a frying-pan, 3s.; 1 light feather-bed, 33s.; 1 blue coat, 11s. 10d.; one right of land in Plymouth District in Westmoreland, £140. [Total] £145, 12s. 2d."

†† AARON GAYLORD was born about 1743 in that part of Farmington, Hartford County, Connecticut, which later was erected into the town of Bristol. He was the second son of Joseph and Elizabeth (Rich) Gaylord—Joseph (born 1716; died 1796) being the fourth son of John and Elizabeth (Hickox) Gaylord of Wallingford, Connecticut. Joseph Gaylord was an early member of The Susquehanna Company, and in the Spring of 1769 he came to Wyoming with the body of settlers led by Major Durkee. He returned to Wyoming in April, 1772, with his cousin Justus Gaylord. His son Aaron having become a proprietor in The Susquehanna Company, and having arrived in Wyoming early in 1773, father and son "drew as tenants in common" certain lots in Plymouth. On one of those lots was erected the stockade mentioned on page 887. In June, 1773, Joseph Gaylord was appointed one of the three "Directors" for Plymouth. During the battle and massacre of July 3, 1778, the women and children of the Gaylord families in Plymouth, together with various neighbors, gathered together

Company was garrisoning Pittston Fort, its officers being: Jeremiah Blanchard,* *Captain*; Timothy Keyes,† *Lieutenant*; Jeremiah Bick-

in Gaylord's Stockade, where Joseph Gaylord (then sixty-two years of age), assisted by two or three other old men, guarded and protected the panic-stricken company. When they learned on the 4th of July of the terrible results of the previous day's conflict, they set out in haste for Connecticut.

Joseph Gaylord remained in Connecticut (presumably in Farmington) until 1782 or '83, when he returned to Plymouth. Early in 1788 he bade a final farewell to Wyoming, and returning to Connecticut settled in Bristol, Hartford County, his early home, where his sons Samuel and Eleazar, and his daughter-in-law (the widow of Aaron) and her three children were then residing. There Joseph Gaylord died in 1796.

Joseph and Elizabeth (*Rich*) Gaylord were the parents of the following-named children: (i) *Charles*, born September 22, 1739; died July 5, 1777—as noted on page 897. (ii) *Aaron*, born about 1743; killed July 3, 1778. (iii) *Elizabeth*, born December 10, 1749. (iv) *Samuel*, born May 24, 1753. (v) *Eleazar*, born about 1755.

(ii) *Aaron Gaylord*, who was born about 1743, and who thirty years later became an inhabitant of Plymouth, in Wyoming Valley, as previously mentioned, was married about 1764 to Katharine (born at Harwinton, Hartford County, Connecticut, November 28, 1745), daughter of James and Katharine (*Wood*) Cole. In 1776 Aaron Gaylord was one of the Listers of Westmoreland, and in May, 1777, he was established and commissioned Lieutenant of the 3d Company of the 24th Regiment. With his company he took part in the battle of July 3, 1778, and when the rout began he fled from the field with a member of his company named Roberts, a relative of his wife. Becoming exhausted, the two men stopped for a brief rest, when they discovered that they were being pursued by an Indian. Thereupon, believing that other Indians were not far off, they concealed themselves in the tall grass growing about the trunk of a fallen tree—Roberts at one end and Gaylord at the other end of the trunk; but the latter was soon discovered, tomahawked and scalped by the pursuing Indian, who immediately thereafter hurried away. Roberts had not been discovered, and as soon as he felt that he could safely leave his hiding-place he went to the other end of the tree, where he found the dead and mutilated body of Lieutenant Gaylord. Picking up the latter's hat he carried it with him to Gaylord's Stockade in Plymouth, where he gave it to Mrs. Gaylord, with an account of the death of her husband. (For many years thereafter Mrs. Gaylord preserved this hat as a memento of her murdered husband.)

On the 4th or 5th of July Mrs. Katharine Gaylord and her three children—aged thirteen, eleven and seven years, respectively—fled from Wyoming. They rode two horses, and carried with them such provisions and small effects as, in their haste and terror, they could collect. They suffered incredible hardships before they reached their destination—Farmington West Farms (Bristol), Connecticut. In the "Bill of Losses" printed in Chapter XIX the amount of loss sustained by the estate of Lieutenant Gaylord (stated in the name of his widow Katharine) is given as £158, 4s. Mrs. Katharine (*Cole*) Gaylord never returned to Wyoming, but spent the remainder of her days in Hartford County, Connecticut, where she died in 1840. In 1895 a monument was erected to her memory in the burial-ground at Burlington, Connecticut, by the members of Katharine Gaylord Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, which body is named for her.

The children of Lieut. Aaron and Katharine (*Cole*) Gaylord were: (i) *Lemuel*, born February 14, 1765; fled with his mother and sisters to Connecticut in July, 1778; ten years later returned to Wyoming where he was appointed administrator of his father's estate; in 1791 was married to Sylvia, daughter of the Rev. Noah Murray of Luzerne County, and they settled at Plymouth, but later removed to Huntington Township; in 1793 they removed to the neighborhood of Tioga Point; in 1816 they removed to Ohio, and later to Illinois. (ii) *Phebe*, born November 19, 1767; married at Bristol, Connecticut, December 20, 1786, to Levi (born January 31, 1758, in Farmington, Connecticut), son of Theodore Frisbie; in 1800 they removed from Connecticut to what is now the township of Orwell, in Bradford County, Pennsylvania, where Levi Frisbie died October 5, 1842, and his wife Phebe died October 5, 1852. They were the parents of four sons and two daughters—Chauncey, Laura (married to Ira Bronson), Catherine (married to Abel Estabrook), Levi, Zebulon, and a son who died in infancy. (iii) *Lorena*, the youngest child of Lieut. Aaron Gaylord, was born about 1771; was married in 1799 to Lynde Phelps of Burlington, Connecticut, and became the mother of seven daughters.

As shown by the "Connecticut Historical Society's Collections" (IX : 246, and X : 25, 334), both Joseph Gaylord and his son (ii) Aaron served as soldiers during the French and Indian War. In the campaign of 1757 (see page 481, Vol. I) "Joseph Gaylord of Farmington" served seventeen days as a private in the company of Capt. Jonathan Pettibone, sent to the relief of Fort Edward; and in the campaign of 1758 he served from April 11 till November 14 as a private in the 10th Company (Josiah Lee of Farmington, Captain) of the 1st Connecticut Regiment, commanded by Col. Phineas Lyman. His son Aaron served from March 20 till December 3 in the campaign of 1762 (see page 482, Vol. I), as a private in the 7th Company (Eldad Lewis of Southington, Captain) of the 2d Connecticut Regiment, commanded by Col. Nathan Whiting.

For a more extended account of the Gaylord and Frisbie families see "The Harvey Book", published at Wilkes-Barré in 1899.

* JEREMIAH BLANCHARD, who was born in 1738, presumably in Rhode Island, came to Wyoming Valley for the first time in the latter part of April, or early in May, 1772—his name first appearing in the records of The Susquehanna Company in the "List of Settlers" prepared in May, 1772, and printed on page 732, *ante*. At that time he was a resident of Coventry, Kent County, Rhode Island. At Wilkes-Barré, May 27, 1772, Joseph Sprague sold to Jeremiah Blanchard, for £50, "one settling right in the township of Lackawanna, so called," and three days later Barnabas Cary, of that township, conveyed to Jeremiah Blanchard, "of Susquehanna Township," "ye eighth meadow lot in Lackawanna Township." The township of Lackawanna, thus referred to, was, about that time, formally named "Pittstown", later changed to Pittston. (See pages 727 and 730.) September 24, 1773, Daniel Adams conveyed to Jeremiah Blanchard, both of "Pittstown", Meadow Lot No. 31 in that township, the consideration being £15. (See pages 1,327 and 1,330 in "The Town Book of Wilkes Barre", described on page 27, Vol. I.)

Late in 1772 or early in 1773 Jeremiah Blanchard brought his family to Wyoming, and they settled in that part of the township of Pittston which is now Jenkins Township, at a locality that has been commonly known for the past seventy years and more as "Port Blanchard." In 1775 and again in 1776 Jeremiah Blanchard was one of the Constables of the town of Westmoreland. In May, 1777—being then thirty-nine years of age—he was established and commissioned Captain of the 4th (or Pittston) Company of the 24th Regiment, succeeding Capt. Solomon Strong who had joined the Continental army. Jeremiah Blanchard was married in 1763 to Abigail ———. He died at his home in Pittston Township, May 26, 1807, aged sixty-nine years, and she died there September 20, 1807, aged sixty-three years.

Jeremiah Blanchard, Jr., only son of Capt. Jeremiah and Abigail Blanchard, was born in November, 1763, presumably in Rhode Island, and was between nine and ten years of age when he came to Wyoming with his parents. In 1790 he was a private in the 4th Company (Daniel Gore, Captain) of the "1st Regiment of Militia in Luzerne County", commanded by Lieut. Col. Matthias Hollenback. Some years later he became a Captain in the State militia. His wife was Martha ——— (born

ford,* *Ensign*. The 5th (or Hanover) Company was at Fort Wilkes-Barré, and its officers were: William McKerachan,† *Captain*; Roasel Franklin,‡ *Lieutenant*; Titus Hinman, *Ensign*. The 6th (or Upper Wilkes-Barré) Company was at Fort Wilkes-Barré, and its officers were: Rezin Geer,§ *Captain*; Daniel Gore,|| *Lieutenant*; John Hageman, *Ensign*. The 10th (or Huntington and Salem) Company was officered by

October 12, 1766). He died May 25, 1837, and his wife died July 26, 1844, and their remains lie in the old grave-yard at Port Blanchard. Three of their children were as follows: *Jeremiah* (married in Wilkes-Barré, Sunday, December 17, 1820, by Peter Winter, Esq., to Frances, daughter of "Sergeant" Thomas Williams, a sketch of whom will be found in a subsequent chapter), *John* (born in 1800; married in Hanover Township, Luzerne County, Sunday, February 9, 1823, by Samuel Jameson, Esq., to Sarah, daughter of George Lazarus of Hanover Township; she was born in 1803 and died in 1892; John Blanchard died July 23, 1853), *David* (married October 9, 1828, to Lydia Sophronia, daughter of Salmon Lathrop, formerly of Sherbourne, New York).

The following paragraph is from an obituary of Capt. Jeremiah Blanchard, Jr., published at the time of his death in the *Wyoming Republican and Farmer's Herald* (Kingston, Pennsylvania). "Among the early settlers of the Valley there were few, if any, who had enjoyed the advantages of regular instruction in the various trades and professions, so necessary to the enjoyment of civilized life. Thus circumstanced, the daily wants of the people were peculiarly calculated to elicit native ingenuity and talent. Among the many whose skill and ingenuity the necessities and the wants of the settlers called into exercise, none was more useful than Captain Blanchard. He possessed quite a mechanical talent, and could turn his hand to the fabrication of most of the necessary implements in wood and iron for the use of settlers in a new country. His residence being at a distance from any practical physician, he was frequently called upon by his neighbors—who fully appreciated his native good sense and sound judgment—for counsel and advice in cases requiring medical aid. Hundreds can attest the skill with which, for many years, he kindly and gratuitously supplied the place of the surgeon in the letting of blood and in the extracting of teeth, among his afflicted neighbors."

† TIMOTHY KEYES was originally of New Marlborough, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, from which place, presumably, he came to Wyoming Valley in April, or early in May, 1772. (See page 741.) He held a half-right in the Susquehanna Purchase to Douglass and William Davidson at Wilkes-Barré, May 18, 1772 (not 1774, as erroneously printed in the note on page 908, *ante*), and shortly afterwards he became a proprietor in the township of New Providence (later named Providence) which had been ordered to be laid out at Capouse Meadows. (See page 770.) He was chosen Constable for this township in December, 1772. At a meeting of the Wyoming settlers held in the fort at Wilkes-Barré in October, 1773, he was chosen Collector of Road Taxes in the room of Solomon Johnson. In October, 1775, he was established and commissioned Ensign of the 4th (or Pittston) Company in the 24th Regiment, and in May, 1777, was promoted Lieutenant of the same company. At that time he owned 113 acres of land in Providence which he had purchased June 9, 1777, from Col. John Durkee, to whom, "as a sufferer for a right in Kingston", the land had been granted. Lieutenant Keyes was with his company in Pittston Fort during the battle of Wyoming, and after the surrender of the fort he left the Valley. He returned some weeks later, however, and was at Wilkes-Barré in service in the detachment of militia under the command of Lieut. Col. Zebulon Butler, as described in Chapter XVI. In the Autumn of 1778 he was captured and put to death by Indians—as hereinafter more fully narrated.

* JEREMIAH BICKFORD came to Wyoming Valley in 1774 or 1775. His name appears in the tax-lists of Hanover District, or Township, for the years 1776, 1777 and 1778; but early in the last-mentioned year he removed to Pittston, and shortly afterwards was established and commissioned Ensign of the 4th Company. He had been a Sergeant in the Hanover company. He took part in the battle of Wyoming, and in attempting to escape from the field was killed. Miner (in his "History of Wyoming", page 225) gives the following account of his death: "At the river, near the [Monacanock] Island, the scene was exceedingly distressing. A few swam over and escaped. Closely pressed, many were killed in the river. Sergeant [sic] Jeremiah Bickford, a very active man, was pursued by an Indian into the stream with a spear. Bickford faced him, struck the spear from his hand and dashed him under his feet, where he would have been drowned, but another savage rushed forward to his aid and ran his spear through Bickford's breast, who fell dead and floated away. A month afterward his body was found seven or eight miles below, much decayed, but was recognized by a silver brooch he wore, which, with a piece of the shirt with the spear hole, was preserved by his family for many years." Letters of administration upon the estate of Lieutenant Bickford were granted to his widow Mehetabel April 1, 1782, by the Probate Court of Westmoreland, Edward Spencer being surety.

† WILLIAM MCKERACHAN was a native of Ireland, and in religious belief a Presbyterian. Not classically, but well, educated, he left Belfast in the Summer of 1764, a young man, to seek his fortune in America. Landing at Philadelphia he passed into Chester County, where, for a season, he taught school in Nantmeal. Thence he went into Bucks County, Pennsylvania, and later he removed to New Jersey, still engaged in school-teaching. The story of Wyoming Valley early attracted his attention, and in 1774 he removed to the Valley and settled in Hanover, at what is now the borough of Nanticoke. There he taught school for awhile, and then established a store—the first one in Hanover. He also purchased lands. He was not only esteemed by his neighbors, but was highly regarded by the community at large. Early in March, 1777, he was sent to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia on a business mission for the inhabitants of Westmoreland. He spent four days in going, four days in the city, and the same number of days in returning, and his original bill for his expenses, amounting to £11, 14s. 6d., is now preserved in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. He was the original and only Captain of the 5th (or Hanover) Company of the 24th Regiment, having been established and commissioned in October, 1775. In May, 1777, and again in May, 1778, he was appointed by the General Assembly of Connecticut and subsequently commissioned a Justice of the Peace in and for the county of Westmoreland. He fell on the battle-field of Wyoming, leaving neither wife nor descendants.

‡ See a subsequent chapter for a sketch of his life.

§ REZIN GEER was born in 1738 at Norwich, New London County, Connecticut, a member of one of the oldest families of that town. He came to Wyoming with his wife and one child in 1774, and settled in that part of Wilkes-Barré which is now the township of Plains. Having been elected in the Summer of 1775 Captain of the militia company which had then been organized in upper Wilkes-Barré, he was established in that office by the General Assembly, and duly commissioned, when (in October, 1775) the company mentioned was designated as the 6th Company of the 24th Regiment. He fell in the battle of Wyoming, and was survived by his wife and three sons, the eldest son being only five years of age. The family returned to Connecticut, but a number of years later the sons settled in what is now Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania. One of these sons—Capt. Jeremiah Geer—died about 1840; and in June, 1845, Stephen Geer of Brooklyn, Susquehanna County, was the only survivor of the family. || See page 835.

John Franklin,* *Captain*; Stoddard Bowen,† *Lieutenant*; Nathaniel Goss,‡ *Ensign*. The extract from the writings of Captain Franklin, on page 994, explains the whereabouts of the members of this company on July 2d. The officers of the "1st Alarm List Company" were: James Bidlack, Sr.,§ *Captain*; Lebbeus Tubbs,|| *Lieutenant*; John Comstock,¶

* For a portrait of Captain FRANKLIN, and a sketch of his life, see a subsequent chapter.

† STODDARD BOWEN was living in Ashford, Windham County, Connecticut, when, January 31, 1776, he entered into an agreement with Joshua Reed of Windham "to go on and settle" certain lands belonging to Reed in the township of Salem, in Westmoreland. Salem had been laid out, and accepted by the "Committee of Settlers", in May, 1773. It was located on the right bank of the Susquehanna, some eight miles below the Valley of Wyoming. (See map facing page 468.) Stoddard Bowen, together with Aaron Bowen—presumably his brother—came to Wyoming some time in 1776, and they settled first in Hanover (see their names in the Hanover tax-lists for 1777 and 1778); but early in the Spring of 1778 Stoddard Bowen removed to Salem. A few weeks later he was established and commissioned Lieutenant of the 10th Company of the 24th Regiment. As previously mentioned he and three or four of the men of his company reached Forty Fort just in time to march out with the militia to the battlefield, upon which he and at least one of his men (Silas Harvey) fell a few hours later. Their names appear in the list of the slain on the Wyoming Monument.

‡ NATHANIEL GOSS was the son of Philip Goss, Sr., of Becket, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, and as early as the Summer of 1769 Nathaniel Goss and either his father or his brother Philip (it was, undoubtedly, the father) were in Wyoming Valley. (See lists on pages 497 and 509.) Philip Goss, Sr., was the father of the following-named children: Solomon, Comfort, David, Nathaniel, Sarah (who became the wife of Enos Seward, Jr., of Granville, Massachusetts) and Philip (who was born in 1746; was married to Hannah —, who died March 15, 1834, aged eighty years; he died in Huntington Township, Luzerne County, October 25, 1833). April 17, 1770, William Walsworth of Beekman's Precinct, Dutchess County, New York, conveyed "to Philip Goss, [Sr.], of Becket, Massachusetts, and Francis Gillow of Goshen, Orange County, New York", one right in the Susquehanna Purchase to which he was entitled as "one of the first forty settlers there." Nathaniel Goss was at Fort Durkee, Wilkes-Barré, in May, 1770 (see page 649), and in the list of Susquehanna proprietors made up in June, 1770 (see page 658), the names of Philip and Nathaniel appear. Philip Goss was a member of the party commanded by Capt. Zebulon Butler which came to Wilkes-Barré in July, 1771, to besiege the Pennamites in Fort Wyoming. Nathaniel Goss joined the party a few weeks later. (See pages 694 and 702.) Prior to March, 1772, Philip Goss had become a proprietor in the township of Plymouth, and was a member of the "Settlers' Committee" for that township. In March or April, 1772, he was sent express to Connecticut on business for the settlers—as is shown by an original paper now in the possession of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. From 1772 till 1776 Philip Goss, Sr., and his family resided in the township of Plymouth.

In 1775 the township of Huntington was laid out under the auspices of The Susquehanna Company (see map facing page 468), and its location was within the bounds of what, by vote of the inhabitants of Westmoreland, was entitled "Plymouth District." (See page 794.) During 1775 and 1776 there were very few inhabitants in Huntington, but some time during the latter year the number was increased by the removal thither of Philip Goss, Sr., and his family, who settled near what is now known as Huntington Mills. The names of Philip Goss, Sr., Philip Goss, Jr., Nathaniel Goss and Solomon Goss appear in the tax-lists of Plymouth District (which included Huntington and Salem) for the years 1776, 1777 and 1778. Nathaniel Goss, some time after settling in Huntington, built a grist-mill on a small stream which flowed into Huntington Creek. He was established and commissioned Ensign of the 10th Company of the 24th Regiment in May, 1778, and he was one of those who marched with Captain Franklin to Forty Fort in the following July, under the circumstances herein described. Philip Goss, Sr., died in Huntington in the latter part of 1779, and letters of administration upon his estate were granted to Nathaniel Goss by the Probate Court of Westmoreland January 18, 1780—Capt. John Franklin being surety on a bond of \$1,000. An inventory of the estate—made up by Obadiah Gore and John Jenkins, Jr., appraisers—was filed the same day. It amounted to £575, 1sh. 8d., "counting 25 Continental dollars for one silver dollar." The original inventory is now in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. According to the assessment-list of Huntington Township for the year 1796 Nathaniel Goss and Philip Goss (Jr.) were the only tax-payers of that surname who were then living in the township.

§ JAMES BIDLACK, SR., was a native of Connecticut, and presumably of Windham County, in which county he was living in 1750 when, on February 14th, he was married in the parish of Canada, in the town of Windham, to Mehetabel Durkee (born February 14, 1731), a younger sister of John Durkee, subsequently the founder and namer of Wilkes-Barré. (See page 481, Vol. I.) James and Mehetabel (Durkee) Bidlack settled in Canterbury, Windham County, where all their children were born. In the campaign of 1758, during the French and Indian War, James Bidlack served as a private in the 7th Company (Benjamin Lee of Plainfield, Captain, and Benedict Satterlee, Second Lieutenant) of the 3d Connecticut Regiment, commanded by Col. Eleazar Fitch. When the 3d Company was mustered at Fort Edward (see next to the last paragraph on page 635, *ante*), October 19, 1758, James Bidlack was noted as "Sick in Hospital." (See "Connecticut Historical Society's Collections," X: 64.)

James Bidlack, Sr., first came to Wyoming Valley in the Spring of 1770, and, as shown by the affidavit of Nathan Ogden printed on page 649, was one of the New England party occupying Fort Durkee in April and May of that year. As one of the first body of settlers to dispossess the Pennamites and occupy the Valley under the auspices of The Susquehanna Company, James Bidlack, Sr., was admitted a proprietor in Wilkes-Barré; and at the first drawing of lots in the town-plot in June, 1770, he drew Lot No. 33. (See pages 655 and 662.) Subsequently, owing to his absence from the Valley in 1771, and his failure to assist in regaining possession of it from the Pennamites, he lost his "right" in Wilkes-Barré. He returned to Wyoming in April or May, 1772 (see page 732), and at Wilkes-Barré, October 3, 1772, signed the memorial printed on page 751. Between the last-mentioned date and May 24, 1774, he drew certain lots in Plymouth on his "right", and erecting a house there brought his family on from Connecticut.

James Bidlack, Sr., was established and commissioned Lieutenant of the 1st Alarm List Company in May, 1777, and was promoted Captain in the following October. (See pages 921 and 948.) During the battle of Wyoming he commanded the slender garrison (consisting chiefly of old men and boys) of Shawnee Fort. He fled from the Valley after the battle and massacre, but returned in the following August and was in service at Wilkes-Barré in the detachment commanded by Lieut. Col. Zebulon Butler, as more fully related in Chapter XVI. A band of Indians sneaked into the sparsely inhabited settlement in Plymouth, March 21, 1779, captured Captain Bidlack, and carried him off to Canada, where he was detained a prisoner until August, 1782, when he was liberated. He reached his home in Plymouth the 10th of the following September. His wife Mehetabel having died about this time, or a few years later, he was married (2d) to Mrs. Esther (Laurence) Ransom, the widow of Capt. Samuel Ransom. (See page 895.) She died in Norfolk, Connecticut, in August, 1794, and Captain Bidlack died in

Plymouth about 1810. Capt. James and Mehetabel (*Durkee*) Bidlack were the parents of the following-named children: (i) *James*, (ii) *Stephen*, (iii) *Sarah* (married, 1st, to Stephen Abbott, and 2d, to Asa Abbott, as mentioned on page 718), (iv) *Benjamin*, (v) *Shubal*, (vi) *Philemon*.

(i) *James Bidlack* (or *James Bidlack, Jr.*, as he was called) was born in Canterbury, Connecticut, in 1751, and was married in the parish of Canada, in the town of Windham, Connecticut, April 30, 1772, to Abigail Fuller, mentioned on page 718, *ante*. In the latter part of 1773 they removed to Wilkes-Barre, where, in February, 1774 (as noted on page 718), Mrs. Bidlack's father conveyed to her Lot No. 17 in the town-plot. There James and Abigail Bidlack took up their residence. In January, 1778, James Bidlack, Jr., was established and commissioned Captain of the 1st (or Lower Wilkes-Barre) Company of the 24th Regiment. At the battle of Wyoming he commanded his company, which was in the right wing of the American line. He fell mortally wounded at the head of his men, was seized by the savages, thrown among the burning logs of Wintermute's Fort, held there by pitch-forks, and tortured till he died. Only eight men of his company escaped from the field of slaughter.

Letters of administration upon the estate of Capt. James Bidlack, Jr., were granted by the Probate Court of Westmoreland to Mrs. Abigail Bidlack, November 25, 1778, Daniel Downing becoming surety on a bond for £500. Capt. John Franklin and Lemuel Whiteman appraised the estate, and the original inventory (in the handwriting of Captain Franklin), dated October 29, 1780, and duly recorded by Obadiah Gore, Clerk of the Probate Court, is now in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. The items in the inventory are as follows: "One feather bed and one Pillow & Boucher, £3 13s.; one woollen coverlet, 16s.; one woollen coverlet, 10s.; one Tow Coverlet, 10s.; one Bedtick—old, 6s.; one old Woollen sheet, 2s.; one Pr. of old Linen sheets, 8s.; Three Pillow Cases—old, 3s. 6d.; Three Table Cloths, 14s.; One Linen Coat—old, 3s. 6d.; 1 Pr. of Leather Breeches, 18s.; One old Linen Shirt, 5s.; One old Beaver hat, 6s.; One small Trunk, 4s.; One old Sword, 4s.; One large Iron Pot, one small do., 15s.; 2 Pewter Platters, 7 Plates and one small Bason, 18s.; 1 Block-tin Tea Pot, 2s. 3d.; 1 Looking Glass, 4s. 6d.; 1 Spinning Wheel, 10s.; one small Pale, 1s.; 1 Cooper Axe and 2 Crooked Shaves—have been burnt—8s.; one Glass Bottle and one Candlestick, 2s. [Total] £12, 3s. 9d." About 1786 the widow Abigail (*Fuller*) Bidlack was married to Col. (formerly Capt.) John Franklin, as his second wife. She died at Athens, Bradford County, Pennsylvania, January 31, 1834.

The children of Capt. James and Abigail (*Fuller*) Bidlack were as follows: (1) *Stephen*, born in Connecticut January 5, 1773; married March 28, 1793, to Lois, ninth child of Capt. Samuel and Esther (*Laurence*) Ransom. (See page 895.) (2) *Sally*, became the wife of Franklin Chitsey, and settled in New York. (3) *Hetty*, became the wife of William Patrick; settled first at Wysox, Bradford County, Pennsylvania, and then removed to Michigan. (4) *James* (a posthumous child), born September 22, 1778; married in 1803 to Esther (born May 16, 1787), daughter of Daniel Moore, a native of Ireland; settled in Sheshequin, Bradford County, Pennsylvania, where he was accidentally killed April 30, 1828, while loading a raft; survived by his wife (who died August 28, 1863) and nine children.

(ii) *Stephen Bidlack* was a soldier in a Connecticut regiment in the Revolutionary War; was captured by the British at the battle of Long Island in August, 1776, and while a prisoner in their hands died of starvation in New York City. He was unmarried.

(iv) *Benjamin Bidlack*, third son of Capt. James and Mehetabel (*Durkee*) Bidlack, was born in Windham County, Connecticut, February 25, 1759. The inscription on his gravestone in Forty Fort Cemetery states that he was born in 1762, but this is, without doubt, an error. According to Miner's "Wyoming" he "entered into the [military] service of his country at the very commencement of the Revolutionary War. He was at Boston when Washington assembled the first American army. * * He was afterwards at the lines before New York." His term of enlistment having expired, he joined his father's family at Plymouth, Wyoming Valley, in 1777. According to a written statement made by Benjamin Bidlack in 1839 (see "The Massacre of Wyoming," by the Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden), he went out with some of the scouting parties of the militia which were sent up the Susquehanna from Wyoming in 1777. On one occasion he accompanied a party of thirty, under command of Capt. Asaph Whittlesey, which marched up the river some fifty miles. In the latter part of 1777 or early in 1778 Benjamin Bidlack, Caleb Forsythe, Benjamin Tillman, Ebenezer Goss, St. John, and five or six other young men of Westmoreland, enlisted in Capt. Thomas Worley's Mechanics' Artillery Company, at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, where they worked and trained for some time, making arms and practising their use. In the Summer of 1778 they marched into New Jersey under Colonel DeHart. In October, 1781, Benjamin Bidlack was present at the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, Virginia. Later he was with the army on the Hudson, and was there until the close of the war, when, having been honorably discharged from the service, he returned (June 12, 1783, according to Miner's "Wyoming") to the home of his parents in Plymouth—his father having been released from his captivity among the Indians only a short time previously. In August, 1793, Benjamin Bidlack was elected and commissioned Ensign of the 3d (or Plymouth) Company in the 3d Regiment, Luzerne Brigade, Pennsylvania Militia.

About the beginning of the last century Benjamin Bidlack became a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and for upwards of thirty years labored zealously and effectually in the many Churches throughout north-eastern Pennsylvania and southern New York to which his appointments took him. The last years of his life were spent in what is now the borough of Kingston. In 1783 he was married to Lydia (born October 31, 1758), fifth child of Capt. Prince and Mary (*Fitch*) Alden, mentioned on page 500, Vol. I. Mrs. Bidlack died in 1808 or '09, and the Rev. Benjamin Bidlack was married (2d) at Kingston to Mrs. Sarah (*Gore*) Myers. (See page 837.) There were no children by this marriage. The deaths of Mr. and Mrs. Bidlack occurred at the dates mentioned on page 837. Obituaries of Mr. Bidlack were printed in *The Wilkes-Barre Advocate* of December 3, 1845, and in the *Republican Farmer and Democratic Journal* of December 10, 1845. The Rev. Benjamin and Lydia (*Alden*) Bidlack were the parents of four children, the eldest of whom was Mehetabel (born in 1784), who became the wife of Jesse Prior, and died at White Springs, New York, in June, 1826. Benjamin Alden Bidlack (born September 8, 1804; died February 6, 1849) was the youngest child of the Rev. Benjamin and Lydia (*Alden*) Bidlack. A sketch of his life will be found in a subsequent chapter.

(v) *Shubal Bidlack*, fourth son of Capt. James and Mehetabel (*Durkee*) Bidlack, settled in Hanover Township, Wyoming Valley, after the Revolutionary War, and November 19, 1787, was commissioned Lieutenant of the 1st (or Hanover) Company (Mason F. Alden, Captain) in the "1st Regiment of Militia in Luzerne County." May 10, 1791, he was re-elected to this office, and duly commissioned. In 1787 Shubal Bidlack was married to Mrs. Abigail (*Alden*) Jameson (born August 11, 1753), who was the third child of Captain Prince and Mary (*Fitch*) Alden, previously mentioned, an elder sister of the wife of Shubal's brother Benjamin, and the widow of Lieut. John Jameson (of whom fuller mention is made in a subsequent chapter). Mrs. Abigail (*Alden*) Bidlack died in Hanover Township June 8, 1795, and was buried in the grave-yard adjoining the old Hanover church. A year or two later Shubal Bidlack removed with his children to Salem Township, Luzerne County, where he died prior to May, 1803. The children of Shubal and Abigail (*Alden*) Bidlack were: (1) John Jameson Bidlack (born in 1788; died December 25, 1843); (2) Lydia Bidlack (born in 1790; died in youth); (3) Shubal Bidlack (born in 1792; died in youth). (1) John Jameson Bidlack was married about 1816 to Martha, daughter of Samuel Hicks of Salem Township, and they became the parents of three daughters and two sons. Lydia Bidlack (born April 13, 1817; died May 7, 1840), the eldest of these children, became the wife of Thomas D. Cortright, son of Isaac and Mary Cortright of Salem.

(vi) *Philemon Bidlack*, youngest child of Capt. James and Mehetabel (*Durkee*) Bidlack, married and had five sons—James, Samuel, William, John, and another whose name is not now recalled. In 1822 they all emigrated to Ohio, but in 1824 William returned to Pennsylvania, married Amy, daughter

of Thomas Tubbs of Huntington Township, Luzerne County, and settled in that township. William and Amy (*Tubbs*) Bidlack were the parents of three daughters and one son.

|| **LEBBEUS TUBBS** was born in Lyme, New London County, Connecticut, about 1730, the son of Samuel and Mercy Tubbs. Samuel Tubbs was born September 15, 1699, in Lyme, and continued to live there until 1759, when he removed with his family to the adjoining town of East Haddam. There they lived about a year and then emigrated to Nova Scotia, where Samuel and Lebbeus each took up land—at Horton, in the seats of the expatriated Acadians. (In 1760 a large number of Connecticut people settled in the townships of Horton and Cornwallis, Kings County, Nova Scotia, and in 1771 they applied to the people of Lyme, New London and other Connecticut towns for charitable contributions for the support of their Church.) In September, 1762, Samuel and Lebbeus Tubbs sold their Horton lands, and returning to Connecticut purchased a farm on the boundaries of the towns of New London and Norwich—the land lying partly in each town. They established their home on the New London portion. In January, 1773, this property was sold, and the next month Lebbeus Tubbs bought from Abel Peirce, of Kingston Township, Wyoming Valley, House Lots Nos. 23 and 24, Meadow Lot No. 2 and Great Lot No. 29 “on ye upper end of Abraham’s Plains” in Kingston. Soon thereafter Samuel Tubbs and his wife and Lebbeus Tubbs and his family located in Kingston. About that time the death of Samuel Tubbs occurred. In 1787 his widow Mercy removed to Newtown (now Elmira), New York, where she died of small-pox about the year 1800, aged nearly 100 years. Samuel and Mercy Tubbs were the parents of six children, as follows: (i) *Samuel* (who was married to Ann Chapman), (ii) *Lebbeus* (mentioned previously, as well as hereinafter), (iii) *John* (married to Sarah Sims), (iv) *Hannah* (born in 1749; married, 1st, to John Hammond, and 2d, to Daniel Anger; died August 27, 1816), (v) *Oliver* (married to Stephen Gardner), (vi) *Phebe* (married to ——— Hathaway).

(iii) *John Tubbs* was a private in Captain Durkee’s Westmoreland Independent Company in the Continental service (see page 894), and died in the Summer of 1777 while at home on a furlough from the camp at Morristown, New Jersey.

(ii) *Lebbeus Tubbs* lived in Lyme for the first twenty-four or -five years of his life, and then, having been married to Bathsheba Hamilton, he and his wife removed to East Haddam. Bathsheba Hamilton, born at New London December 1, 1732, was the daughter of Jonathan Hamilton (born in New London June 17, 1709) and his wife Ann, daughter of William and Elizabeth (*Smith*) Camp.

During the French and Indian War Lebbeus Tubbs served as a private from April 14 till October 16, 1755 (in the campaign for the reduction of Crown Point—as narrated on page 297, Vol. I), in the 2d Company (commanded by Lieut. Col. John Pitkin of Hartford) of the 1st Connecticut Regiment, commanded by Col. Phineas Lyman. In the campaign of 1759 (see page 482, Vol. I) Lebbeus Tubbs served as a private from May 23 to December 12 in the 12th Company (Nicholas Bishop of New London, Captain) of the 4th Connecticut Regiment, commanded by Col. Eleazar Fitch. (See “Connecticut Historical Society’s Collections”, IX : 9 and X : 172.)

As previously related, Lebbeus Tubbs removed to Nova Scotia at the same time with his parents; returned to Connecticut with them, and finally located in Kingston Township, Wyoming Valley, in 1773. At a town-meeting held there June 24, 1773, he was appointed a member of the committee to run the boundary-line between Kingston and Plymouth; and on the 23d of the following December he was appointed a member of the committee directed to prosecute all persons who should unlawfully cut timber on the common lands in Kingston. In May, 1777, Lebbeus Tubbs was established by the General Assembly of Connecticut, and subsequently commissioned by Governor Trumbull, Ensign of the “1st Alarm List Company in the 24th Regiment”; and in October, 1777, he was promoted Lieutenant of this company. In 1777 he purchased lands in the townships of Salem and Exeter. He was at Forty Fort on the 2d and 3d days of July, 1778, and undoubtedly took part in the battle on Abraham’s Plains. Later he fled from the Valley, but returned on the 4th of the ensuing August in the detachment of militia commanded by Lieut. Col. Zebulon Butler, and was in service at Wilkes-Barré until October 1, 1778, at least. (See Chapter XVI.)

About 1785 or ’86 Lebbeus Tubbs removed to Sheshequin—mentioned hereinbefore—and in 1787 he left there for Newtown (now Elmira), New York, where he resided until his death in the fore part of 1800. His wife died there about 1820. The children of Lieut. Lebbeus and Bathsheba (*Hamilton*) Tubbs were as follows: (1) Samuel (born in 1755; died September 7, 1841), (2) Lucy (born April 5, 1758; married to Lebbeus Hammond—whose name is several times mentioned hereinafter; died April 17, 1844), (3) Lebbeus (born in Nova Scotia in 1762; married Hannah Mathews; died July 29, 1843), (4) Bathsheba (became the wife of Phineas Stevens), (5) Hamilton (married Abigail Hammond; died September 10, 1857).

(1) Samuel Tubbs was born in East Haddam, Connecticut, in 1755, and accompanied his parents in their migrations, as previously described. At Wilkes-Barré, in September, 1776, he was mustered into the Continental service as a private in the 1st Westmoreland Independent Company, commanded by Capt. Robert Durkee. He was still a member of this company in June, 1778, when it was consolidated with the 2d Westmoreland Independent Company and placed under the command of Capt. Simon Spalding, as previously narrated, and he continued in service under Captain Spalding until the company was discharged. He then returned to Wyoming Valley and resided here until 1785 or ’86, when he removed to Sheshequin, and thence, in 1787, to Newtown, New York. There he resided until 1811, during a part of which period he was a Colonel in the New York militia. In 1811 Colonel Tubbs settled in Elkland, Tioga County, Pennsylvania, and there he lived until his death, which occurred September 7, 1841. (1) Samuel Tubbs was married (undoubtedly in 1777) to Sara Susanna (born at Voluntown, Windham County, Connecticut, in 1760), daughter of Lieut. Col. George Dorrance and his first wife, Mary Wilson. Mrs. Tubbs died at Elkland August 16, 1838.

The children of Samuel and Sara Susanna (*Dorrance*) Tubbs were eleven in number, and were as follows: (a) A child that died at birth at the time of the battle of Wyoming. (b) *Robert*, born in Wyoming Valley March 24, 1780; died at Osceola, Pennsylvania, August 9, 1865. See below. (c) *Cynthia*, born in Wyoming Valley May 11, 1782; married to Samuel Jenkins; died at Elmira, New York, March 6, 1860. (d) *Betsy*, born at Sheshequin, Pennsylvania, in 1786; married to Jonathan Jenkins; died at Newtown, New York, March 28, 1816. (e) *Polly*, born at Newtown, New York, September 17, 1789; married to David, son of Capt. John Hammond; died at Elkland, Pennsylvania, January 21, 1867. (f) *George*, born about 1790, and died about 1792, at Newtown. (g) *Susanna*, born at Newtown January 10, 1792; married to John Ryon, Jr., son of John Ryon of Pittston, who was a soldier in the company of either Capt. Solomon Strong or Capt. William Judd in the Revolutionary War; died at Lawrenceville, Pennsylvania, March 6, 1881. John and Susanna (*Tubbs*) Ryon were the parents of (i) John Ryon, who was a Representative in Congress, 1880-’83, (ii) James Ryon, who was Judge of the Courts of Common Pleas, Quarter Sessions, etc., of Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, for ten years, and (iii) Charles Ryon, who was Major of the 136th Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, in the Civil War. (h) *Samuel*, born at Newtown December 15, 1794; died at Osceola, Tioga County, Pennsylvania, May 15, 1870. See next page. (i) *Benjamin*, born at Newtown December 19, 1796; married to Polly Taylor, a descendant of Ebenezer Taylor of Wyoming Valley; died August 19, 1873, at Woodhull, New York. (j) *James*, born at Newtown in January, 1800; married to Sally Coates; died at Elkland, Tioga County, Pennsylvania, November 20, 1823. (k) *Hannah*, born at Newtown December 25, 1802; married to Martin Stevens; died at Elkland in August, 1842.

(b) *Robert Tubbs* was married at Kingston, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, September 14, 1806, to Clara (born December 16, 1778), second child of Daniel and Anne (*Gunn*) Hoyt, originally of Dan-

Ensign. Those of the "2d Alarm List Company" were: Dr. William Hooker Smith,* *Captain*; Flavius Waterman, *Lieutenant*; Elisha Blackman, Sr.,† *Ensign*. The members of the "Alarm List" companies did not rendezvous at any special places, but each man, armed and accoutered, repaired to the fort or stockade nearest his home. Thus there were considerable numbers of them at Forty Fort, Pittston Fort, Shawnee Fort and Fort Wilkes-Barré. Col. Nathan Denison, Lieut. Col. George Dorrance,‡ Maj. John Garrett§ and Adjutant Isaac Baldwin, Jr.,||

bury, Connecticut, and later of Kingston. (See a sketch of the Hoyt family in a subsequent chapter.) The late Dr. Robert Hamilton Tubbs of Kingston was a son of Robert and Clara (*Hoyt*) Tubbs.

(h) *Samuel Tubbs* was married to *Permelia Taylor* (a descendant of *Ebenezer Taylor* previously mentioned), and their son *James Tubbs* was the father of the Hon. *Charles Tubbs* (born at *Osceola*, *Tioga County*, *Pennsylvania*, July 11, 1843), a prominent and influential citizen of *Tioga County*. He is a graduate of *Union College* (*Schenectady*, *New York*) and of the *University of Michigan*; he is a lawyer; has been for twenty years a member of the *Osceola School Board*; was for four years (*circa* 1880) a Representative in the *Pennsylvania Legislature*, and has occupied various other important public positions. He is the author of several historical publications.

¶ JOHN COMSTOCK was a native of *Norwich* (*West Farms*), *New London County*, *Connecticut*. He early became a member of *The Susquehanna Company*; was one of the original *Wyoming* settlers under the auspices of that company in 1762 (see page 403, Vol. I), and presumably was here also in 1763 at the time of the massacre of the settlers at *Mill Creek* by the *Indians*. He was also one of the "First Forty" settlers of 1769 (see page 473), and thereby became entitled to a share of the lands in *Kingston Township*—which in due time he received. He was at *Fort Durkee*, *Wilkes-Barré*, during the *Summer* and *Autumn* of 1769 (see pages 497 and 509), and was one of the company of *New Englanders* occupying the fort when it was surrendered to the *Pennamites*. He was on the ground again in *June*, 1770 (see page 658), and was one of those who marched to the *Valley* in *July*, 1771, under the command of *Capt. Zebulon Butler* to besiege the *Pennamites*. During the *Spring* and *Summer* of 1772 he seems to have been absent from the *Valley*, but in *September* of that year he returned (see pages 750 and 751), and shortly afterwards established himself on his lands in *Kingston*. In *May*, 1773, as one of the agents for a number of proprietors in the *Susquehanna Purchase*, he aided in laying out the township of *Newport* (see page 770, and the map facing page 468), and became one of the original proprietors in the town.

Shortly afterwards *Mr. Comstock* returned to *Connecticut* where his family was still residing, and subsequently his elder son, *Kingsley Comstock*, came to *Kingston* and took up his residence on his father's lands there. His name appears in the *Kingston tax-list* for 1776, but in that year his father and the other members of the latter's family came to *Kingston*, and *Kingsley Comstock* removed to his father's lands in *Newport*—which lay within the bounds of "Hanover District" of *Westmoreland*. *Kingsley Comstock's* name appears, therefore, in the tax-lists of *Hanover* for the years 1777 and 1778; and *John Comstock's* name appears in the lists of *Kingston* for 1777, 1778, 1780 and 1781 (the only lists now in existence). *Kingsley Comstock* was a private in the 5th (or *Hanover*) Company of the 24th Regiment, and according to *Miner* ("History of *Wyoming*", Appendix, page 60) fell in the battle of *Wyoming*. Letters of administration upon his estate were granted to his father by the *Probate Court* of *Westmoreland*, *November* 30, 1780.

John Comstock was established and commissioned *Ensign* of the 1st *Alarm List Company* in *October*, 1777. On the 1st or 2d of *July*, 1778, he removed his family from their home to *Forty Fort*, and on the 3d of *July* he and his younger son, *Robert*, marched out with the other patriots to the battle-field on *Abraham's Plains*. The son fell early in the battle, but the father escaped from the field when the rout began. Becoming exhausted in his flight, he flung himself down behind a fallen tree. Presently two *Indians* sprang upon it, intent on something in the distance, and as they jumped to the ground to go on their way they brushed aside the bushes under which *Comstock* lay concealed; but they did not see him. When night came on he made his way to *Forty Fort*. Later he fled from the *Valley* with the members of his family who were in *Forty Fort*, but on the 4th of the following *August* he returned to *Wilkes-Barré* in the body of militia under the command of *Lieutenant Colonel Butler*, and was in service here until at least the 1st of *October*. Later he returned, with his family, to his home in *Kingston*, where he continued to live until his death in the *Spring* of 1783.

The children of *John Comstock* were as follows: *Kingsley*, *Robert*, *Rachel* (who became the wife of *Isaac Parker* prior to *August*, 1787), *Margaret* (who became the wife of *William Stager* prior to *August*, 1787), *Elizabeth*, *Prudence*, *Mary* and *Eleanor*. The last named (born in 1763) became the wife of *Ambrose Gaylord* (born in *November*, 1749), eldest child of *Justus Gaylord, Sr.*, an early settler in *Wyoming*. *Ambrose Gaylord* and his brother, *Justus Gaylord, Jr.*, were members of *Captain Ransom's Westmoreland Independent Company*, and later were members of *Captain Spalding's company*—serving therein until the close of the war. *Ambrose Gaylord* was in *Wilkes-Barré* in 1784, shortly after which he was married to *Eleanor Comstock*. About 1787 they settled in what is now *Braintrim*, *Wyoming County*, *Pennsylvania*, where they lived the remainder of their years. In 1788 *Mr. Gaylord* was elected and commissioned *Lieutenant* of the 1st Company, 2d Battalion, *Luzerne County Militia*, and this office he held for several years. He died at *Braintrim* *June* 12, 1844, and was survived by his wife *Eleanor* (who was still living in *June*, 1845) and several children.

* See a subsequent chapter for a sketch of his life.

† See page 1067 for a sketch of his life.

‡ See Chapter XXX for a sketch of the Dorrance family.

§ JOHN GARRETT was born in *West Simsbury* (now *Canton*), *Hartford County*, *Connecticut*, in 1727, the third child of *Francis* and *Sarah (Mills) Garrett*. *Sarah Mills* (born in 1696) was the daughter of *John* and *Sarah (Pettibone) Mills* of *West Simsbury*. She was married, first, about 1715, to *Simon Tuller*, who died in 1720 or '21, leaving three sons. *Francis Garrett* died in 1731, and in 1745 his widow became the wife of *Capt. Joseph Woodford*. She died in 1797, in the 101st year of her age.

During the campaign against the hostile *Indians* in the closing months of *Pontiac's War* (see page 435, et seq., Vol. I), *John Garrett* served as a *Sergeant* from *March* 27 to *December* 4, 1764, in the 2d Company (*Abraham Foot* of *Brantford*, *Captain*) of the *Connecticut Battalion* commanded by *Lieut. Col. Israel Putnam*. (See "Connecticut Historical Society's Collections," X : 365.) *John Garrett* came from *Hartford County*, *Connecticut*, to *Wilkes-Barré* in the latter part of 1774, and in *December*, 1775, he bought of *Daniel Downing*, for £12, *Lot No. 22* in the town-plot of *Wilkes-Barré*. (See page 655.) Later he purchased *Lots 21* and *22* in the *Third Division* of *Wilkes-Barré*. In 1776 he was a member of the *Standing Committee* of the proprietors of *Wilkes-Barré*, and his name appears in the tax-lists of *Wilkes-Barré* for the years 1776, '77 and '78. In *October*, 1775, *John Garrett* was established and commissioned *Lieutenant* of the 1st (or *Lower Wilkes-Barré*) Company of the 24th Regiment; in *October*, 1776, he was promoted *Captain* of the company, and in *October*, 1777, was promoted *Major* of the 24th

assembled at Forty Fort and continued there during the whole of Thursday, July 2d, while Lieutenant Colonel Butler remained at Fort Wilkes-Barré and directed affairs here and in this neighborhood.

Such was the situation, when, early in the morning of Friday, July 3d, Maj. John Butler sent to Forty Fort a flag of truce in the hands of Daniel Ingersoll (who had been taken prisoner at the capitulation of Wintermute's Fort), with a demand* for an unconditional surrender, not only of Forty Fort, but of all the forts in the Valley which had not yet been surrendered, together with the public stores, and *all the Continen-*

Regiment. In December, 1775, he took part in the battle at "Rampart Rocks" (described on page 860 *et seq.*), and, according to Miner ("History of Wyoming", page 173), was "second in command" to Col. Zebulon Butler. Miner says Butler despatched Garrett "to visit Colonel Plunket with a flag, and desire to know the meaning of his extraordinary movements, and to demand his intentions in approaching Wyoming with so imposing a military array. The answer given was that he came peaceably, as an attendant on Sheriff Cook [should be Scull], who was authorized to arrest several persons at Wyoming for violating the laws of Pennsylvania, and he trusted there would be no opposition to a measure so reasonable and pacific. Garrett reported that the enemy outnumbered the Yankees more than two to one. 'The conflict will be a sharp one, boys,' said he, 'but I, for one, am ready to die, if need be, for my country.'"

Major Garrett fell early in the action on Abraham's Plains, July 3, 1778, and was survived by his wife and four sons, the names of the latter being: *Wait, John, Francis and Mills*. The first three were soldiers in the 24th Regiment, and, with their father, took part in the battle of Wyoming—fleeing from the Valley after the capitulation of Forty Fort. Wait was probably a member of the 5th (or Hanover) Company, as he was a tax-payer in Hanover in 1776. He and Francis returned to Wilkes-Barré in August, 1778, and were in service here—certainly until October 1st—in the detachment of militia commanded by Col. Zebulon Butler. (See Chapter XVI.) The four sons (abovementioned) of Major Garrett were living in Southbury, Litchfield County, Connecticut, in 1788 and in 1792. Letters of administration upon the estate of Maj. John Garrett were granted by the Orphans' Court of Luzerne County in September, 1787, to John Cary of Wilkes-Barré.

|| ISAAC BALDWIN, JR., was born in Litchfield, Litchfield County, Connecticut, November 12, 1753, the second child and eldest son of Isaac Baldwin, Sr., and his wife Ann, daughter of the Rev. Timothy Collins, the first minister of Litchfield. Isaac Baldwin, Sr., was born in Milford, New Haven County, Connecticut, February 22, 1716, being a descendant, in the fourth generation, of Joseph Baldwin, one of the first (1639) settlers of Milford. Isaac Baldwin, Sr., was graduated a Bachelor of Arts at Yale College in 1735—in the same class with Aaron Burr, subsequently President of the College of New Jersey (Princeton)—and received the degree of Master of Arts in 1778. He was first a clergyman, then a lawyer, and then a farmer. He resided in Litchfield, where he was Clerk of the County Court from 1751 till 1793. He died in 1805.

Isaac Baldwin, Jr., was a member of the class of 1774 in Yale College, but "at the time of the graduation of his class he was undergoing rustication for some offense, and he did not receive his first degree until 1775." (See F. B. Dexter's "Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College", III: 517.) In 1778 he received his M. A. degree. After leaving college he pursued the study of law, and in 1775 was admitted to the Bar of Litchfield County. The same year, or early in 1776, he removed to Wyoming Valley and settled in Kingston. In certain documents drawn up by him in 1794 and 1796 at Litchfield (where he then was living), he certified that "between the years 1774 and 1779 he bought rights of land [in the Susquehanna Purchase] from John Jenkins and Major [Ezekiel] Peirce and had deeds for the same; but that all his papers were lost, or destroyed by the enemy, at Wyoming." Shortly after settling in Kingston Isaac Baldwin, Jr., was appointed Adjutant of the 24th Regiment, Connecticut Militia, and also Register and Clerk of the Probate Court of the District of Westmoreland; and upon the erection of the county of Westmoreland in October, 1776, he was appointed Clerk of the County Court. These several offices he held until about the end of 1778. As noted on page 1005, Lieut. Colonel Butler despatched Adjutant Baldwin in the morning of July 3, 1778, from Forty Fort to the Board of War.

So far as can be learned now, Adjutant Baldwin did not return to Wilkes-Barré after reporting to the Board of War; nor did he join Colonel Butler at Fort Penn, but went to his former home at Litchfield. There, under the date of November 7, 1778, he wrote in part as follows to Colonel Butler, sending the letter by the hands of Colonel Denison, who was then in Connecticut. (The original letter is now in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.) * * * "When I was at the Board of War, in Philadelphia, on express from you, I could not get any pay for my expenses, as I understood was customary in such cases. I expended £31. * * * I should have been at Westmoreland before now, but have been hindered by business. I expect to be there in March at furthest. * * * The ingratitude of the General Assembly [of Connecticut] towards the people of Westmoreland is amazing; owing to what cause I am unable to determine. Yet I am fully of opinion that the [Wyoming] settlement will yet flourish, even under all the discouragements that it has met with from a set of Damned designing Villains." * * * In an original account rendered by Lieut. Col. Zebulon Butler against the United States in December, 1778 (a duplicate of which, in the handwriting of Colonel Butler, is now in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society), occurs the following charge: "To paying Isaac Baldwin as Express from Wyoming to Board of War, 3 July, £38 15s."

If Isaac Baldwin ever returned to Wyoming Valley it was only for a brief stay, for he settled down in Litchfield in the practise of law. For some years he bore the military title of "Captain." He represented the town of Litchfield in the General Assembly of Connecticut in the years 1782-'84, being Clerk of the Lower House in the last-mentioned year. He was married in October, 1779, to the widow Hannah DeLancey, daughter of the Rev. Samuel Sacket of Yorktown, Westchester County, New York, and in 1811 they removed, with their children, from Litchfield to Pompey, Onondaga County, New York, where Isaac Baldwin died December 19, 1818. Isaac and Hannah (Sacket) Baldwin were the parents of four sons and one daughter, all born in Litchfield, as follows: (i) *Samuel Sacket*, born in 1782; graduated at Yale College in 1801; died in Pompey, New York, in 1844, unmarried. (ii) *Isaac*, born February 1, 1784; graduated at Yale College in 1801; died at Pompey, New York, in 1844, unmarried. (iii) *Anne*, born December 19, 1786; married July 17, 1821, to Stephen, son of Gen. John Sedgwick of Cornwall, Litchfield County, Connecticut. (iv) *James*, born June 25, 1788; was a lawyer at Salina, New York; died April 28, 1810. (v) *Charles A.*, born May 23, 1790; graduated at Williams College in 1810; became a lawyer; died March 14, 1818.

* Jonathan Terry, who was in Forty Fort at the time, stated, a number of years later, that Butler's demand was in writing, and that he (Terry) saw and "read the letter". (See Craft's "History of Bradford County," page 489.)

tal officers and soldiers on the ground. This was coupled with a promise that he (Butler) would, if he should gain possession without bloodshed, give the inhabitants of the Valley good terms of capitulation, and with a threat that, in case of refusal, he would move upon them at once in full force. Daniel Ingersoll was accompanied by a "Ranger" and an Indian to serve both as guards and spies, and he was not allowed to have, beyond their hearing, a word with either Colonel Denison or any one else. Effectual care was taken that he should not communicate anything that he had discovered while in the hands of the enemy. But his guards had a good opportunity to observe, in some measure, the character and condition of the fort, as well as the number and the spirit of its defenders. Colonel Denison refused the demands of Major Butler, but the refusal was accompanied with a suggestion that he would like time and opportunity to consult with Lieutenant Colonel Butler and other officers who were not then present.

Colonel Denison believed that, upon the return of Ingersoll and his guards to Major Butler, the latter would immediately march against Forty Fort. Therefore a messenger was despatched in haste to Lieutenant Colonel Butler at Wilkes-Barré apprizing him of the situation and requesting his immediate presence at Forty Fort. At the same time orders were sent to the two Wilkes-Barré companies and the Hanover and Pittston companies of the militia, and those members of the "Alarm List" companies who had not been detailed to garrison the several forts and stockades, to march forthwith to Forty Fort. All these companies, except the Pittston company, reported there for duty by noon of the 3d. The enemy having taken possession of all the water-craft at Jenkins' Ferry, opposite Jenkins' Fort, the Pittston company had no way of crossing the river, unless they should march down its east bank to the ferry opposite Forty Fort. Inasmuch as there was a considerable number of women and children in Pittston Fort, who would have to be left behind, unprotected, if this plan were pursued, it was deemed advisable by Captain Blanchard and his men that they should remain where they were—which they did.

Captain Hewitt and his Continentals* were already on duty at Forty Fort with the 2d (or Kingston) Company of the 24th Regiment. The force, then, collected in Forty Fort at noon on Friday, July 3d, comprised: Lieut. Col. Zebulon Butler, and Capt. Dethick Hewitt and his company, of the Continental establishment; the field and staff officers of the 24th Regiment, Connecticut Militia, and the officers and men of the 1st, 2d, 3d, 5th and 6th Companies of that regiment; some of the officers and many members of the two "Alarm List" companies attached to the 24th Regiment; the remnants of the 7th and 9th Companies of the 24th Regiment, and the squad of men belonging to the 10th Company (which, under the command of Lieut. Stoddard Bowen, had reached Forty Fort at mid-day, after a march of twenty-one miles); the twenty-five or thirty enlisted men and former officers of the Westmoreland Independent Companies (for example: Capt. Samuel Ransom, Lieut. James Wells, Sr., Lieut. Peren Ross, Ensign Matthias Hollenback, Rufus Bennet, John Peirce and John Franklin) who were then in Wyoming, for reasons previously mentioned. According to the best evi-

* Under the resolution of Congress providing for the raising of this company, and for its duties, it was directed that the company should be subject to the orders of the commanding officer of the 24th Regiment.

dence extant there were "between 300 and 400 men"—probably 375— assembled in the fort, and as many, or more, women and children. At Fort Wilkes-Barré Capt. William Hooker Smith and Ensign Elisha Blackman, Sr., of the 2d Alarm List Company, with a handful of their men, served as a garrison; while James Bidlack, Sr., of Plymouth, Captain of the 1st Alarm List Company, in command of a very small number of his men, performed a similar duty at Shawnee Fort in Plymouth. Lieut. Lebbeus Tubbs and Ensign John Comstock of the 1st Company (being residents of Kingston), and Lieut. Flavius Waterman of the 2d Company (residing in upper Wilkes-Barré), had repaired to Forty Fort.

At the desire of Colonel Denison and Lieutenant Colonel Dorrance, seconded by the unanimous wish of all the other officers present, Lieut. Col. Zebulon Butler again, as on the 1st of July, assumed temporary command of the military force at Forty Fort. Immediately thereafter a conference of all the officers in the fort was held, at which the situation was fully discussed, resulting in a unanimous decision not to surrender the fort, but to hold it at all hazards. About that time Lieut. Timothy Peirce, of Captain Spalding's Westmoreland Independent Company, appeared on the scene, having been hurried forward by Captain Spalding with the information that his company was en route to the Valley and would probably arrive about Sunday, July 5th. Soon after Lieutenant Peirce's arrival Colonel Butler despatched Adjutant Isaac Baldwin from Forty Fort to the Board of War (at Philadelphia, where the seat of Government had been re-established), with a report concerning the critical condition of affairs in Wyoming.

For the purpose of securing, by delays in negotiations, sufficient time to admit of the arrival of Captain Franklin and his company from Huntington and Salem, Captain Spalding's company, and possibly Captain Clingman's, a messenger with a flag of truce was sent to Major Butler to ask for a conference with him upon the subject of his demands made in the morning. At the same time scouts were sent out to learn, if possible, the situation as well as the strength of the enemy. In fact, such scouts had been sent out during all the morning, but they were unable to form a satisfactory estimate as to the number of the invaders. Later in the day it was realized that, unfortunately, they had greatly underestimated the number. The messenger with the flag had not proceeded half way to Wintermute's Fort when he was fired upon by prowling Indians, and compelled to return. After consultation another flag was sent out, and its bearer, being also fired upon, returned to Forty Fort.

Shortly afterwards it was learned from incoming scouts (states Col. John Franklin in his article on this subject, previously referred to) "that the enemy were burning all the settlements above, and collecting all the cattle within their reach; but from appearances it was apprehended that they would not risk an attack upon Kingston, but would burn, plunder, and destroy all the upper settlements, and would probably cross the river to Lackawanna [Pittston], take possession of that fort, destroy the settlement, and probably massacre the people or make them prisoners, and return back with their booty from whence they came. To prevent which it was proposed by some of the officers to go and attack them on their own ground, which was finally agreed to, though reluctantly by some. Colonel Denison informed me that he said as much against it as he could say, without being called a coward. It was his

wish to wait for more strength—for the arrival of my company, which he expected would be on the following morning; and further, for the arrival of Captain Spalding's company. But, fearing that it would then be too late—that the enemy would draw off with their booty before any further assistance could be had—it was determined to attack them."

Therefore, about two o'clock in the afternoon of July 3d, the entire armed* force collected in Forty Fort (with the exception of a handful of men, detailed to garrison the fort under the command of Ensign John Jenkins, Jr.) marched forth in column formation, headed by Colonels Denison and Butler, mounted. Closely following these officers was a stalwart color-bearer, carrying the new national flag—the "Stars and Stripes"—adopted and established less than a year previously.† To the tune of "St. Patrick's Day in the Morning," played by the fifers and drummers of the several companies, the column marched in a north-easterly direction—approximately along the course of the present Wyoming Avenue—upwards of a mile to Abraham's Creek, at the point where the "stone-arched bridge" (mentioned on page 53, Vol. I) now spans that stream. This was less than fifty rods from the home of Colonel Denison.‡ Here a halt was made, and the little army was arranged in proper form to resist an attack from the enemy. At the same time another messenger with a flag of truce was despatched in the direction of Wintermute's Fort with a request for a conference with Major Butler, and scouts were sent out in different directions.

Soon after the departure of the Westmorelanders from Forty Fort three horsemen were seen galloping up the road towards the fort, their steeds covered with foam, and sweat dripping from their sides. When the men drew up at the gate of the fort and dismounted it was discovered that they were Capt. Robert Durkee, Lieut. Phineas Peirce (of Spalding's company) and Gershom Prince§ (a negro servant of Captain Durkee's), who, having procured horses at a settlement a few miles north of the Wind Gap early on the previous day, had left Spalding's company—slowly, but with earnestness, pursuing its toilsome march toward Wyoming—and hastened along the rough and narrow way to the Valley (a distance of some forty miles) to apprise the people of the coming re-enforcements, and to encourage and assist them to repel the invading enemy. These three men had ridden nearly all the preceding night, and were

* Excepting a small number of men who had rifles, the rank and file of the Americans were armed with "nothing but bad muskets without bayonets." (See "Journals of the Sullivan Expedition," page 251.)

† See note, page 448, Vol. I.

‡ See picture facing page 786.

§ GERSHOM PRINCE was born about the year 1733 in either Rhode Island or Connecticut (according to Pearce's "Annals of Luzerne County"). If it was in the year mentioned, then he was the same age as Captain Durkee. He is said to have been a servant of Durkee's, but it is more than probable that he was his slave. He accompanied Robert Durkee on some, or all, of his campaigns as a commissioned officer during the French and Indian War, and it is quite likely that he was one of the "hands" Captain Durkee wrote Colonel Butler in January, 1774, he intended to bring to Wilkes-Barre. (See page 893.) When, in September, 1776, Captain Durkee again entered the military service, Prince accompanied him; and with the Captain he fought on Abraham's Plains and yielded up his life in defense of the people of Wyoming, July 3, 1778.

At Crown Point, in the Summer of 1761, Gershom Prince made himself a powder-horn, which thereafter he wore when he had occasion to carry or make use of a gun. This horn was taken from his lifeless body on the battle-field of Wyoming, and ultimately passed into the possession of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.



A photo-reproduction of it is herewith given. Various designs are rudely carved upon the horn, together with the following inscriptions: "GERSHOM PRINCE his horn made At Crownpoint Septm. ye 3rd day 1761," and "PRINCE + NEGRO HIS HORNM."

almost exhausted through hunger and overexertion; but, as soon as they had learned from the inmates of the fort the situation of affairs, they exclaimed: "Give us a morsel of food, and we will follow on!" Having eaten hastily they hurried up to Abraham's Creek, where they found their compatriots still arrayed along the right bank of the creek, awaiting the return of the scouts and the messenger with the white flag. These soon returned and reported that the flag had been fired on, and that the enemy were in commotion, but what their design was—whether to move forward to battle or to retire from the Valley—could not be told.

"All was doubt and uncertainty," declares Steuben Jenkins.* "Speculations and discussion now began to arise as to the intent of the enemy. The march upon Forty Fort, which had been threatened by Major Butler in the morning, unless a surrender was made, had not taken place. What did it mean? Had the threat any meaning, or was it mere braggadocio? It was suggested that the invading force had been overestimated by the timid; that if Major Butler had the overwhelming force pretended, he would, long ere this, have put his threat in execution, instead of breaking camp and leaving the Valley, as now appeared most probable. What did it mean? Was it a mere threat to frighten, and thus evade pursuit? Such were the queries the situation gave rise to, and in consequence of no satisfactory answer being at hand, the discussion grew warm. * * The cool and more judicious of the officers, on whom the responsibilities rested, thought prudence the better part of valor, and decided that their present position, being tenable against a superior force, and, serving to protect the lower and main parts of the Valley from the encroachments of the enemy, would answer the purpose of protection to that part of it, until the expected re-enforcements should arrive.

"It was contended that the enemy by that time could prowl through the Valley, rob and burn their homes, kill or take captive the women and children, drive off their horses and cattle, and destroy their harvests; while they, like base and cowardly poltroons, were standing by with arms in their hands. * * Besides, were they to remain where they were, or go back to the fort and shut themselves up in it, to await deliverance, they had not collected and in store sufficient provisions to hold out a long siege, or endure long delay. The discussion became heated and personal. Charges of cowardice were made by Capt. Lazarus Stewart† (then a private in Captain McKerachan's Hanover company) against all who opposed advancing, particularly against Lieutenant Colonel Butler, who was against an advance, and he (Stewart) threatened to report him as such [*sic*] to headquarters. Stewart was ordered under arrest by Colonel Denison. The Hanover company became mutinous. Captain McKerachan resigned, and the company immediately elected Stewart in his place. They now threatened a revolt, unless a march should be immediately made against the enemy.

"Colonel Denison, a cool and quiet man, who had taken little or no part in the discussion, as yet, urged the propriety of careful and considerate action, and the impropriety and danger of hasty and inconsiderate action. * * These suggestions did not meet the feelings and views of the men generally. They had become warmed up by the fiery words of Captain Stewart, and declared that it would be a disgrace never

* In an "Historical Address" delivered at the Wyoming Monument, July 3, 1878, and subsequently published.

† See page 640.

to be forgotten or forgiven should they remain there, or lie cooped up in the fort, while the enemy should devastate the Valley. * * * When it was decided to advance and attack the enemy, Colonel Butler discharged Captain Stewart from arrest, saying: 'We will march and meet the enemy, if he is to be found, and I will show the men that I dare lead where they dare follow!'

Relative to the alleged happenings thus described by Mr. Jenkins, we have the following statement made by the Rev. George Peck, * D. D.:

"Captain Lazarus Stewart and William Mc Kerachan headed the party which were for marching out of the fort at once and meeting the foe. A warm debate upon the question followed, which closed with high words. The belligerent Captains, perceiving that the majority was on their side, intimated that it was cowardice which influenced the views of the Colonels, and that if they should decline the command they (the Captains) would lead on the brave men who would volunteer to go out and flog Butler and his Indians. These insulting insinuations roused the spirit of Colonels Butler and Denison, and they resolved to hazard all upon the chances of a battle. Colonel Butler said: 'We go into imminent danger; but, my boys, I can go as far as any of you.' Those who were fierce for fight seemed to be under the impression that the enemy was about to retreat, or that they would run as soon as they saw danger. They were anxious to meet and punish the Indians while they were within reach, and to chase them out of the country. This, as they might have known, and as the event proved, was all erroneous. In this case, as in many others, hot-headed and reckless men prevailed against sober counsels. * * *

"Captain Stewart threatened to withdraw his company if the commanding officers refused to go out and meet the enemy. * * Stewart and his party were confident of success. They had no idea of the odds they would have to contend with, but were phrensied with the idea of shooting down a few scattered bands of Indians and Tories. Many of the people in the fort were not at all sensible of the awful hazards of the movement. * * * Upon issuing from the fort they moved toward a high bank or rise of ground above Shoemaker's [at Abraham's Creek], where Colonel Butler proposed to halt and form the army to better advantage for giving the enemy battle; thinking it a good position for them to take and, if possible, maintain. But Captain Stewart opposed the plan, declaring that if Butler did not move on and take a stand further up, he would report him at headquarters as a coward. Butler replied that he did not fear to go, but that it was throwing away an advantageous position, and they would have cause to repent it."

The foregoing statements of Dr. Peck concerning Lazarus Stewart were based on information derived from three or four aged ladies, who, at the time of the battle of Wyoming, were young women, and were among the occupants of Forty Fort. Whence Mr. Jenkins drew his information for his detailed account of the preliminaries to the battle of Wyoming I know not. Some writers of Wyoming history *following* him have told the same story, and have stated that "*Lazarus Stewart was undoubtedly responsible for the battle and massacre of Wyoming*"; but I have been unable to find a statement similar to Mr. Jenkins' in the publications of any responsible writer (excepting the Rev. Dr. Peck) who *preceded* him. The nearest approach to the story of the latter is contained in a statement made by Jonathan Terry (a brother of Parshall Terry, Jr., previously mentioned), a young man who was in Forty Fort prior and subsequently to the battle of July 3d. Years after the event Mr. Terry said†:

"The leading officers in the fort were for delaying the attack until the expected reinforcements arrived, or perhaps keep the fort and defend themselves therein. Stewart was of a contrary opinion. A very warm altercation now in a special manner took place between Stewart and Colonel Denison as to the expediency of attacking the enemy under present circumstances. He would fight that very day, or else march his men back and never attempt to aid them any more, and finally charged Denison and those of his opinion with cowardice. Denison, well known to be a candid man, now became provoked; anger took place, and he said he would not hear that. If Stewart would go out and die (oaths passed), he would venture himself in it."‡

* In his "Wyoming; its History, Stirring Incidents, and Romantic Adventures," pages 104, 157 and 205.

† See Craft's "History of Bradford County," page 489.

‡ It may be mentioned, in this connection, that there was a strong friendship subsisting between Colonel Denison and Captain Stewart. The former was the younger (by six years) of the two men, and he had named his eldest child—Lazarus Denison, five years old in 1778—for Captain Stewart.

Isaac A. Chapman, who resided in Wilkes-Barré and was personally acquainted with many of the survivors of the battle of Wyoming, makes in his "History of Wyoming" (written in 1818 and published at Wilkes-Barré in 1830) the following statement concerning some of the preliminaries of the battle of Wyoming.

"On the morning of the 3d of July the officers of the garrison at Forty Fort held a council, to determine on the propriety of marching from the fort and attacking the enemy wherever found. The debates in this council of war are said to have been conducted with much warmth and animation. The ultimate determination was one on which depended the lives of the garrison and the safety of the settlements. On one side it was contended that their enemies were daily increasing in numbers—that they would plunder the settlements of all kinds of property, and would accumulate the means of carrying on the war, while they themselves would become weaker; that the harvest would soon be ripe, and would be gathered or destroyed by their enemies, and all their means of sustenance during the succeeding Winter would fail; that probably all their messengers [sent to headquarters] were killed, and as there had been more than sufficient time, and no assistance had arrived, they would probably receive none, and consequently now was the proper time to make the attack. On the other side it was argued that probably some or all the messengers may have arrived at headquarters, but that the absence of the commander-in-chief may have produced delay; that one or two weeks more may bring the desired assistance, and that to attack the enemy—superior as they were in number—out of the limits of their own fort, would produce almost certain destruction to the settlement and themselves, and captivity and slavery—perhaps torture—to their wives and children."

The Hon. Stewart Pearce, who took special pains to inform himself relative to the life and deeds of Capt. Lazarus Stewart, printed in his "Annals of Luzerne County" (1860 and 1866) considerable authentic information concerning Captain Stewart. He states ("Annals," page 117):

"On the morning of the battle they [the Westmorelanders] were assembled in Forty Fort, when a council of officers was convened to decide on the propriety of marching out to meet the foe. Colonel Butler and others deemed it advisable to remain in the fort. Captain Stewart was prominent among those in opposition, who contended for a prompt and speedy conflict with the invaders in the open field. The debate became animated, and was marked with warm words. Stewart contended that the enemy were increasing in numbers; that they would plunder the settlements of all their property; that they would burn the dwellings and destroy the crops and leave nothing for subsistence during the coming Winter; that there was now no hope of reinforcements on their own side, and that if the savages should carry the fort by storm, when they were wasted by fatigue and famine, they would all, together with their women and children, perish in an indiscriminate slaughter. A large majority were in favor of marching out to encounter the enemy. Who shall say that this was not the better policy?"

The Rev. James May of Wilkes-Barré, in an address delivered in Kingston Township July 3, 1832 (see Chapter XXVII), relative to the battle of Wyoming, said*:

"It was about three o'clock P. M. when the settlers reached the bank of Abraham's Creek. There, as they had understood, they were to meet the enemy; but none were in sight. Colonel Butler, apprehending an ambush, deemed it prudent to halt at this point and to make no further *offensive* movement. But his foresight was disregarded by others, and his remonstrances were ineffectual. * * At last, contrary to his own judgment, but finding the step necessary to preserve the confidence of some of the officers who had put themselves under his command, and who were more ardent than prudent, he gave orders for advancing."

Colonel Stone, in his "Poetry and History of Wyoming" (page 203), says:

"A council of war was held on the morning of the 3d of July, to determine upon the expediency of marching out and giving the enemy battle, or of awaiting his advance. There were some who preferred delay, in the hope that a reinforcement would arrive from the camp of General Washington. * * The result of the council was a determination for an immediate attack. As soon as the proper dispositions could be made, Colonel Butler placed himself at the head of the undisciplined force, and led them forward."

Miner, in his "History of Wyoming" (page 219), says:

"Colonel Butler called a council of war [in the fort], and opinions were freely expressed. Many, and among the rest Colonel Butler, Colonel Denison and Lieut. Col-

* See *The Susquehanna Democrat* (Wilkes-Barré), July 18, 1832.

onel Dorrance, were of the opinion that a little delay would be best—that the alarm of the sudden irruption would subside—that the absent militia companies would arrive. * * To these wise and weighty considerations it was replied: That the enemy had now been three days in the town; that they were fast carrying on their work of conquest and murder. * * Unless led to action, each man would fly to the protection of his own family. * * We must depend on God and ourselves. To attack and defeat the enemy was the only hope of salvation for the settlement. A large majority accorded with these sentiments, and the minority, though with reluctance, finally yielded their assent."

Mr. Miner further says (Appendix, page 20):

"Capt. William McKerachan was the first officer of the Hanover company. Evincing at once a spirit of singular modesty and patriotism, he said to Captain Stewart *on the morning of the battle*: 'My pursuits in life have thus far been those of peace; you have been used to war and accustomed to command. On parade I can manœuvre my men, but in the field no unnecessary hazard should be run; a mistake might prove fatal. Take you the lead; I will fight under you with my men, as an aid, or a private in the ranks. Your presence at the head of the Hanover boys will impart confidence.'"

Col. H. B. Wright, in his "Historical Sketches of Plymouth" (published in 1873), follows Stone and Miner in telling the story of the events preceding the battle of Wyoming, and then says (page 183):

"The decision of the council of war to adopt immediate offensive action may possibly have been premature. From the limited knowledge, however, of the circumstances which is left to us at this remote period of time, we cannot help concluding that the decision was right. The men who made it were *not aware of the numerical strength of their enemy*; and the sequel, as developed afterwards upon the field, is pretty conclusive that a hundred men more could not have saved the day."

When Mr. May (who was rector of St. Stephen's Protestant Episcopal Church in Wilkes-Barré) wrote and delivered his address, aforementioned, there were a dozen or more hale and hearty, intelligent and sensible, old men living in Wyoming Valley who were survivors of the battle and massacre of Wyoming, and whose recollections of the circumstances connected with those events were distinct and positive. From those men Mr. May derived his information concerning the matters which he described, and it is quite probable that, had there occurred on the 3d of July, 1778, such dissensions and *acts of insubordination* as have been described by Dr. Peck and Mr. Jenkins, those old survivors would have remembered and talked about them, and Mr. May would have referred to them in his address. It is a noticeable fact, however, that by neither word nor implication does Chapman, May, Stone, Miner, Pearce or Wright connect Lazarus Stewart or any other American officer with any wrangle, mutiny or act of insubordination at Wyoming preceding the battle of July 3, 1778.

There is no doubt that Capt. Lazarus Stewart (although only forty-four years of age when he fell in that battle) possessed more military knowledge and experience—particularly concerning Indian warfare—than any other officer, with the exception of Lieut. Col. Zebulon Butler, Capt. Robert Durkee and Capt. Samuel Ransom, who marched out of Forty Fort to meet the invading Tories and Indians on that disastrous 3d day of July. More than that, Lazarus Stewart knew the value of, and the absolute necessity for, martial discipline in the presence of such dangers as they there faced. And in this respect all the other officers and many of the men in the ranks of the Americans were like him. Not a few of them were old campaigners, as we have previously shown—some having taken part in the last colonial war, others having but recently participated in several battles of the War for Independence and undergone the hardships of Valley Forge, while still others had seen active military service in both colonial and revolutionary times. But, above all, the great majority of the men assembled there were *New*

Englanders, taught from their earliest youth to reverence the laws—civil and military—by which they were governed, and to respect and obey the officers charged with the execution of those laws; and they well knew—every man of them—that they were embodied there, on that important occasion, as a part of the lawfully-established militia of the State of Connecticut. If ever there was an occasion when harmony and accord were desirable and wrangling and insubordination undesirable, it was then.

To every one of that company of Wyoming patriots it must have been obvious that delay meant ruin to the Valley; that the enemy surely purposed to plunder the settlements of all kinds of property—thus accumulating the means of carrying on hostilities against the inhabitants, who would themselves become gradually weaker; that the harvest would soon be ripe, and would be gathered or destroyed by the enemy—whereby the inhabitants would be deprived of all their means of sustenance for the succeeding Winter; that the work of devastation and death would be urged on with savage cruelty. No reasonable ground existing for supposing that any help would come from abroad that day, surely the only hope was in a decisive blow.

A large majority took this view of the case, and, disastrous as the issue was, it appears to us at this day that the conclusion was the only one to which, in the circumstances, they could come; and the result was no worse than it would have been had they remained within the wooden walls of Forty Fort—without cannon, with a small supply of provisions, with a limited quantity of ammunition, and with a helpless crowd of women and children. We see no reason whatever for seeking extraneous influences to account for the determination of the patriots to march against the invaders, with the bold design of driving them back or perishing in the attempt. The influence which impelled them to this determination was a sentiment of no uncommon character. In all ages and in all countries it has existed, and is tersely expressed in these verses of an unknown poet :

“On to the strife ! for ’twere far more meet
To sink with the foes who bay you,
Than crouch, like dogs, at your tyrants’ feet,
And smile on the swords that slay you.”

It was shortly after three o’clock when Colonel Butler gave the order to cross Abraham’s Creek, form in column, and march up the road* in the direction of Wintermute’s Fort. Without making a halt, and without the occurrence of any unusual incident, the patriots marched about two miles in a north-easterly direction. They were now within a mile of Wintermute’s Fort, and again they were halted by their commander, who immediately sent forward Capt. Robert Durkee, Capt. Samuel Ransom, Lieut. James Wells, Sr., and Lieut. Peren Ross to select and mark off the ground on which to form in line of battle. These preliminaries having been attended to, the column advanced and then deployed to the left, and in a few minutes the little army was arranged in battle-formation. The right of the line rested near the edge of the slope, or declivity, separating the bottom-lands, or flats, from the elevated plain (as described on page 991), and from that point the line extended

* From Abraham’s Creek, up the Valley, the road of that day lay nearer the river than the present Wyoming Avenue lies.

some 300 or 400 yards across the plain in a northwesterly direction. In other words, the line was formed some fifty yards south-west of and parallel with the boundary-line of the townships of Kingston and Exeter—almost exactly where the present Fourth Street, in the borough of Wyoming, is located.

Captain Hewitt's company of Continentals was stationed on the extreme right; next in line was the Lower Wilkes-Barré Company (Captain Bidlack); next, the Upper Wilkes-Barré Company (Captain Geer); next, the Kingston Company (Captain Buck); then the Hanover Company (Captain Stewart temporarily in command), and then the Plymouth Company (Captain Whittlesey) on the extreme left. Lieutenant Bowen and the men of the Huntington and Salem Company were attached to Whittlesey's company, while the several commissioned officers and the rank and file of the two "Alarm List" companies were distributed among the various companies named above. Captains Durkee and Ransom, Lieutenants Wells, Ross, Timothy Peirce and Phineas Peirce, and Ensign Hollenback (some of them being then, and the others having been a short time previously, Continental officers of experience, "in whom great confidence was placed"), were given positions on the field as aids—Captain Durkee and Ensign Hollenback being assigned to the right wing, and Captain Ransom to the left wing. Lieut. Colonel Butler, in addition to acting as commander-in-chief, was, more particularly, in command of the right wing; Major Garrett being second in command of that wing. Colonel Denison took command of the left wing, and was aided by Lieut. Colonel Dorrance.

The force being thus disposed it was determined to send forward a small reconnoitering party to ascertain the whereabouts of the enemy. Lieut. Colonel Butler rode along the line to invite volunteers for this service, and Abraham Pike (see page 982) and an Irish companion having offered to perform it, were accepted. They went forward, found the enemy gathered in considerable numbers in the immediate vicinity of Wintermute's Fort, and, without being discovered, started back to report the situation to Lieut. Colonel Butler. When within a short distance of the position occupied by the patriots they met two Indian scouts belonging to the enemy, by whom they were fired upon, and upon whom they immediately fired in return, but without effect. The Indians hastily withdrew in the direction of Wintermute's Fort, while Pike and his companion proceeded on their way.

Every movement of the patriots was being watched by a vigilant and wary foe, and no sooner had the march from Forty Fort begun than news of it was carried by fleet-footed Indian scouts to Major Butler at Wintermute's. Thereupon he despatched a messenger to Jenkins' Fort with orders to the detachment of "Rangers" on duty there to set fire to the fort and repair, with the prisoners in their charge, to Wintermute's. Here, by three o'clock in the afternoon, was gathered the whole force of the invaders, with the exception of a small number of scouts and pickets out on duty. When, about four o'clock, Major Butler learned from his scouts that the patriots were formed in line of battle less than a mile away, he ordered that Wintermute's Fort should be vacated and set on fire. This was done without delay.

Adjoining the fort on its north-westerly side was an open field of six or seven acres, along the upper boundary of which, for some dis-



VIEW FROM HOSPITAL HILL, PITTSBURGH, OF THE BATTLEFIELD OF WYOMING.
Mount Lookout is in the middle background, and Mount Lookout Colliery is seen near the left-hand margin of the picture.

From a photograph taken in July, 1904.

tance, ran a log fence.* Beyond this fence was the "fine, open wood," referred to by Major Butler,† and at a considerable distance from the end of the fence farthest from the fort was located the swamp, or morass, previously described. Major Butler posted his "Rangers" behind the log fence, where, in order that they might be more effectually concealed, they lay down. The main body of the Indians was stationed in the swamp, forming, under the command of *Sayenqueraghta*, the right wing of the enemy's line. Major Butler, divested of his military hat and coat, and with a black handkerchief knotted about his head, took command of the left wing of his force. In the vicinity of the burning fort, and also scattered here and there in the open field, a considerable number of Indians lay—in concealment, so far as possible—for the purpose of serving as skirmishers. The prisoners held by the enemy were sent under



View from Wyoming Avenue, looking east, of a part of the Wyoming battle-field, showing the Jenkins house, which stood on the site of Wintermute's Fort.
From a photograph taken in 1878.

guard to the rear—to a point near the river, and about half way between the sites of Jenkins' Fort and Wintermute's. Thither repaired, also, the squaws of the Indians, and such others of the invaders as, for one reason or another, would not take part in the impending conflict.

* The site of Wintermute's Fort, marked by the scanty remains of the dwelling-house erected on the spot by Col. John Jenkins (as mentioned on page 807), may be described by present-day conditions or landmarks as lying four or five rods south of the junction of Valley Avenue and Battle Street, in that part of the borough of Exeter locally known as Sturmerville. Just a short distance north of where Valley Avenue lies, and in a course almost parallel with it, ran the log fence mentioned above.

† See his report to Lieut. Colonel Bolton, on page 1046.

About four o'clock Lieut. Colonel Butler, having received the report brought by Abraham Pike and his fellow-scout, decided to move upon the enemy. Whereupon he made a short address to the men under his command. "Men, yonder is the enemy," he said. "The fate of the Hardings tells us what we have to expect if defeated. We come out to fight, not only for liberty, but for life itself; and, what is dearer, to preserve our homes from conflagration, our women and children from the tomahawk. Stand firm at the first shock, and the Indians will give way. Every man to his duty!" The order to advance was then given, and, without any change in formation, the thin, but unwavering, line of Wyoming's defenders moved forward for almost a mile—the extreme right of the line keeping near the edge of the declivity previously described.

When the right had arrived within about 150 yards of the blazing ruins of Wintermute's Fort a halt was ordered. The line was now only a short distance off from, and almost parallel with, the lower edge of the open field previously mentioned, and the enemy was believed to be close at hand. Final instructions and orders were here given to the men by their officers, and everybody made ready for the coming action. By this time it was nearly five o'clock, but as the sun, shining brightly and hotly from a clear sky, would not set for two and a-half hours yet, there was ample time, before the close of the day, for the patriots of Wyoming to attempt to carry out their plans.

All being in readiness Lieut. Colonel Butler gave the command to advance, and the line moved forward. Soon it emerged into the open field in front, and was displayed in its entirety to the watchful and eager enemy. Slowly and steadily the patriots held their onward way, while here and there the enemy's skirmishers, singly and in couples, emerged from their lurking-places in the field and in the thickets near Wintermute's, fired their muskets at the advancing line, and then fled to cover in the depths of the morass or beyond the log fence previously mentioned. When the line had moved up to within about 200 yards of this fence—being parallel with it and extending for nearly the same distance—the discovery was made that the enemy was lying in wait behind the fence, from end to end. In quick response to the immediate order of Lieut. Colonel Butler the whole line fired a volley straight at the fence. Halting long enough to reload, the unbroken line moved forward a short distance and then fired another volley. Once again these same tactics were pursued, without drawing a single shot from the enemy, and apparently without causing any particular commotion among the men behind the fence. By this time the Americans had arrived within about 100 yards of the enemy, and, as they raised their muskets to fire a fourth volley, the "Rangers" sprang up from their hiding-place, fired at the Americans, and, deliberately and in order, fell back some distance. "See, the enemy retreat! Stand fast, and the day is ours!" cried Lieut. Colonel Butler. His men answered him with a hearty cheer, which was echoed by a yell of defiance from the enemy. The battle was now on.

At once the firing became general along the lines on both sides, and soon the Americans felt that they were making headway and driving the enemy before them—that is, the body of the enemy stationed on the other side of the log fence. This impression prevailed particularly among the men on the right, where Captain Hewitt's company

had gained about thirty yards of ground. No part of the left wing had advanced as near to the log fence as had the extreme right, but the entire left wing, under the animating influence of its fearless and watchful officers, was maintaining its position well. However, too much attention was being devoted to the movements of the enemy in front, to properly observe and understand the situation in another quarter.

Up to the time that the Americans had advanced to within 100 yards of the fence the Indians under the command of *Sayenqueraghta*, lying concealed in the dense thickets of the morass (which was situated at a considerable distance to the left of the Americans' left wing), had not shown themselves, nor had they fired a single shot. Thus their presence in the swamp was actually unknown to and unsuspected by the Americans. But now, breaking forth from their covert, they rushed



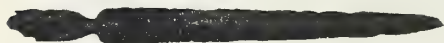
Photo-reproduction of the "Massacre at Wyoming," painted by Alonzo Chappell in 1857.

tumultuously forward, firing their pieces and yelling like demons. They concentrated their attack on the left wing of the American line—particularly on Captain Whittlesey's company, only one man (John Caldwell) of which had fallen up to the time the Indians made their onslaught. Miner says ("History of Wyoming," page 223): "On the British Butler's right his Indian warriors were sharply engaged. They seemed to be divided into six bands, for a yell would be raised at one end of their line, taken up, and carried through, six distinct bodies appearing at each time to repeat the cry. As the battle waxed warmer that fearful yell was renewed again and again, with more and more spirit. It appeared to be at once their animating shout and their signal of communication."

The battle having been waged furiously by both sides for nearly half an hour, the effect of vastly superior numbers commenced to tell upon the Americans. Then came the beginning of the end, when *Sayenqueraghta's* savages managed to outflank completely the left wing

of the Americans. The perils which, in consequence, menaced that wing, were quickly comprehended by Colonel Denison, who forthwith ordered the Plymouth company (on the extreme left) and the Hanover company (stationed next) to fall back and form a line at right angles with the main line—"to flank off to the left," states Colonel Franklin in his account of the battle—so as to present an unbroken front to the flanking enemy. The Colonel's orders were fully understood by some of the officers and men of the companies mentioned, and they attempted to execute them; but by the other members of those companies the order to *fall back*, or "flank off," was understood to be an order to *retreat*, and accordingly these men began to retire—some of them rather precipitately. The mistake was an irreparable and a fatal one, and utter confusion and disorder ensued, of which the practised enemy, familiarized with warfare on many a battle-field, was quick to take advantage.

Setting up their blood-curdling war-whoop, dropping their guns and brandishing their spears and tomahawks, the savages rushed like a whirlwind upon the broken and confused left wing of the Americans. Then a fierce hand to hand conflict took place. Meanwhile the officers of the left wing made every possible effort to restore order, to have their commands understood, and to bring their men to face the enemy and stand their ground. But it was too late. "Broken, borne down by overwhelming numbers, and pressed by an irresistible force, the left



Iron spear-head found on the battle-field of Wyoming, and now in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

gave way and fell back on the right. The movement was rapid and confused, and brought confusion to the right. From confusion to disorder, from disorder to broken lines, and

thence to flight, were but steps in regular gradation." The rout became general along the whole line, and the Americans fled in every direction.

Before the rout began the Americans had, unquestionably, fought boldly and courageously. Lieut. Colonel Dorrance was wounded and captured by the enemy, who subsequently put him to death. Major Garrett was killed at the height of the conflict. Captain Durkee was wounded, and later killed, as described on page 1023, *post*. Captain Ransom was wounded, captured, and tortured to death. (See page 895.) Captain Bidlack was wounded, captured, and burned to death by the savages, as described on page 1000.* Near the close of the conflict one of Captain Hewitt's officers said to him: "The day is lost! See, the Indians are sixty rods in our rear. Shall we retreat?" "I'll be damned if I do!" was his answer. "Drummer, strike up!" he then cried, and strove in vain to rally his men. Thus he fought, and there he fell. "Every Captain that led a company into action was slain, and in every instance fell on or near the line," states Miner. "As was said of Bidlack, so of Hewitt, Whittlesey, and the others—'they died at the head of their men.' They fought bravely—every man and officer did his duty—but they were overpowered by twofold their force."

George Cooper and Cherrick Westbrook were privates in the Upper Wilkes-Barré company. "Our men are retreating; we are nearly alone. Shall we go?" said Westbrook. "I'll have one more shot first," replied

* Colonel Franklin states, in one of the articles referred to on page 994: "Capt. James Bidlack had been placed on a heap of logs and brush set on fire, and held on with a pitch-fork and burnt to death. Mr. [Daniel] Ingersoll, who was then [a prisoner] in [near] the fort [Wintemute] heard him pleading for his life, and heard his shrieks while in the flames, in the agonies of a most cruel death."

Cooper. At that instant an Indian sprang towards them with uplifted spear. Cooper fired and the savage was sent sprawling to the ground. Reloading his piece Cooper fled towards the river, with several Indians in pursuit. Escaping to Monocanock Island he found there his friend and neighbor John Abbott, who was aided by him in reaching the opposite shore—as described on page 722.

The Americans who fled from the field of carnage were hotly pursued by both the British and the Indians, who either killed or took prisoners all who came within their reach. The battle being ended, a massacre was begun. The flight was chiefly in the direction of Forty Fort and the river. A portion of the Indian flanking-party pushed forward in the rear of the American line in order to cut off a retreat to Forty Fort, and then, so far as possible, pressed the fleeing patriots towards the river. Monocanock Island—distant about one and a-half miles, in a bee-line, from the battle-field—afforded the chief hope of crossing the river, and so the principal stream of flight flowed in that direction. Although confused and made under overwhelming pressure, yet the flight was not entirely devoid of system. The men generally gathered together in squads, frequently halting in their retreat to check their pursuers by their threatening attitude and the mutual support they gave each other. A handful of men surrounded Colonel Denison, who was mounted, and they kept together until they reached Forty Fort. Lieut. Colonel Butler, who was among the last to leave the field, was accompanied by four or five fugitives, two of whom were Rufus Bennet* and James Stark.† When the party had got some distance from the



Portion of a sword found on the battle-field of Wyoming, and now in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

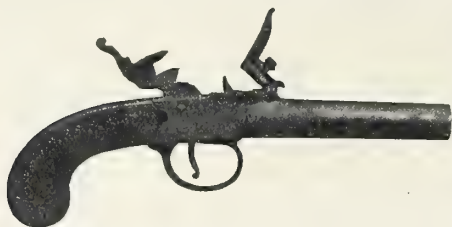
* See page 1070 for a sketch of his life.

† This was James Stark, Jr., later known as "Captain" Stark. Christopher Starke (for thus the family name seems to have been originally spelled), who was born in Connecticut prior to 1700, the son of William and the grandson of Aaron Starke, was an early member of The Susquehanna Company, and his name appears among the names of the grantees in the Indian deed of 1754. (See page 273, Vol. I.) Between 1754 and 1769 Christopher Starke removed with his family from Connecticut to Pawling Precinct, Dutchess County, New York, and in the Summer of 1769 his sons James, Christopher, Aaron and William joined the settlers at Wilkes-Barré under the auspices of The Susquehanna Company. (See page 512, Vol. I.) These men were among the settlers who were driven out of Wyoming by the Pennamites in November, 1769. Christopher and Aaron Stark were again in Wyoming in June, 1770 (see page 659), but later were, with other settlers, driven off by the Pennamites. Aaron Stark came to Wyoming again in October, 1771 (see page 715), and later in that year or early in 1772 was joined by his brother James (see note on page 715), his brother Daniel, and his father Christopher, Sr. Soon thereafter the last-named died.

James and Aaron Stark were admitted inhabitants of Wilkes-Barré, and participated in the allotment of lands which took place in April, 1772. (See page 728.) James Stark settled in that part of Wilkes-Barré which is now Plains Township, and died there, of small-pox, July 20, 1777. He was survived by his wife Elizabeth (who was the eldest daughter of the Rev. Henry Cary of Dutchess County, New York) and several children, among whom were James, Jr., John, William, Henry, Aaron and Paul. After the battle of Wyoming they fled to Dutchess County, but subsequently returned to Wilkes-Barré, where the widow Elizabeth died in 1780. Letters of administration upon her estate were granted to her son James by the Probate Court of Westmoreland November 30, 1780. Aaron Stark, brother of the abovenamed James, removed from Wilkes-Barré to Pittston in 1774 or 1775, and was a tax-payer there in 1776, 1777 and 1778. In 1777 and 1778 his son William was also a tax-payer there. He had another son, Jonathan, who was living in Pittston in 1787. Aaron Stark was killed in the battle of Wyoming, as was also his brother Daniel.

James Stark, Jr., eldest son of James and Elizabeth (Cary) Stark, and grandson of Christopher Stark (and the first of the name mentioned in this note), was a soldier in Captain Spalding's Westmoreland Independent Company in 1779 and later (see page 981), and it is quite probable that he had previously been a member of either Captain Durkee's company or Captain Ransom's company, and was one of those who left the ranks without leave and hastened to Wyoming—as related on page 978—where he took part in the battle of July 3. (See P. H. Smith's "History of Dutchess County, New York," published in 1877.) He was living in Wilkes-Barré in 1787, and his brothers Henry and Paul were living here in 1796. Henry Stark, above named, son of James and Elizabeth (Cary) Stark, was born April 19, 1762. He fled with his mother and the other members of the family from Wyoming to Dutchess County after the battle of July 3, 1778. Subsequently he returned and made his home in what is now Plains Township, where he continued to reside until his death. About 1800 he held the rank of Major in the Pennsylvania militia. His wife was Elizabeth ——— (born April 12, 1773; died December 24, 1851), and they were the parents of nine children, the eldest of whom was James Stark, born in Wilkes-Barré April 4, 1792. The names of three of the other children were John, Hiram and Henry, and all four of the brothers named were members of Lodge No. 61, F. and A. M., Wilkes-Barré, as early as 1821. Maj. Henry Stark died at Wilkes-Barré January 22, 1807.

battle-field they discovered that they were being pursued by a number of Indians. Colonel Butler hurried his horse onward, while the men on foot increased their pace. Rufus Bennet, who was the hindmost



Pistol found on the battle-field of Wyoming, and now in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

of the party and was becoming short-winded, seized hold of the long tail of the Colonel's horse and was thereby enabled to increase his speed and keep up with his companions. But the pursuing Indians were close behind, and the foremost one of them—a stalwart warrior with a tomahawk in one hand and a scalping-knife in the other—was gaining on the fugitives.

On the march of the Americans to the battle-field Richard Inman, of the Hanover company, being overcome by the effects of an undue indulgence in whisky before leaving Forty Fort, dropped out of the ranks beyond Abraham's Creek and went to sleep in a fence corner. By the time the fugitives had begun to rush down from the battle-field Inman had come to himself, and when he heard the hoof-thuds of Colonel Butler's horse he sat up and took notice of things. As Colonel Butler came near to where Inman sat the former espied the latter, and, pointing to the rear with his sword, shouted: "Inman, shoot that Indian!" Inman was a dead shot, and this order was no sooner given than it was obeyed. The Westmorelander's rifle cracked, and the savage who was in the lead—and who, with uplifted tomahawk, was within only a few yards of Rufus Bennet—leaped into the air with a yell, and fell to the ground dead. The other pursuing savages paused in their tracks, turned back after a few moments, and soon disappeared from sight. Colonel Butler and his party, joined by Richard Inman, then proceeded to Forty Fort, where they arrived without further molestation.

"At the river, near Monocanock Island, the scene was exceedingly distressing," states Miner. "Many prisoners were lured to shore by promise of quarter, and then butchered." John Franklin, in his account of the battle of Wyoming, mentioned on page 994, *ante*, states:

"Numbers were killed in the river in attempting to cross, and numbers surrendered on the promise of good quarter. In one particular case about twenty got into the river in company, where they were fired upon by the Indians and Tories, and several were killed; when they [the Indians and Tories] proposed to the survivors that if they would come to the shore and surrender themselves they should not be injured—that their lives should be spared. Trusting to these promises, sixteen in number returned back to shore and surrendered themselves prisoners. They were led off some distance to the road, where they were set down in a ring, facing each other, with an Indian to the back of each one to hold them down, when the old squaw, 'Queen Esther,'* followed round the ring to the right with a death-maul,† with which she broke their skulls. Among these prisoners was William Buck, a lad about fifteen years old, a son of Lieut. Asahel Buck.‡ He was not held, and, seeing the old squaw killing the prisoners with her death-maul, started and ran off crying. He was pursued by an Indian who took him and flattered him that, as he was a white-headed boy, he would not be hurt. But, while he was leading him back to the ring, another Indian came up behind and struck a tomahawk into the boy's head and put an end to his life.

* See note on page 984.

† Maj. James Norris, an officer in the Sullivan Expedition of 1779, entered in his journal—at Wyoming, under the date of July 13, 1779—the following item: "Colonel Butler showed us a death-maul, or war-mallet, that the Indians left by a man that they had knocked on the head. The handle resembles that of a hatchet, with a string drawn through near the end to hold it by. It is made of the root of a tree, with a large ball worked on the head of it, and looks not much unlike a four-pound shot in the bill of an eagle, with a tuft of feathers on the crown. The end of the handle shows the face of a wild-cat."

‡ See page 468, Vol. I.

"Lebbeus Hammond, being a stout man, a large Indian stood behind him with his hands on his shoulders to prevent his rising. Seeing but one man on his left to receive the fatal blow before his turn should come, he concluded that he could but die, and that he might as well make an attempt to save his life as to sit still and receive the fatal blow from the death-maul of the old Queen. He gave a sudden spring, arose from the ground, knocked down the Indian that was holding him, and ran into the woods. He was pursued by two Indians, but escaped with his life. The other fourteen [prisoners] were killed, stripped and scalped, and left lying in the ring with their feet towards each other."^{*}

Miner, describing the massacre of prisoners by "Queen Esther," says:†

"Prisoners, taken under solemn promise of quarter, were gathered together and placed in circles. Sixteen or eighteen were arranged round one large stone, since known as the 'Bloody Rock.'‡ Surrounded by a body of Indians 'Queen Esther,' a fury in the form of a woman, assumed the office of executioner with death-maul, or tomahawk—for she used the one with both hands, or took up the other with one—and, passing round the circle with words, as if singing, or counting with a cadence, she would dash out the brains, or sink the tomahawk into the head of a prisoner. A number had fallen. Her rage increased with indulgence. Seeing there was no hope Lebbeus Hammond and Joseph Elliott, with a sudden spring, shook off the Indians who held them, and fled for the thicket. Rifles cracked, Indians yelled, tomahawks flew, but they escaped, the pursuers soon returning to their death sports. The mangled bodies of fourteen or fifteen were afterwards found round the rock where they had fallen, scalped and shockingly mangled. Nine more were found in a similar circle some distance above."

Speaking further of Joseph Elliott's experience at "Bloody Rock," Miner says:§

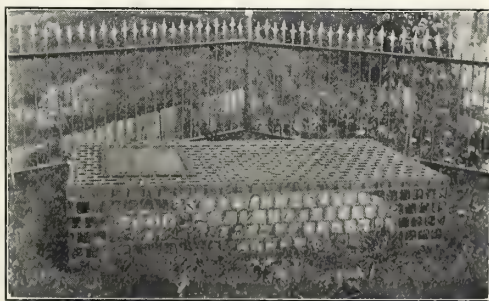
"It was his [Elliott's] fate to be dragged to the fatal ring at 'Bloody Rock,' where the savages, intoxicated with victory and excited by passion to wildest fury, glutted their thirst for blood. A circle was formed, two or three Indians holding or guarding each prisoner while the work of death went forward. 'Queen Esther' raged like a demon. He [Elliott] saw six or seven murdered. A young man, Thomas Fuller, sprang to escape, shook off his guards, but was almost instantly overtaken and tomahawked. The confusion, the savage yells, the moans of his dying friends, the streams of blood, the scattered brains, for the moment stupified him. With a ray of returning reason he saw death almost in a moment certain, and he could but die. With a might of combined courage and despair he threw off the Indians who held him, and at a spring leaped down the bank, turned off to the right a second, and, at a bound, cleared a fence and fled to the river, with several of the enemy in full pursuit. He had passed Monockasy [*sic*] Island and entered the southern branch of the stream, when a bullet struck him in the left shoulder, inflicting a grievous wound. Being compelled to steady his wounded arm, dangling by his side, with his right hand, he does not know how he swam the portion of the river too deep to ford; but found himself on the bank, and took shelter behind a tree a moment to recover breath. He at length arrived at the Wilkes-Barré fort, and Dr. [William Hooker] Smith afforded his prompt and skilful aid. Among those whom he [Elliott] could remember to have seen butchered were: Jeremiah Ross, Samuel and Joseph Crooker, Stephen Bidlack and Peter Wheeler."

* See also "Journals of the Sullivan Expedition," pages 64 and 251.

† "History of Wyoming," page 226.

‡ "Bloody Rock," so called for many years, but now, for some time, known as "Queen Esther's Rock," is situated alongside Susquehanna Avenue, near Seventh Street, in the borough of Wyoming. The rock, or boulder, which is about six feet long, three feet wide and one and a-half feet high, above ground, is located near the edge of the slope, or declivity, separating the bottom-lands, or flats, from the elevated plain (as described on page 991), and is about one mile east by north from Wyoming Monument.

In 1895 Wyoming Valley Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, located at Wilkes-Barré, purchased Queen Esther's Rock and a few feet of ground immediately surrounding it; and, in order to preserve the boulder from further demolition by relic-hunters, erected over and about it a steel cage. Later the plot of ground was enclosed with an iron fence, and still later there was fastened upon the cage a bronze tablet bearing this inscription: "Upon this rock | the Indian Queen, Esther, | slaughtered the brave patriots | taken in the battle of July 3, 1778. | Preserved by the Wyoming Valley Chapter | of the | Daughters of the American Revolution, | 1895." The Chapter took formal possession of the historic spot on Monday, June 14, 1897, with appropriate and interesting exercises, which were attended by several hundred people.



QUEEN ESTHER'S ROCK.
From a photograph taken in 1902.

§ "History of Wyoming," Appendix, page 53.

The day following his escape from the Indians Elliott and his wife and child left Wilkes-Barré in a canoe and floated down the Susquehanna to Catawissa. There they remained for some time, then traveled on foot over the mountains and across the country to the Delaware River, and thence up into New York State. Later in 1778, or early in 1779, they returned to Wyoming.* Hammond escaped across the river above Wilkes-Barré, and, making his way out of the Valley, took the road for the Lackaway District† of Westmoreland. There he arrived in the afternoon of July 4th,‡ bringing to the inhabitants their first news of the battle of Wyoming. Alarmed by the probably exaggerated account they received of the number and ferocity of the enemy, the inhabitants prepared for immediate flight. Preparations were hastily made, and before sunset on the 4th of July the settlers were on their way to the Delaware River.§

Among the fugitives who, in their flight, plunged into the river near Monocanock Island, was Lieut. Elijah Shoemaker|| of the Second (or Kingston) Company of the 24th Regiment. He was seen and recognized by a Tory named Henry Windecker,¶ who had some time previously been an inhabitant of Westmoreland, but was then a soldier in "Butler's Rangers." Windecker called to Shoemaker in a friendly manner, assuring him of protection if he would return to the shore. "I

* JOSEPH ELLIOTT was born in Stonington, Connecticut, October 10, 1755. As a child he removed with other members of his father's family to Orange County, New York, and thence to Wilkes-Barré about 1775. In 1777 and 1778 Joseph, John and Henry Elliott were tax-payers in Wilkes-Barré; in the Westmoreland tax-list for 1780 the name of Joseph Elliott appears, while in that for 1781 the names of Joseph and Henry are found. About 1785 Joseph Elliott removed with his family to Wyalusing, in what is now Bradford County, Pennsylvania, and there, or near there, he resided until 1792, when he moved to Merryall. Charles Miner, writing of him in 1845, said: "A pension of \$65, a year has contributed to render the evening of his days comfortable. June 25, 1845, when we called on the old gentleman to hear his narrative, he was at work in his garden." His habits have been simple, his life virtuous, his conduct in war meritorious as fidelity and bravery could render it. He lives universally respected. With pleasure we add that his son was, at the last session, a member of the [Pennsylvania] Assembly from Bradford County." Joseph Elliott died at Merryall March 29, 1849. He was twice married. His first wife was a daughter of Thomas Brown, an early Wyoming settler and a resident of Wilkes-Barré in 1776, '77 and '78. She having died he was married October 18, 1787, to a daughter of Thomas and Mary (Turril) Lewis of Wyalusing. John Elliott, who was born May 20, 1791, at Sugar Run, Bradford County, and who died at Merryall in February, 1876, was a son of Joseph and (Lewis) Elliott. † See pages 771, 790 and 795.

‡ See Miner's "History of Wyoming," page 470; also, "Wyoming Memorial" (Wilkes-Barré, 1882), page 344.

§ Lebbeus Hammond returned to Wyoming late in 1778 or early in 1779, and resided here for a number of years. He then removed to Tioga County, New York, where, according to Colonel Stone ("Poetry and History of Wyoming", page 207), "he lived and died [in 1829 or 1830] a very respectable citizen." Stone says there were three brothers of the name of Hammond in the battle of Wyoming. According to the Westmoreland tax-lists Lebbeus, William, John and Oliver Hammond were residents of Kingston in 1777 and 1778. || See page 468, Vol. I.

¶ The name of Henry Windecker appears for the first time in Wyoming history in the list of proprietors of Susquehanna lands dated June 17, 1770, and printed on page 658, *ante*. He was undoubtedly of German descent, and it is probable came to Wyoming from the valley of the Mohawk, New York, as there were Windeckers living in that region at that period and later. In the Summer of 1771 Henry Windecker took part with the Yankees under Zebulon Butler in besieging Fort Wyoming, Wilkes-Barré (see page 702), and in October, 1772, he was one of the signers of the memorial set forth on page 750. About 1774 or '75 he located in the "North District" of Westmoreland, in what is now Wyoming County. In 1776 or 1777 Windecker repaired to Fort Niagara and joined "Butler's Rangers"—his family remaining in Westmoreland. According to a statement made by Elisha Harding in 1837 (see "Proceedings of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," VII : 91), Henry Windecker, with many other Westmoreland Tories, spent the Summer of 1777 at Fort Niagara, but returned to Westmoreland in the succeeding Autumn and took the Freeman's oath. "He [Windecker] then applied to Elijah Shoemaker for help, and was told that he [Shoemaker] would let him [Windecker] have grain for his family if Windecker would help to defend his country. Windecker answered in the affirmative and had his Winter's provisions from his friend Shoemaker."

Early in 1778 Windecker removed his family to New York State. At Machiche, July 2, 1781, Elizabeth Phillips and Dorothy Windecker, "wives of men in 'Butler's Rangers'", petitioned the British authorities for permission "to join their husbands at Niagara." (See the "Haldimand Papers"—mentioned on page 963, *ante*—B. M. 21,874, CCXIV : 258.) In August, 1787, Henry Windecker filed with the British Commissioners (mentioned on page 931) a claim for compensation for losses as a Loyalist. In his affidavit (see "Stephens' Transcripts—American Loyalists," XXV : 480) he set forth, among other things: That he was a native of America; that he had been settled on a tract of land on the North Branch of the Susquehanna, in Northumberland County, Pennsylvania, under a Connecticut title bought in 1770; that he was one of the first to join "Butler's Rangers"; that he served therein all through the war; that he and his family "came in, with several other families of Loyalists, about nine years" previously; that they left farm, house, etc., taking nothing with them but their horned cattle; that their losses amounted to £490; that he and his wife Dorothy and their family were then (1787) settled at Fort Erie, and that they had relatives on the Mohawk, in New York.

am afraid you will give me up to the Indians," said Shoemaker. "No," replied Windecker, "I will save you; they sha'n't hurt you." Confiding in the promise of a supposed friend, Lieutenant Shoemaker waded shoreward; but no sooner had he come within reach of Windecker than the latter reached down and took hold of him with his left hand, while with his right hand he dashed a tomahawk into the head of the confiding and defenseless man, who fell back into the river. His mangled corpse floated down to Forty Fort, where it was discovered, taken from the water, and buried the next day. According to Dr. Peck ("History of Wyoming," page 48) the murder of Lieutenant Shoemaker was witnessed by Anning Owen and ——— Carpenter, "who were concealed under a tree-top which lay out in the river."

There was another case, very similar to the preceding, marked by equal turpitude—that of William Hammond, a brother of the daring Lebbeus Hammond, previously mentioned. Stone relates the incident (in his "Poetry and History of Wyoming," page 219) as follows:

"Having escaped from the slaughter of the battle-ground to the river, across which he [William Hammond] was swimming for the island, he was hailed by a former neighbor named Secord, now a Tory in the ranks of the enemy. Previously to the war they had lived upon terms of the utmost intimacy—often being engaged in the same labors in the field, and the same sports in the hours of relaxation. Secord's solicitation was of the most friendly kind, calculated at once to dispel all suspicion of treachery, and to inspire confidence. 'Is that you, Bill Hammond?' said he. 'Yes,' was the reply. Whereupon Secord advised him to return, and promised him protection; to which the other answered: 'No, I can swim across the river and make my escape.' 'You cannot,' rejoined Secord, 'the Indians are on the opposite side, and will certainly kill you. If you will return I will claim you as a brother, and secure your life.' Deceived by the apparent sincerity of his assurances, Hammond returned to the shore whence he had plunged into the stream. Secord stepped to the edge of the water to receive him, and as he grasped with his left hand the right of his friend, with his own right hand he buried his hatchet in his head! This scene of diabolical treachery was observed by a fugitive named Tubbs,* lying close by in concealment, who ultimately escaped and related the revolting circumstances. The body of Hammond floated down the river to Forty Fort, where it was discovered, recognized, and brought to the shore."

Giles Slocum, Thomas Baldwin and Henry Pencil, or Pensil, were among the fleeing Americans who reached Monocanock Island in safety. Immediately after arriving there they discovered several of the enemy, who had pursued and fired at them, preparing to follow them to the island with their guns. Thereupon the Americans, who had thrown away their arms in their flight—thus rendering themselves in a manner defenseless—proceeded to hide themselves amongst the bushes and behind the trunks of fallen trees. The pursuers, on reaching the island, wiped and loaded their guns, and then separated to go in search of any fugitives who might be in hiding there.

Slocum and Baldwin saw, from their places of concealment, that one of the searchers was John Pencil, Jr., the younger brother of Henry Pencil, their companion in flight. They knew him to be a pronounced Tory, who, some months previously, had left his home in the North District of Westmoreland for the purpose, presumably, of joining the British at Fort Niagara. He now passed slowly along, scrutinizing every covert, and had gone but a short distance when he discovered his brother Henry lying behind a fallen tree. Turning short upon him the Tory exclaimed, "So it's you, is it?" Henry, finding that he was discovered, stood up, moved forward a few steps, fell upon his knees, and begged his brother to spare his life; upon which John called him a damned

* Lieut. LEBBEUS TUBBS, mentioned on page 1001.

rebel. "John then went deliberately to a log and got on the same, while Henry was upon his knees imploring his brother not to kill him. 'I will,' said he, 'go with you and serve you as long as I live, if you will spare my life. You won't kill your brother, will you?'



Photo-reproduction of an early engraving entitled
"The Fratricide at Wyoming."

'Yes,' replied the monster, 'I will, as soon as look at you. You are a damned rebel.' He then shot him, and afterwards went up and struck him four or five times with a tomahawk, and then scalped him. Immediately after one of the enemy coming to him said, 'What have you been doing, have you killed your brother?' 'Yes,' said he, 'for he was a damned rebel.' The other replied, 'I have a great mind

to serve you in the same manner.' They went off together. In the evening [Giles] Slocum made his escape. Slocum is a man of reputation, and his word was never disputed in the neighborhood where he is known."*

The story of John Pencil, "the Fratricide of Wyoming," is narrated by nearly every early writer of Wyoming history; but in recent years the truth of the story has been attacked by some writers, chiefly on the ground that there is in existence in the collections of the Connecticut State Library an original petition† dated at Westmoreland, January 23, 1781, addressed to the General Assembly of Connecticut, and signed by "John Pencil" and others—the conclusion of the objectors being that the John Pencil, or Pencil, who signed the petition was the same John Pencil who is alleged to have killed his brother and then gone to Canada, never to return to Wyoming. If this conclusion were correct the story of the "Fratricide" would fall to the ground, for the John Pencil of the petition was in 1781 a soldier in the Continental service, and had been since 1777. But, as explained in the note‡ below, John

* Extracted from the diary of the Rev. William Rogers, D. D., Chaplain of the Third (General Hand's) Brigade in the Sullivan Expedition of 1779. The above facts were related by Lieut. Col. Zebulon Butler to Dr. Rogers at Wyoming, July 8, 1779, and were recorded by the latter on that date.

† A verbatim copy of this petition will be found printed in Chapter XX, *post*.

‡ It is stated in the journal of the Rev. Dr. Rogers, previously referred to, that "the family of the Pensells came [to Wyoming] from Lower Smithfield, on the Delaware, twenty miles above Easton." According to existing records the name of "John Pensil" (presumably the father) first appears in connection with Wyoming affairs in May, 1772, in the list of settlers printed on page 732, *ante*. In the following August, or September, John Pencil was joined by Henry Pencil (see page 750), and they were both in Wilkes-Barré in October, 1772, when they signed the memorial printed on page 751. The name of John Pencil, Jr., appears for the first time in December, 1772. (See page 757.) The name "John Pensil" appears in the tax-list of the North District of Westmoreland for the year 1777. (See page 947.) Early in 1777 John Pencil, Sr., enlisted in the company of either Capt. Solomon Strong or Capt. William Judd (see page 915), for service in the Continental army; and, as shown by the petition to the Connecticut Assembly previously mentioned, and printed in Chapter XX, was in service at Wilkes-Barré in January, 1781. According to the Rev. Dr. Rogers' journal the widow and seven children of Henry Pencil were in Wyoming in the Summer of 1779, "in very low circumstances."

The present writer has recently found in "Stephens' Transcripts—American Loyalists" (mentioned in the note on page 931, *ante*) a "schedule of the losses of John Pencil from the Susquehanna," and a petition to the British Commissioners (mentioned on page 931) for compensation for said losses. The claim was made in 1787, and Pencil and his wife (who was Eva, daughter of Groddus Dingman—presumably of Northampton County, Pennsylvania—and widow of James McNut) were then residing at Cataquai in Canada. The petition sets forth that the claimant was a native of Germany, having come to America in early youth. His father took up lands—1,000 acres on the Susquehanna—from the Pennsylvania Government twenty years previously. No part of the same was cleared till the claimant went

Pencil of the petition was the father of John and Henry Pencil, the actors in the tragedy on Monocanock Island.

To the present writer the incident of the "Fratricide" appears to be more indisputably authenticated than many other incidents which are recorded, and unhesitatingly accepted by the public, as having occurred in Wyoming during the reign of terror and violence which obtained here in the Summer of 1778. Giles Slocum, one of those who witnessed the Pencil tragedy, described it to many people immediately thereafter and later. In June, 1779, at Wyoming, he told the story to Maj. James Norris of the 3d New Hampshire Regiment, in the Sullivan Expedition, and in the following month he told it to Lieut. Col. Henry Dearborn, commanding the abovementioned regiment. Each of these officers recorded in his journal*, at the time, the facts of the tragedy as related by Slocum. As previously noted, the story of the tragedy was related by Lieut. Col. Zebulon Butler at Wyoming in July, 1779, to the Rev. William Rogers, D. D., who forthwith recorded the facts in his journal.† Isaac A. Chapman tells the story at length in his "History of Wyoming" (written in 1818 and published in 1830), and Colonel Stone, in his "Poetry and History of Wyoming" (published in 1840), after giving a brief account of the incident, states (page 215):

"This tale is too horrible for belief; but a survivor of the battle, a Mr. Baldwin, whose name will occur again, confirmed its truth to the writer with his own lips. He knew the brothers well, and in August, 1839, declared the statement to be true."

Ensign Matthias Hollenback, who, with Capt. Robert Durkee, was attached to the right wing of the Americans (as mentioned on page 1012), was one of the last officers to leave the field. Durkee had been wounded some time previously, and, by the aid of Lieutenant Gore, had endeavored to get to the rear, but had failed. (See pages 835 and 893.) Hollenback, in his flight, came across Captain Durkee, and the latter exclaimed, "For God's sake, Hollenback, save me!" "His faithful brother in arms seized the wounded hero and carried him some distance toward the river, the murderous savages being in hot pursuit," says Peck in his "Wyoming" (page 107). But, being closely pressed by the Indians, Durkee prayed Hollenback to abandon him to his fate, as they would both lose their lives in any further effort to save him. Reluctantly Hollenback laid the Captain on the ground, saying, "God Almighty protect you, Captain," and then sped on towards the river.

there himself, a year before his father, who was then living on the Delaware and came thence to the Susquehanna. Claimant cleared six acres, built a small house, had twelve sheep, two head of cattle, five horses, etc. "My father," declared the claimant, "*died eight or nine years ago*" (which would be in 1778 or 1779), and about eight years before his death gave the claimant, "by a writing," the land referred to. That "through loyalty and attachment to the British Government the petitioner left the abovementioned place in 1778, and joined the King's troops and served until the reduction of Colonel Butler's Rangers." That, at the time of his leaving, his lands, horses, cattle, &c., were worth £1,499 16s. His house was burned and his deeds and papers were destroyed, and all his other property was "taken by the Indians." Claimant "*had an elder brother, who was a soldier with the Americans. He died after his father—being killed in action. He left sons, who are of course heirs.*" Peter Wortman, being sworn, declared that he remembered "claimant living on the Susquehanna, and that his father and mother lived with him."

There are some statements which are unreasonable and improbable, and others which are absolutely false, in the petition of John Pencil. The Commissioners of Claims evidently looked upon his claim as one that was extremely shaky, for, on the ground of "want of title," they disallowed him any compensation for the alleged loss of his 1,000 acres of land, and for his other losses they allowed him only £57.

The story of "The Fratricide of Wyoming" has not only been written by numerous diarists and historians, but has furnished a theme for writers of fiction and poetry. Prior to 1840 John G. Whittier wrote "The Death of the Fratricide," a poem of ten or a dozen stanzas. It is printed, in part, in Stone's "Poetry and History of Wyoming." In Peck's "Wyoming" there is a poem of fourteen stanzas on the "Fratricide," by an unknown writer of lesser rank than Whittier.

* The journals of Lieut. Colonel Dearborn and Major Norris are printed in the book entitled "Journals of the Military Expedition of Maj. Gen. John Sullivan Against the Six Nations of Indians in 1779." This book was published in 1887 by authority of the State of New York.

† The Rev. Dr. Rogers' journal has been printed, wholly or in part, at different times in various publications. It may be found in full in the book mentioned in the preceding note.

He had gone but a short distance when he heard the crash of a tomahawk into poor Durkee's skull. The following account of Ensign Hollenback's escape across the Susquehanna was given by the Hon. William W. Potter of Pennsylvania in a speech which he delivered in the National House of Representatives, April 12, 1838.*

"A more pleasing anecdote, evidencing the firmness, self-possession and consummate bravery of a well-known and distinguished citizen of Wyoming, lately deceased, who was an active participant in the battle [of Wyoming], has often been told me. I speak of the late Judge [Matthias] Hollenback, then an active and fearless youth. In the flight from the battle he divested himself of his clothes, preparatory to swimming the river. Hotly pursued by the Indians he held in his hand a guinea; when he plunged into the river he put the gold into his mouth. Before he had reached the middle of the stream the Indians arrived on the bank of the river, and immediately fired at him while swimming for the opposite shore. He cast his eyes backward, watching the flash of the rifle, and dived to avoid the fatal bullet aimed at him. He had to rise to the surface for air; again he was fired at, but was not quick enough in diving, and the bullet grazed his back. The pain caused him to open his mouth, and he lost his guinea. In after life, when he had become one of the most wealthy men in the interior of our State, I have heard him close the story with the declaration: 'I felt more the loss of my solitary guinea, and was more vexed at the red rascals for the loss, than I have been since by much more serious disasters.'"

Having reached the eastern shore of the river Mr. Hollenback proceeded as rapidly as possible to the fort at Wilkes-Barré, where he was one of the first, if not the first, to give a report of the battle.

Cyprian Hibbard†, a member of the Hanover company, and Samuel Carey‡, a member of the Lower Wilkes-Barré company, fled from the

* See *The Wyoming Republican and Farmer's Herald*, May 23, 1838.

† CYPRIAN HIBBARD was born in 1752, the third son of Ebenezer and Hannah (Downer) Hibbard of Windham County, Connecticut. January 31, 1772, Cyprian Hibbard was admitted as a settler in Wyoming, under The Susquehanna Company, on the right of his brother, William Hibbard, and about the same time was admitted a proprietor in the town of Wilkes-Barré. (See pages 713 and 721.) He settled in Hanover, where he was married in 1777 to Sarah (born in Huntington, Connecticut, November 19, 1750; died in Wilkes-Barré July 24, 1833), second child of Capt. Peleg Burritt, Jr., and his wife Deborah Beardsley (born in Stratford, Connecticut, February 21, 1726; died in Hanover, Wyoming Valley, August 7, 1802). Peleg Burritt, Jr. (born in Stratford, Connecticut, January 8, 1721; died in Hanover April 10, 1789), was the son of Peleg Burritt, and grandson of Ensign Stephen Burritt, who, according to Hinman, was a famous Indian fighter, and Commissary General to the army in King Philip's War. Stephen's father, William, the first of the name in this country, was an original settler in Stratford, Connecticut, prior to 1650. About 1773 or '74 Capt. Peleg Burritt, Jr., removed with his family to Hanover, in Wyoming Valley.

Cyprian Hibbard was survived by his wife and one child, Hannah Downer Hibbard (born in Hanover June 18, 1778), who fled from the Valley on July 4, 1778, and made their way over the mountains to Fort Allen on the Lehigh. Thence they proceeded, more slowly, to Connecticut. The next year Mrs. Hibbard returned with her child to Wyoming, and some years later she was married (2d) to Matthias Hollenback, *q. v.* Hannah Downer Hibbard, mentioned above, was married at Wilkes-Barré July 3, 1798, to John Alexander, a native of Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

‡ SAMUEL CAREY was born in Dutchess County, New York, August 12, 1758, the fourth son of Eleazar Carey, who was a descendant, in the fourth generation, of John Cary (born about 1600 in Somersetshire, England), who came to Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1634. Ten years later John Cary was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Godfrey, and they became the parents of six sons and five daughters. John Cary was a well-educated man and was successful in business affairs. According to tradition he was the first teacher of Latin in Plymouth Colony. He was elected Constable of Bridgewater, Massachusetts, upon the organization of the town in 1656, and a year or two later he was elected Town Clerk—in which office he served continuously till his death in 1681 at what is now West Bridgewater. Francis Cary, the second child and son of John and Elizabeth (Godfrey) Cary, was born at Duxbury, Massachusetts, in 1647. He removed, with the other members of his father's family, to Bridgewater, where he was married in 1676 to Hannah, daughter of William Brett, an original proprietor and prominent citizen of the town. Francis Cary died in 1718, and was survived by two sons and three daughters. The eldest of these children was Samuel (born at Bridgewater in 1677), who in 1704 was married to Mary Poole. They became the parents of the following-named children, all born in Bridgewater: (i) *Joseph*, born in 1705; (ii) *Lydia*, born in 1706; (iii) *Alice*, born in 1707; (iv) *Elizabeth*, born in 1709; (v) *Samuel*, born in 1711; (vi) *David*, born in 1713; (vii) *Nathan*, born in 1716; (viii) *Eleazar*, born in 1718; (ix) *Mary*, born in 1720. About 1728 Samuel and Mary (Poole) Cary and their children removed from Bridgewater to Dutchess County, New York, and settled at Dover.

(viii) *Eleazar Cary*, above named, was married about 1750 to Charity Sturdevant, and they settled at a place called Bond's Bridge in Dutchess County, where eight children were born to them. Seven of these grew to maturity, to wit: (1) *Eleazar*, born about 1751; (2) *Nathan*, born in October, 1755; (3) *John*, born May 7, 1756; (4) *Samuel*, born August 12, 1758; (5) *Benjamin*, born about 1763; (6) *Comfort*, born about 1766; (7) *Mehtabel* (became the wife of James Wright, and lived and died in the lower end of Wilkes-Barré Township).

Eleazar Cary, Sr., came to Wyoming Valley first in the Spring of 1769, being one of the company of settlers under the leadership of Major Durkee. (See pages 487 and 497, Vol. I.) He was one of the Yankees driven out of the Valley by the Pennamites in the Autumn of 1769, but with other settlers he was here again in the Summer and Autumn of 1770, at which time he was accompanied by his son John, a lad of fourteen years. (See pages 658, 660 and 667.) In 1771 Eleazar Cary was one of the men who, under the command of Zebulon Butler, besieged Fort Wyoming in Wilkes-Barré (see page 696); and in consideration of his services at that time he was admitted a proprietor in the town of Wilkes-Barré September 24, 1771. (See page 713.) Shortly after the capitulation of Fort Wyoming by the Penn-

amites Eleazar Cary went to his home in Dutchess County, but on the 24th of the following October he returned to Wilkes-Barré accompanied by his son Eleazar, Jr., and by Barnabas and John Cary, who, undoubtedly, were related to him. Barnabas Cary subsequently settled in Pittston.

At a town-meeting held January 21, 1772, Eleazar Cary was admitted a settler in the "Forty," or Kingston, Township. (See page 721.) About 1773 he purchased "Meadow Lot No. 2," in Wilkes-Barré, from James Stark, to whom it had been allotted when the town lands were distributed in the Spring of 1772. (See page 728.) This lot contained thirty-two acres, and it lay near the Wilkes-Barré-Hanover line, within the present limits of the Fifteenth Ward of the city of Wilkes-Barré. It extended from the present Carey Avenue north-westwardly to the river. Here Eleazar Cary built a house and established his family. Prior to 1800 John Cary, son of Eleazar, had become the owner of this lot, as well as part owner of Meadow Lots 1, 3 and 4 in the same locality. At that time, and, indeed, as early as 1789, the settlement at that place was locally known as "Careytown," and the road leading to it from a point a little below the town-plot of Wilkes-Barré was called "Careytown Road." After the erection of the city of Wilkes-Barré this road became one of the streets of the city, but continued to be called Careytown Road until March, 1887, when, by resolution of the City Council, its name was changed to "Carey Avenue."

Eleazar Cary died—presumably at Wilkes-Barré—in 1779, and November 20, 1779, Letters of Administration upon his estate were granted to his son Nathan by the Probate Court of Westmoreland—Jonathan Fitch being surety on a bond for £1,000. (The original bond is now in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.) The following is a verbatim copy of the inventory subsequently filed by Nathan Cary in the Probate Court. The original document is now in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

"An Inventory of the real and Personal Estate of ELEAZER CARY late of Westmoreland Deceased &c. —

	£	s.	d.
"One meadow lott in Wilksbarre containing 32 acres.....	160	0	0
One pr. of Plow Irons Wt. 20 lb. at 10d per lb.....		16	8
One chain Wt. 10 lb.....		10	10
One pr. of yoke Irons wt. 4 lb.....		4	0
One bar of Iron wt. 35 lb.....		11	8
One sett old Cart tire.....		1	6
One half of a Proprietors Right in Susqh. Purchase.....	15	0	0
Two yerlings Neat kine.....	2	0	0
	£180	9	10

"The above Inventory is made out and Computed Equal to Silver & Gold or as Lawfull money was in 1774.

"Westmoreland 29th of Nov. 1779.

[Signed] "JONATHAN FITCH } Apprisers
"OBADIAH GORE } under oath.

"Administrators Expence—

	s.	d.
Letters of administration.....	3	6
the appraisal.....	5	0
recording & copy.....	4	8
	13	2

"My own Trouble—

	s.	d.
for apprising the Estate.....	2	6
for recording the Inventory.....	3	2
for copy.....	1	6
	£ 0	7 — 2

"Recd. fifteen dollars in full for the above account.

[Signed] "OBADIAH GORE
"Clerk of Probate."

The wife and eldest son—Eleazar, Jr.—of Eleazar Cary had died some years prior to 1779.

(2) *Nathan Cary* was born at Bond's Bridge, Dutchess County, New York, in October, 1755. He removed to Wilkes-Barré with the other members of his father's family, and lived at "Careytown." He was a private in the 1st Company, 24th Regiment, Connecticut Militia, and took part in the battle of Wyoming. When the rout began he fled to the river in company with three or four other Americans. They leaped down the bank, crawled along the margin of the river and hid themselves under a shelving part of the bank. Two of the party were found, killed and scalped by the Indians, but Cary escaped. He remained in hiding till nightfall, when he swam the river and made his way to the fort at Wilkes-Barré. Later he fled from the Valley, but a few weeks subsequently he returned and was at Wilkes-Barré in service for some time in the detachment of militia under the command of Lieut. Colonel Butler, as described in Chapter XVI. He was married July 11, 1782, to Jane, daughter of Adam Mann of Hanover, and they settled in that township. At that time Nathan Cary was one of the Constables of Westmoreland. In 1784, during the progress of the Second Pennamite-Yankee War (see Chapter XXI), Nathan Cary, Samuel Cary, John Inman, Richard Inman, Robert Hopkins, and a number of other Westmorelanders, were arrested by the Pennamites, conveyed to Sunbury, and detained there as prisoners in the jail of Northumberland County for some time. In September, 1785, Nathan Cary was admitted a "half-share proprietor" in the Susquehanna Purchase, under the resolution adopted by The Susquehanna Company in July, 1785. (See Chapter XXII.)

Upon the erection of Luzerne County, as described in a subsequent Chapter, Nathan Cary was elected and commissioned (April 7, 1787) Coroner of the County. He was re-elected and re-commissioned to this office in October, 1787, and again in October, 1788. In 1790 Nathan, John and Comfort Cary were privates in the 3d Company (William Ross, Captain) of the 1st Regiment of Pennsylvania Militia in Luzerne County, commanded by Lieut. Col. Matthias Hollenback. In the Spring of 1797 Christopher Hurlbut of Hanover (whose wife, Elizabeth, was a sister of Nathan Cary's wife), accompanied by his eldest son, John, went to Steuben County—in what was generally called, at that time, the "Genesee country"—in New York, where, upon the banks of the Canisteo River, at what is now Arkport, he acquired a tract of land and made a clearing. Later in the same year, or in 1798, he brought there his wife and their four daughters and three sons. Nathan Cary assisted in moving the family to their new home, and the party made the journey from Hanover in boats, by way of the Susquehanna, Chemung and Canisteo Rivers. Pleased with the location of his brother-in-law's land Nathan Cary bought 100 acres of it, and in 1799 removed thither from Hanover with his family. At that time there were living in that locality a number of families that had formerly lived in Wyoming Valley. Nathan Cary lived there until his death, March 18, 1835. The children of Nathan and Jane (Mann) Cary were as follows: (a) *Johnson*, born March 5, 1783; (b) *Eleazar*, born July 8, 1786; (c) *Adam*, born January 1, 1789, and died on board a steamer on the Mississippi River in July, 1820; (d) *William*, born February 8, 1791; (e) *Christopher*, born June 20, 1794.

(a) *Johnson Cary* spent a long life at Arkport, occupying the original homestead of his father, where he died when nearly eighty years of age. Of his children, Mary Ann (Mrs. William H. Hurlbut)

lives in Virginia; Elizabeth (wife of Dr. C. J. Reynolds) lives in Cuba, Allegany County, New York; Susan (Mrs. William S. Hurlbut) lives at Arkport; Jane and Caroline are dead.

(b) *Eleazar Cary*, or *Carey* (for it is said that he was the first of the family to use an "e" in the spelling of the surname), was born in Hanover, and removed with his parents to the Genesee country. There he lived until about 1805, when he removed to Pittston, in Wyoming Valley, and engaged in inn-keeping. In 1811 the first post-office was established in Pittston, and Eleazar Cary was appointed post-master. This office he held for nine or ten years, when he was succeeded by Zephaniah Knapp. During the greater part of the time that Mr. Cary conducted the post-office he was also engaged in mercantile business. About 1829 or '30 he settled in Wilkes-Barré, but about 1836 he removed hence to Summit Hill, Pennsylvania, where he was post-master in 1837. Shortly afterwards he returned to Wilkes-Barré, where he lived until his death. For a number of years he was a Justice of the Peace, and from May, 1843, to May, 1844, was Burgess of the borough of Wilkes-Barré. For a time he was editor of *The Wyoming Republican and Farmer's Herald*. He was married (1st) at Pittston, August 30, 1812, to Frances (born August 26, 1790), third child of William and Sarah (*Sawyer*) Slocum. (See Chapter XVII for a sketch of the Slocum family.) Mrs. Frances (*Slocum*) Carey died at Pittston April 7, 1822, leaving two daughters: Frances Slocum (born in 1817; married August 11, 1835, to Peter M. Osterhout of Tunkhannock, Pennsylvania, as his first wife; died, childless, in 1839); Rhoda Sawyer (born in 1822; died, unmarried, at San Diego, California, in January, 1898). Eleazar Carey was married (2d) at Wilkes-Barré, August 26, 1831, to Mrs. Rebecca D. (*Jennison*) Chapman, the widow of Isaac Abel Chapman, a sketch of whose life will be found in a subsequent chapter. Eleazar Carey died at his home on North River Street, between Market and Union Streets, Wilkes-Barré, January 20, 1853, and his body was interred in the old grave-yard, on East Market Street, but now rests in the City Cemetery. He was survived by his wife (who died subsequently to 1853), his daughter Rhoda, mentioned above, and his son Douglas (by his second wife), who was born at Wilkes-Barré in May, 1832. The last-named now resides at Wayne, Delaware County, Pennsylvania.

(d) *William Cary* died about 1825 in Indiana, leaving three children—Eleazar, Ruth and Marian. Eleazar was a physician at Perry, Pike County, Illinois, and died there about 1876. Ruth is the wife of Jesse Gibbs, and resides at Almond, Allegany County, New York. Marian is the wife of the Rev. R. R. Rook.

(e) *Christopher Cary* died in 1844 and was survived by six children, four of whom are now living, to wit: Charles S. (born about 1830), an attorney-at-law at Olean, New York; Johnson, residing in the city of New York; Mrs. Mary Jane Wiggins of Hornellsville, New York; Hubbard G. of Livonia, Livingston County, New York.

(3) *John Carey* was born at Bond's Bridge, Dutchess County, New York, May 7, 1756, and came to Wyoming first in the Spring of 1770, with his father, as previously mentioned. As noted in the last paragraph on page 757 he was here in the Winter of 1772-73. He is said to have been a man of herculean frame, marvelous strength, and great personal courage. In September, 1776, he enlisted as a private in the "First Westmoreland Independent Company," commanded by Capt. Robert Durkee (see page 894), and served with that company in the Continental service until the companies of Durkee and Ransom were consolidated and placed under the command of Capt. Simon Spalding. (See page 981.) During the battle of Wyoming he was with Spalding's company en route to the Valley. John Carey served under Spalding till the close of the Revolutionary War, when he returned to Wilkes-Barré and took up his residence at "Careytown." In 1783 he was married at Hanover to Mrs. Susanna (*Mann*) Greene, a sister of Mrs. Nathan Carey, previously mentioned, and the widow of a Revolutionary soldier. John Carey died at "Careytown" September 15, 1844, and an obituary of him was published in the *Wilkes-Barré Advocate* of September 25, 1844. In the *Wyoming Republican and Farmer's Herald* of May 2, 1838, some biographical notes concerning him, written by Charles Miner, were published.) Mrs. Susanna (*Mann*) Carey died at Careytown September 26, 1815, in the seventy-first year of her age, and her remains, as well as those of her husband and son, now rest in the Wilkes-Barré City Cemetery. The children of John and Susanna (*Mann*) Carey were: (a) *John*, born in 1783; married at Wilkes-Barré in February, 1802, to Catharine Vandermark; died December 28, 1808, and was survived by his wife and three children, to wit: Miner, Eleazar and Hannah. (b) *Hannah*, who became the wife of Nathan Barney. (c) *Elizabeth*, married to Henry Tillbury before 1817, in which year they were living in Pittston. (d) *Susanna*, who became the second wife of George Gore, son of Capt. Daniel Gore. (See page 836.)

(4) *Samuel Carey* was born at Bond's Bridge, Dutchess County, New York, August 12, 1758, as mentioned at the beginning of this note. He came to Wyoming in 1772 or '73 with other members of his father's family, and made his home with them. In 1775, being over sixteen years of age, and therefore required by law to train with the militia, he became a member of the 1st (Lower Wilkes-Barré) Company in the 24th Regiment. As a private in this company he fought in the battle of Wyoming, and was subsequently captured by the enemy, as narrated on page 1027. On the retreat of the enemy from Wyoming Samuel Carey, carefully guarded, was taken with them, and when they reached the Indian country he was handed over to the family into which he had been adopted. Though treated with kindness by the Indians he was too old to be broken into their habits of life, and he longed for his liberty and sighed for the associations of his own kindred and people. His new parents, by adoption, saw that he was not likely to become a contented member of their family, and that consequently the place of the son they had lost was not likely to be filled, and so they mourned almost constantly, for him who was dead. Just at day-break they would set up a pitiful cry—"Oh! Oh! Ho!"—and at evening, as the sun was going down—"Oh! Oh! Ho!" Samuel Carey resided with this family in the Indian country for more than two years, and at times suffered much from hunger and exposure. Then he was taken to Niagara, where he was detained, though with less suffering, until the formal announcement of peace and the issuing of orders for the return of all prisoners in the hands of the British and their Indian allies. Carey was in due time released, and after a long and wearisome journey arrived at the home of his brothers in "Careytown" June 29, 1784, right in the midst of the Second Pennamite-Yankee War. A few weeks later he was one of the Yankees taken into custody by the Pennamites and sent to the jail at Sunbury, as previously mentioned.

In 1785 Samuel Carey went to Dutchess County, New York, where, in 1786 or early in 1787, he was married to a widowed cousin—Mrs. Rosanna (*Cary*) Slocum. They lived in Dutchess County until 1788 or '89, when they removed to Wyoming Valley and settled in that part of Pittston which is now Plains Township. In 1790 Samuel Carey was a private in the 4th Company (Daniel Gore, Captain) of the 1st Regiment of Pennsylvania Militia in Luzerne County, commanded by Lieut. Col. Matthias Holtenback. Mrs. Rosanna Carey (who was born November 22, 1755) died in Pittston Township September 17, 1822, and about a year later Mr. Carey was married to Mrs. Theresa (*Gore*) Clark, mentioned on page 836. Samuel Carey died in Pittston Township April 23, 1843, and was buried with military honors. The interment took place in the old grave-yard on East Market Street, Wilkes-Barré, and when the funeral procession entered the borough the people composing the procession commenced to sing the hymn beginning, "God is our refuge in distress." This was continued until the grave was reached. Some twenty-five years later the remains of Samuel and Rosanna Carey were removed from the old grave-yard to the present City Cemetery, where they now lie.

The children of Samuel and Rosanna (*Cary*) Carey were as follows: (i) *Charity*, born in Dutchess County, New York, in 1787; became the wife of ——— Purdy, and resided in Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, where she died subsequently to 1868. (ii) *John*, married October 21, 1810, by the Rev. John Miller of Abington Township, to Lois Williams of Wilkes-Barré. John Carey died prior to 1868. (iii)

battle-field together. They ran towards the river, and their course took them through a field of rye of heavy growth. Hibbard, who was noted for his strength and activity, went in advance, breaking a path through the rye. This, perhaps, proved fatal to him, for by the time he got through the field he was nearly exhausted. On reaching the bank of the river he sprang to the beach, closely pursued by an Indian, who overtook him before he could gain the stream. As Hibbard turned to defend himself the Indian's spear was plunged into his breast, and he fell lifeless by the river's margin. Samuel Carey got to the river lower down, and succeeded in swimming across, but a number of Indians had crossed over before him, and he was instantly surrounded by some of them. One, who seemed to be in authority, took charge of him, but a small Indian, pitted by small-pox, and having lost one eye, drew a knife up and down several times close to his breast and abdomen, saying the while, with a malicious grin, "*Te-te, te-te!*" They then made Carey swim back to the Kingston shore, where they bound his hands and conducted him to the half-burnt ruins of Wintermute's Fort.* There he saw the mutilated and partially charred remains of one or two men who had been thrown on the burning pile. That night Carey lay on the ground, bound, and without food. The next morning an officer of the "Rangers" (probably a former Westmorelander) struck him on the mouth with his open hand, saying, "You are the fellow, are you, that threatened yesterday morning you would comb my hair?" Carey then learned that the Indian who had been chiefly instrumental in his capture was "Capt." Roland Montour.† The latter came to him in the morning,

Samuel. (iv) *George.* (v) *William.* (vi) *Nathan*, born in 1797, and died in 1872, survived by the following-named children: Mrs. Fanny Frace of Colfax, Iowa, Mrs. Louisa Evans of Ohio, Merritt of Illinois, George of Kentucky, Hamilton of Parsons, Pennsylvania, William J. of Wyoming, and Martin of Milnesville, Pennsylvania (who died December 7, 1896). (vii) *Sarah* (twin sister of Nathan), born in 1797; married to Moses Williams, son of Thomas Williams (a Revolutionary soldier) and his wife Elizabeth Robertson. Moses Williams died at Plainsville in 1847, and Mrs. Sarah Williams died there in May, 1888. They were the parents of several children, two of them being Charles Miner Williams and John Carey Williams of Plainsville. (viii) *Francis*, who died prior to 1868. (ix) *Laura*, born in 1801; became the wife of Martin Downing, third son of Reuben Downing, an early Wyoming settler; she died at Larksville, Wyoming Valley, July 18, 1887, and was survived by two sons and two daughters.

(5) *Benjamin Carey* was born about 1763, presumably in Dutchess County, New York. He came to Wyoming with the other members of his father's family, and was here at the time of the battle and massacre of July, 1778. He fled from the Valley with the other inhabitants, but returned the next year, and later settled in Hanover Township. In 1790 he was a private in the Light Infantry Company (commanded by Lieut. Elisha Blackman) attached to the 1st Regiment of Luzerne County Militia. From 1813 to 1816 Benjamin Carey was one of the Commissioners of Luzerne County. He was married to Mercy, daughter of John Abbott, and they had ten children, as follows: (i) *Nathan*, married Sally A. Allen and had ten children. (ii) *Nancy*, married Elijah Adams. (iii) *Rachel*, married Sira Landing. (iv) *Elias*, married Letitia Smiley. (v) *Sarah*, married Bateman Downing (born in Wilkes-Barré January 11, 1795; died at Edgerton, Wisconsin, May 24, 1879), son of Reuben Downing previously mentioned. (vi) *Esther*, married Darius Waters. (vii) *Martha*, married Peter Mensch. (viii) *Benjamin*, married Jane Smiley. (ix) *Celestia*, married Harvey Holcomb. (x) *John Abbott*, married Polly Bennett. (5) *Benjamin Carey* died in 1830.

(6) *Comfort Carey* was born about 1766, and was six or seven years old when, with the other members of his father's family, he came to Wyoming. Thereafter, with the exception of about a year, his life was spent in the Valley. About 1788 he was married to Huldah (born in March, 1773), daughter of Philip and Abigail (Beers) Weeks, and they settled on a farm in Hanover Township near the present borough of Ashley. Comfort Carey was a fine singer, and for some time during the latter years of his life was a local preacher and Trustee of the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Wilkes-Barré. He died at his home in Hanover Township in the Summer of 1838. He was the father of six children, to wit: (i) *John*, born in 1793; married to Hannah Dickson. (ii) *Benjamin*, married to Katy Askam. (iii) *Daniel*, married to Lovina Dilley. (iv) *Lucy*, married to Erastus Coswell. (v) *Lydia*, married to Jacob Worthing. (vi) *George*. In 1868 all these children were dead except (i) John, who was then living at Etna, Fillmore County, Minnesota.

* That Wintermute's Fort was not totally destroyed on July 3, 1778, is shown by the following extract from the journal of Maj. James Norris (previously mentioned). At Wyoming, under the date of July 2, 1779, he wrote as follows: "Rode out this morning with General Poor and Lieut. Colonel Dearborn about four miles from camp [at Forty Fort], to view the ground where the battle was fought between the savages and the people of Wyoming under Colonel Butler. We saw a stockade fort, with a covert way to a fountain, which our guide told us was built for a show by some of the disaffected inhabitants, and given up to the enemy immediately upon their approach. We examined the trees where the line of battle was formed, but found very few marks of an obstinate engagement. It appears, indeed, that the enemy were superior in numbers to the militia, and soon after the commencement of the action turned their left flank. This brought on a retreat."—See "*Journals of the Sullivan Expedition*," page 225.

† ROLAND MONTOUR was the son of Catharine Montour, by her first husband, Thomas Hutson (as noted on page 207, Vol. I), and was, therefore, the nephew of "Queen Esther," previously mentioned.

unbound him, gave him food, and then led him to a young Indian who was mortally wounded. What passed between Montour and the dying Indian Carey could not then perfectly comprehend, but subsequently he learned that it was Montour's purpose to have the young Indian consent, or request, that, upon his death (which was imminent), Carey should be received by the parents of the deceased as an adopted son, according to Indian custom. The dying warrior expressed his satisfaction with such an arrangement, and thereupon Carey had his face painted, and was given the name of *Cocaneunquo*, which was that of the young warrior.

Many other incidents similar in character to the foregoing might be narrated here, but these are deemed sufficient to give the reader a good idea of the various kinds of atrocities which were perpetrated by the Tories and Indians on and near Abraham's Plains immediately after the battle of July 3, 1778. Flushed with victory the savage Senecas and (in many instances) still more savage Tories pursued their victims, filling the Valley with their wild screams, and rushing onward in overwhelming numbers.

During the battle, and the subsequent flight of the vanquished, many of the inmates of Forty Fort walked out on the river bank and listened to the distant firing, which could be heard distinctly. For awhile they noticed that the firing was kept up with spirit, and so hope prevailed among the listeners; but by and by the volleys became broken and irregular, and the sounds grew nearer and nearer. "Alas!" exclaimed one of the most anxious of the waiting company, "all is lost; our people are defeated—they are retreating!" The situation at Forty Fort was certainly a dreadful one.

Colonel Franklin, in his account (see page 994, *ante*) of the march of himself and some of his men from Huntington to Forty Fort on July 3d, states:

"When we reached the garrison at Shawnee [Plymouth], we had information direct from Kingston that Colonels Butler and Denison, with all their forces, had left the fort and formed a line at Abraham's Creek, a short distance from the fort, and did not expect an attack from the enemy until the next morning. From that information I left part of the men I had with me to wait a short time for the arrival of the residue of the company from Salem. I marched on with four others, and when we came opposite to Wilkes-Barré we heard the firing, not heavy, but scattering. We hastened on with all speed, and found on arriving at Kingston Fort [Forty Fort] that a battle had been fought, and Colonels Butler and Denison, with fifteen or twenty others, had, in their retreat, gained the fort. Colonel Butler tarried there but a very short time, when he crossed the river to Wilkes-Barré."

The night of July 3d was clear and cloudless, and the moon shone brightly. This was advantageous to the occupants of Forty Fort, by whom every possible precaution was early taken to defend the fort against a probable attack by the enemy. Sentinels were posted in the sentry-towers and at the gates, and orders were given by Colonel Deni-

He was, of course, a Seneca, and was married to a daughter of the great Seneca chief, *Sayenqueraghta* (see page 969); but, as the latter's wife belonged to the Cayuga nation, the daughter also was ranked as of that nation. Roland Montour, with the rank of "Captain," commanded a company of Seneca warriors under his father-in-law in the expedition against Wyoming. In the Summer of 1779 he was employed with the Indians and "Butler's Rangers" in opposing the advance of the Sullivan Expedition into the Indian country—as explained in a subsequent chapter.

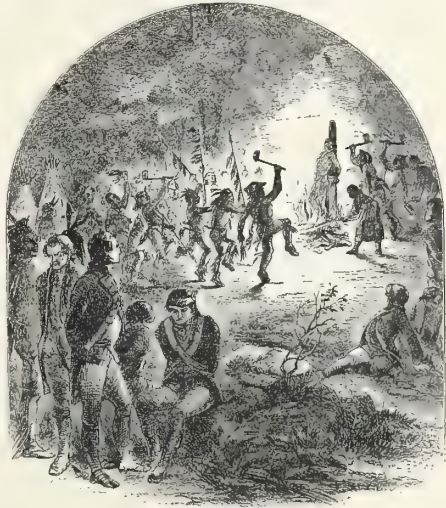
In the Spring of 1780 the Gilbert family, residing near *Gnadenhütten* (see page 218, Vol. I), were taken prisoners by a roving band of Indians commanded by Roland Montour, with his brother John—known as "Stuttering John"—second in command. From the "Narrative of the Captivity of Benjamin Gilbert and his Family," published in 1790, we learn: "As the Indians approached their homes near Niagara, with their prisoners, Capt. Roland Montour's wife came to the company. Rebecca Gilbert, aged about sixteen years, was at this time given by the Captain to his wife as her daughter, whereupon she took a silver ring off her finger and put it on Rebecca's." In September, 1780, Roland Montour accompanied a party of Indians and "Butler's Rangers" on an expedition to the Susquehanna in the neighborhood of Fishing Creek and Catawissa, and thence to Sugar Loaf Valley. (Fuller mention of this expedition is made in Chapter XIX.) During a skirmish with a company of militia in the latter place Montour received a wound in the arm from which he died a week later. He had long "been known as a brave and active chief," says Cruikshank in his "Butler's Rangers," page 82.

son that no one should be permitted to leave the fort during the night. Every hour through the night one, two, three or more survivors of the battle, who had been in hiding since their escape from the bloody field, made their way into the fort, so that by morning there were gathered there about sixty men and youth who had taken part in the battle. The other survivors had fled in various directions—some to the forts at Wilkes-Barré and Plymouth, and some beyond the Wilkes-Barré Mountain. In addition to these survivors there were in the fort: Captain Franklin and his men, Ensign John Jenkins, Jr., and the old men and boys who had been detailed in the morning of the 3d to garrison the fort, and several hundred women and children.

In his letters referred to on page 994 Colonel Franklin says:

"It is not known what number of the enemy were killed.* Daniel Ingersoll, who was a prisoner in Wintermute's Fort, informed me that after the battle the enemy collected all the tools they could find in the neighborhood, and that parties were out all night in the woods where the battle was fought, and went off to the adjoining swamp, where, as he supposes, they buried their dead. In the evening after the battle a council was held in Kingston fort, when it was proposed to send and get a cannon (a four-pound gun) from Wilkes-Barré, and to have all the inhabitants from the towns below repair to Kingston fort, and to make a stand against the enemy. I sent one of my men to Huntington for a cask of powder, and notice was sent to the inhabitants below to repair to Kingston; but it was too late—all were flying or preparing for their flight."

Although Night had thrown her kindly mantle over the field of carnage, and the coming of darkness had put an end to the pursuit of the Americans, and most of the prisoners had been barbarously butchered, yet there were some who, supposed to be special objects of hate, were selected for slower torture and the execution of more savage vengeance.† On the battle-ground the work of torture lasted till vengeance, satiated and wearied, dropped the knife and torch from exhaustion. Says Miner: "Maj. John Butler, much agitated as the peculiar effluvium of burning human flesh came to his nostrils, said, in the hearing of Mr. [Daniel] Ingersoll, 'It is not in my power to help it.' In the morning the battle-field was strewn with limbs and bodies torn apart, mangled and partially consumed."



At the Pittston fort, the night following the battle, Captain Blanchard, Esquire Whittaker, Ishmael Bennett, Sr., and Ishmael Bennett, Jr., noticing fires burning under some large oak trees near the bank on the Exeter side of the river (at the point where the prisoners

* There were about eighty of the invading enemy killed, according to the best contemporary evidence, although Major Butler, in his report to Lieut. Colonel Bolton, at Niagara (see page 1047), declared that he had lost but one Indian and two Rangers. In Peck's "Wyoming," page 363, will be found the following: "We have learned from John Bennet that when his uncle Solomon [Bennet] was in Wyoming last—in 1820—he went with him upon the battle-ground and showed him where he stood when the battle began, and how far they pushed John Butler's men. He also pointed out the spot where the British and Indians who were killed were buried. It was on what was called 'the Island,' in the marsh, under some large yellow pines which were then standing. There sixty were consigned to their long resting-place by their fellow Royalists. The number of the slain and the place of burial were communicated to Mr. Solomon Bennet by the Wintermutes and Secords in Canada in 1812."

Details as to the number of Americans who were killed in the battle or massacred subsequently, are given in full in Chapter XXVII, *post*.

† See the last paragraph on page 114, Vol. I.

taken at Jenkins' and Wintermute's Forts had been held during the battle, as narrated on page 1013), went down to the river-side. There they saw several naked men driven around a stake in the midst of flames. The groans and screams of the men were most piteous, while the shouts and yells of the savages—who danced around, urging the victims on with their spears—were too horrible to be endured. The Pittston men were powerless to help or avenge these tortured prisoners, and they withdrew, heartsick, from the sight of the horrid orgies—glad that they did not know who were the sufferers. Later in the night the savages engaged in a "Scalp Dance"—a weird jollification always performed after a victorious battle, as explained on page 126, Vol. I.

To those who were in the forts, and to those elsewhere who had escaped the pursuit of the murderous savages, the night of July 3d was one of consternation, of alarm, and of terrible agony. The shrill whoops of the Indians, mingled with the yells and hootings of the Tories, as they gathered near, portended to the surviving Westmorelanders a fate as horrible as any that had befallen their late compatriots, whose mangled bodies were then lying cold in death on Abraham's Plains. All through the night was heard the voice of lamentation for the fate of husbands, fathers, sons, brothers and friends who had fallen by the hands of the enemy. To the survivors it was a night long to be remembered—never to be forgotten.

Early in the morning of Saturday, July 4th, Major Butler sent a detachment of his "Rangers" and some Indians across the river to the Pittston fort to demand its surrender. There was nothing for Captain Blanchard to do but to capitulate on the fairest terms he could get, and this he did. The articles of capitulation which were drawn up provided for the surrender of "three forts at Lacuwanack," to wit: the Pittston fort, commanded by Capt. Jeremiah Blanchard (see page 1004), "Rosecrants' Block-house" (mentioned on page 925), and another block-house, neither the name nor the exact location of which is now known, but undoubtedly it stood in Pittston Township. The articles of capitulation further required that the different commanders of the said forts should immediately deliver them up, with all the arms, ammunition and stores in the said forts." On the part of Major Butler it was promised "that the lives of the men, women and children" should be "preserved entire." The Indians present at the capitulation of Pittston fort marked the faces of the inmates with black paint, telling them not to remove it, and that if they should go beyond the limits of the fort they should carry a bit of white cloth attached to a stick, so that, being thereby recognized as having surrendered, they would not be hurt by any of the Indians. Among the Indians who were there at that time were "Tom Turkey," "Anthony Turkey," "David Singsing" and "Anthony Cornelius," who had formerly resided in Wyoming and were well known to some of the inhabitants. Trailing along in the rear of these Indians were a number of squaws, smeared with blood and carrying strings of scalps; "of which, with more than a demon's malice, they would smell, and then exultingly exclaim, 'Yankee blood!'" After the capitulation the "Rangers" and Indians demolished the pickets, or stockade, surrounding the three block-houses which formed the fort, and then the Indians began to pillage the people of everything portable and valuable which they could find.

About eight o'clock Saturday morning Major Butler despatched to Forty Fort a messenger with a flag, bearing a request to Colonel Denison to come up to Butler's headquarters, adjacent to the ruins of Wintermute's Fort, to discuss terms of surrender. Accompanied by Obadiah Gore, Sr., and Dr. Lemuel Gustin, Colonel Denison set out without delay, bearing a flag of truce. At the interview which took place Major Butler demanded that all the Continental officers and soldiers in the Valley (particularly mentioning Lieut. Col. Zebulon Butler) should be delivered over to him, to be held as prisoners of war. Relative to this demand Colonel Denison expressed a desire to consult with his officers, to which Major Butler assented. Promising to return at one o'clock in the afternoon, Colonel Denison and his companions returned to Forty Fort. Thence, without delay, Colonel Denison hastened to Wilkes-Barré. Here he thoroughly discussed the situation with Lieut. Colonel Butler, and the conclusion was reached that the only course of procedure open to the people in Wyoming was to make a full and complete surrender to the invaders on the best terms possible. It was agreed, however, that, before arrangements for the surrender should take place, Lieut. Colonel Butler, the fifteen or twenty survivors of Captain Hewitt's Continental company (including Lieut. Timothy Howe), and those survivors of the officers and privates of Captain Spalding's Westmoreland Independent Company* in the Continental service who had taken part in the battle of July 3d, should leave the Valley and get to places of safety. Directing these men to proceed to Shamokin, Colonel Butler threw a feather bed across his horse, took his wife and infant son† up behind him, set off over the Wilkes-Barré Mountain by way of the old "Warrior Path" (see page 237), for Fort Allen, at Gnadenhütten, on the Lehigh River (see page 339), and that night bivouacked in Sugar Loaf Valley, some twenty miles from Wilkes-Barré.

Colonel Denison returned to Forty Fort, and, accompanied by the Rev. Jacob Johnson and Zerah Beach, Esq., proceeded thence shortly before one o'clock to Major Butler's headquarters, where negotiations for a surrender of the various settlements and defenses in the Valley were renewed—Major Butler being first informed that all the surviving Continental officers and privates had fled from the Valley. The terms of the capitulation were soon agreed upon, but as there were no conveniences at Wintermute's for writing, it was arranged that the articles should be drawn up and signed at Forty Fort at four o'clock in the afternoon—the time fixed upon for the formal surrender of the fort. "There were, at the time," states Colonel Franklin, "seven barrels of whisky in the fort, and this becoming known to Major Butler he proposed to Colonel Denison to have it destroyed; that if the Indians got hold of it they would get drunk; that they could not be commanded, and would probably massacre all in the fort." Colonel Denison and Messrs. Johnson and Beach returned to Forty Fort, where preparations were made for the reception of the enemy—one of the first things done being the rolling of the barrels of whisky down the bank of the river, where their heads were knocked in and the liquor was emptied into the water.

* Among these survivors were Lieut. Phineas Peirce, Sergt. Thomas Baldwin, Sergt. Thomas Neill, James Stark, Jr., Constant Searle, Jr., and Rufus Bennet.

† ZEBULON JOHNSON BUTLER, two years old. The two other children of Colonel Butler—Lord and Hannah—were at that time living with relatives in Connecticut.

The following account* of the entry of the victorious enemy into Forty Fort is drawn from the writings of Col. John Franklin mentioned on page 994, *ante*.

"Preparations were made to receive the enemy into the fort. The few fire-arms were laid down in the center, and the gates set open at four o'clock P. M., the hour appointed. Maj. John Butler, with his Tories and Indians, appeared, marching in a body—the Tories at the left hand in four regular files, and four abreast, and Major Butler at their head. The Indians at the right hand, in the same order, and 'Queen Esther' at their head. From appearance, there was about an equal number of Tories and Indians, and not less than 600 in the whole. I marched out with Colonel Denison a short distance from the fort, to escort them through the gate, when 'Queen Esther,' with all the impudence of an infernal being, turned to Colonel Denison and said: 'Well, Colonel Denison, you make me promise to bring more Indians. Here, see! (turning her head) I bring all these!' Major Butler observed to her that women should be seen and not heard. They marched into the fort, the Indians turning to the right of the fire-arms that were lying in the center, and the Tories to the left, where they halted. The Tories immediately seized all the arms, taking them up. Major Butler ordered them to lay them down again, which being done, he informed the Indians that Colonel Denison made them a present of all the fire-arms, and the Indians took them into possession.

"I went into the cabin† in the fort in company with Colonel Denison, Zerah Beach, Esq., and Dr. Lemuel Gustin, also Maj. John Butler, with two or three of his Tory officers, and about the same number of Indian chiefs, where the articles of capitulation, as verbally agreed upon, were committed to writing by the hand of Zerah Beach, Esq."

The articles were, undoubtedly, executed in duplicate, inasmuch as Colonel Franklin wrote in May, 1827 (see farther on in this Chapter), that he then had "the original" articles "in keeping." As to where the document referred to by Franklin is at this time, no one seems to know. In efforts to ascertain the whereabouts of the duplicate (?) of the original articles which was retained by Major Butler, the present writer has spent a good deal of time and considerable energy. From a careful examination of documents, etc., in the British Museum and the Public Record Office, London, made for the writer at the instance of the Hon. Whitelaw Reid, United States Ambassador to Great Britain, it is learned that within a few days after the capitulation of Forty Fort Major Butler forwarded the articles of capitulation of the various forts in Wyoming Valley, together with a lengthy report of his operations (see hereinafter), to his superior officer, Lieut. Col. Mason Bolton, commandant of Fort Niagara. By the latter copies were made of the various documents received from Major Butler, and *these copies*, together with a letter from Lieut. Colonel Bolton, were forwarded (see hereinafter) to Captain Le Maistre, Deputy Adjutant General to General Haldimand, at Quebec. These particular copies are now preserved among the Haldimand Papers, mentioned in a note on page 963, *ante*.

On the opposite page is a photo-reproduction (specially made for this work) of the veritable copy of the articles of capitulation of Forty Fort which was prepared by Lieut. Colonel Bolton and forwarded to Captain Le Maistre, as mentioned above. The names of the three Westmorelanders, attached to the document as principal and witnesses, are misspelled, because of either the carelessness or the ignorance of the copyist. "Beech" should be *Beach*; "Samuel Gustin" should be *Lemuel Gustin*; "Deniston" should be *Denison*. The names of the three Tories are correctly spelled. William Caldwell was one of the original Captains of "Butler's

* This differs somewhat from the account printed in Miner's "Wyoming" and in other histories and pamphlets. We deem this, however, to be the most accurate account, because it was written and printed ten years prior to Stone's account and about twelve years prior to Miner's. Its author was a keen, a wide-awake, an intelligent and an observant man—in a word, he was a very remarkable man; and as he was on the ground, and took part in the doings of that stormy period in Wyoming's history, it is fair to presume that he was familiar with his subject and that he wrote with superior understanding.

† This was that compartment of the fort which was then occupied by the family of Thomas Bennet of Kingston.

Rangers," and his name is several times mentioned hereinbefore. John Johnston was a Captain in the Indian Department—as mentioned on pages 967 and 985.

Westmoreland July 4th 1778

Capitulation made, & completed between Major John Butler on behalf of His Majesty King George the 3^d and Colo Nathan Denniston of the United States of America

Article 1st That the Inhabitants of this Settlement lay down their Arms, and their Garrisons be demolished

2^d That the Inhabitants are to occupy their Farms peaceably & the lives of the Inhabitants preserved entire and undisturbed

3^d That the Continental Arms be delivered up

4th That Major Butler will use his utmost influence that the private property of the Inhabitants shall be preserved entire to them

5th That the prisoners in Fort Mifflin be delivered up, and that Samuel Smith now in Major Butler's possession be delivered up also

6th That the properties taken from the People on the River be made good and they remain in peaceable possession of their Farms, and remain unmolested in a free trade in and throughout this Settlement as he lies in my power

7th That the Inhabitants that Colo Denniston now capitulates for, together with himself, do not take up Arms during the present Contest

Witnessed
 Nathl Dennison } Samuel Quisenberry } Nathan Denniston
 John Johnston } John Butler }

The following is a printed copy of the foregoing articles, and is introduced here for the convenience of the reader.

"WESTMORELAND July 4th 1778.

"CAPITULATION made, & completed between Major John Butler on behalf of His Majesty King George the 3^d and Colo Nathan Denniston of the United States of America.

"ARTICLE 1ST That the Inhabitants of the Settlement lay down their Arms, and their Garrisons be demolished.

"2^D That the Inhabitants are to occupy their farms, peaceably, & the lives of the Inhabitants preserved entire and unhurt.

"3^D That the Continental Stores be delivered up.

"4TH That Major Butler will use his utmost influence, that the private property of the Inhabitants shall be preserved entire to them.

"5TH That the prisoners in Forty Fort, be delivered up, and that Samuel Finch now in Major Butler's possession be delivered up also.

"6TH That the properties taken from the People called *Tories* up the River be made good; and they to remain in peaceable possession of their Farms, and unmolested in a free Trade, in and throughout this State as far as lies in my power.

"7TH That the Inhabitants that Col^o Denniston now capitulates for, together with himself do not take up Arms during the present Contest.

"ZERAH BEECH, SAMUEL GUSTIN, } [Signed] "NATHAN DENNISTON,
"JOHN JOHNSTON, WILL^M CALDWELL, } "JOHN BUTLER."

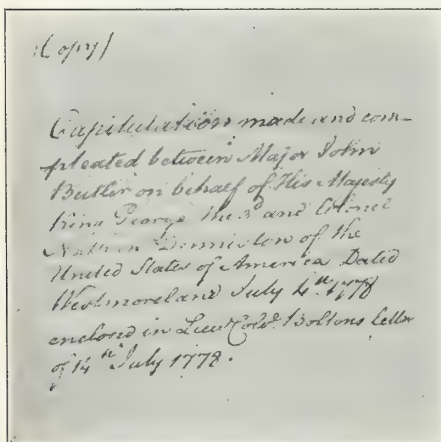


Photo-reproduction of the original endorsement made by Captain Le Maistre on the back of the foregoing document.

It will be noticed that the capitulation was general in its character, and embraced not only Forty Fort, Fort Wilkes-Barré, and the several block-houses which had not yet been formally surrendered, but included also the fort at Pittston and its inmates, as well as those persons who had been occupants of Jenkins' Fort and Wintermute's Fort. Samuel Finch, named in the 5th Article of the capitulation, was the Westmorelander who had been captured by the "Rangers" on July 2d, as narrated on page 994. Why no mention was made of John Gardner and Daniel Carr, who had been captured at the mouth of Sutton's Creek; of Daniel Ingersoll

and the various other persons who had been made prisoners when Jenkins' Fort and Wintermute's Fort were surrendered, and who were still detained in custody; and of Samuel Carey, who had been captured after the battle (as previously related), it is impossible to say. "The prisoners in Forty Fort," referred to in the 5th Article, were the two Indian spies who had been seized early in June and confined in the fort, as narrated on page 976. One of these Indians was known as "Black Henry" and as "Captain Henry" (see pages 720 and 922), and Miner observes—"Wyoming," Appendix, page 54—that 'Queen Esther' had been down from her palace at Sheshequin to obtain their release, which Colonel Denison had deemed it proper to refuse. In anger at her disappointment she probably made a threat that she would bring down more Indians—which would account for the taunt that she flung at Colonel Denison when she entered Forty Fort.

The Westmoreland Tories who marched into the fort in the ranks of the "Rangers" had their faces painted in Indian-fashion, presumably hoping and expecting that they would not be recognized by their old friends and neighbors; but the disguises of several—among the number being Parshall Terry, Jr.—were soon penetrated. After the capitulation many Indians went about the fort shaking hands with the inmates and exclaiming: "Brothers now! All good friends!" Other Indians, who also seemed to be well disposed, tied white bands around the heads

of some of the women in the fort and put paint on their faces, that they might be known as prisoners of war, and therefore not be in danger of being molested by strange Indians. As Major Butler stood in the gateway of the fort, after the articles of capitulation had been executed, he recognized Sergeant Boyd, the British deserter mentioned on page 982. "Boyd," said he sternly, "go to that tree!" "I hope," said Boyd, imploringly, "your honor will consider me a prisoner of war." "Go to that tree, sir!" was the only response. Boyd walked to the tree indicated, a short distance outside the fort, and stood erect against the trunk. Butler signaled to some Indians standing near, they fired a volley, and Boyd fell dead.

Turning again to Colonel Franklin's account* of the battle of July 3, 1778, and subsequent events, we find the following paragraphs:

"Some persons, in giving an account of the battle, stated that the Tories and Indians brought fresh scalps into the fort and slapped them in the faces of the women. This was not done. I saw but one scalp brought into the fort by a Tory, and he said it was the scalp of Lieut. Lazarus Stewart [Jr.]. Some of the Tories and Indians told me that they had taken 190 scalps; but I think the number was not so great. They also informed us that if Colonels Butler and Denison, with their forces, had stood their ground one minute longer they would have gained the victory; that the Tories and Indians on the left wing were giving way, and that they would not have stood their ground another fire.

"The capitulation was on as good terms as we could expect, considering our situation at the time; but the terms were, however, violated by the enemy in every respect—except that of massacring the inhabitants. No personal injury was done to any one in the fort, but plundering immediately took place, even while the articles of capitulation were being committed to writing. Complaints were made that the Indians were plundering, when Major Butler sent orders by one of the chiefs to put a stop to it. Complaints were renewed, and Maj. Ezekiel Peirce (who was Clerk of the town of Westmoreland, and keeper of all the records) complained that the Indians had broken open his chest, and were destroying his books. The Westmoreland records were given up and saved, but all the records of Kingston—containing the surveys and the division of the land in the township—with all of Peirce's private papers, were destroyed.

"Major Butler professed to have his feelings injured at such conduct, and reprimanded the Indians, saying that he had pledged his honor that the property of the inhabitants should be preserved entire; that by their plundering, his promises were violated; that if he had known that they would have conducted themselves in that manner, he would have marched them off immediately after the battle, and never taken possession of the fort. Complaints were renewed, and Major Butler, turning to one of his chiefs, said: 'They are your Indians, you must stop them from plundering!' The chief withdrew, and in a few minutes returned, saying that he could not stop them—that they threatened to tomahawk him. Major Butler observed that he was sorry, but that after a successful battle the Indians would not be commanded. They even threatened his life, on some occasions, when he was endeavoring to prevent them from plundering. He requested Colonel Denison to make up a statement of all property that was taken contrary to the agreement contained in the capitulation, and send it to him at his quarters the next morning, and pledged his honor that the full value would be paid. Colonel Denison observed that it would be difficult in so short a time to ascertain what property had been taken. Major Butler replied that he must make a statement as near as he could, and again pledged his honor that the full value should be paid. Major Butler remarked that, as Wyoming was a frontier, it was wrong for any part of the inhabitants to leave their own settlements and enter into the Continental army abroad; that such a large number having left their own settlements was the cause of the invasion of Wyoming, and that it would never have been attempted had all the people remained in their own settlements.† I was of the same opinion.

"After the business was finished in the fort the enemy withdrew in a body, marching out in the same form in which they had entered. About thirty or forty Indians and Tories remained in the fort, but the main body marched to Wintermute's Fort. The first house they came to after leaving the Kingston fort [Forty Fort] was set on fire, as was also every other house on their way. Major Butler marching at the head of the savages; all was laid in ruins before him—his pledged honor to the contrary notwithstanding."

Miner says ("Wyoming," page 234): "Every hour growing bolder and more insolent, the savages soon threw off all restraint, seized on

* See page 994, *ante*.

† See page 955.

Colonel Denison, and, taking the hat from his head, demanded also the linen frock he wore. In the pocket were a few dollars, the whole military chest of the settlement, and he made some resistance, when they, instantly lifting a tomahawk, threatened his life. Obligated to comply, he, seeming to have some difficulty in slipping the frock over his head, stepped backward to where sat a young woman of his family, who, comprehending the maneuver, adroitly took out the purse, when he gave up the coveted garment to the spoiler."

As noted on page 992, Lieut. Elisha Scovell executed on July 1st articles of capitulation for Wintermute's Fort. On Sunday, July 5th, when the Indians began their plundering in the neighborhood of Scovell's home he removed some of his household goods to what he deemed a place of safety. Elisha Harding has told of the incident in these words:*

"When they began to plunder he [Scovell] took his goods and halted them near Jenkins' Fort, and placed them in a corner of the fence and made a shed of boards over them, and sat by them all safe until everybody else was stripped; then a certain Tom Green, who had married a squaw, called on him to open his chest. The reply was that Major Butler was a gentleman of honor, and had promised him [Scovell] that nothing should be taken from him. The reply was, 'Damn Butler and his orders!' and then he [Green] drew his sword across his [Scovell's] rack, and with his tomahawk split the lid [of the chest], and this turned the attention of the Indians to the work, and in a few minutes poor Elisha [Scovell] was as poor as his neighbors."

The same day Scovell received a document signed by Major Butler and *Sayenqueraghta*, and reading as follows†:

"WESTMORELAND 5th July, 1778.

"This doth hereby certify that Lieut. ELISHA SCOVELL has surrendered his Garrison with all his people to Government and to remain as Neutral during the present contest with Great Britain and America, on consideration of which Col. JOHN BUTLER Superintendent of the Six Nations of Indians their Allies &c., with Kayingwaurto the Chief of the Seneca [Seneca] Nation and the other Chief Warriors of the Six Nations do promise that they shall live in the quiet possession of their places with their Families and shall be daily protected from insult as far as lies in their Power and provided they should be taken it is our desire that they may forthwith be Released.

[Signed] [Seal] "JOHN BUTLER.
 [A Turtle] "KAYINGWAURTO."

The original of the foregoing is now in the possession of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, and a photo-reproduction of it may be found in "The Massacre of Wyoming" by the Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden, a pamphlet published by the abovementioned Society in 1895. The original document is not in the handwriting of John Butler, which accounts for the fact that he is therein referred to as "Colonel" and as "Superintendent of the Six Nations." Moreover, whenever Major Butler had occasion to write the name of the Seneca chief *Sayenqueraghta* he never wrote it "*Kayingwaurto*." The name of the chief was sometimes written *Kayingwaurto*, as explained on page 968, but was never so written by John Butler. For some time prior to 1778 John Butler had been Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, with the title of Colonel (as explained on page 932), but the person who wrote the aforementioned document seems to have been laboring under the impression that Butler was Superintendent-in-chief, and not a Deputy. The signature of John Butler attached to the document is in his own handwriting, however; and the totemic device (a turtle) of *Sayenqueraghta* was undoubtedly affixed to the paper by the old chief himself.

* See "Proceedings of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," VII : 97.

† See the "Public Papers of George Clinton," III : 521.

It is not at all probable that Colonel Denison, or any other person, representing the inmates of Forty Fort at the time of its surrender, attempted to make out and deliver to Major Butler a statement of the losses which they had sustained at the hands of the plundering savages. However, from a document printed in the "Public Papers of George Clinton" (III:521), we learn that a statement of certain of the losses sustained by those who occupied Wintermute's Fort at the time of its surrender, was made out at Westmoreland, July 5, 1778, by Elisha Scovell, as follows:

"A List of the Cattle taken from the Company under the command of Lieut. ELISHA SCOVELL.*

"Daniel Ingersoll, 1 valuable Mare; David Smith, 1 Horse, 1 pair of Oxen, & 9 sheep; James Gorduce, 1 cow & 4 Horses; Joseph Baker, 1 Horse & 14 Hogs; Philip Waindemuth [Wintermute] and Christopher Waindemuth [Wintermute], 2 draft Horses, 2 Mares, 2 Colts, 3 Cows & 7 Hogs; John Windemuth [Wintermute], 2 Cows, 4 young Creatures, 3 large Hogs & 4 lesser Hogs; Jesse Lee, 2 Horses, 1 young Colt & 1 Cow; Peter Harres, 1 Yoke of Oxen & 1 Horse; Mr. [Frederick] Anker,† 4 Creatures; Lieut. Elisha Scovell, 6 large Horses, 8 Oxen and 5 cows.

"Westmoreland, 5th July, 1778. [Signed] "Lieut. ELISHA SCOVELL."

On Sunday, July 5th, the Indians dispersed themselves throughout the Valley in bands of from five to ten, and began to plunder the inhabitants. Many of the latter—particularly the men who had taken part in the battle—had fled from the Valley before Forty Fort was capitulated. The deserted homes of these people were set on fire by the savage marauders in sheer wantonness. On this day news came to Forty Fort that a Mr. Hickman and his wife and child, living in the house of Isaac Tripp at Capouse (Providence Township), had been murdered by Indians, after which the house had been set on fire and, with the bodies of the dead, almost entirely consumed. Also, that Daniel St. John and James A. Leach had been killed by Indians near Timothy Keyes' saw-mill, about six miles up the Lackawanna River. These two men were removing their families and household goods from the Valley, having set out in the morning from "the block-house at the Parker place in Pittston." Their belongings were loaded upon a cart drawn by two yoke of oxen. When the party was waylaid by the Indians St. John was on foot, driving the oxen, while Leach and the women and children were on the cart. Leach had his young child in his arms. Without warning the two men were shot and then scalped by a party of Indians; one of whom took the young child which Leach had been carrying and gave it, all covered with its father's blood, to its mother, saying: "Me no hurt!" The Indians then killed one of the oxen, and departed. The women and children later made their way to the Pittston fort.

On this same Sunday a party of Indians led by "Anthony Turkey" (see page 1030) came to the home of an aged man living in Wilkes-Barré—Philip Weeks. Three of the latter's sons—Philip, Jonathan and Bartholomew; Silas Benedict, the husband of Jonathan Weeks' daughter; Jabez Beers, a brother of the wife of Philip Weeks, Sr.; Josiah Carman, a cousin of Mrs. Philip Weeks; and Robert Bates, a boarder—making seven from one home—had taken part in the battle of July 3d, and not one had lived to return home. When "Anthony Turkey" and his band came to Philip Weeks' they found him and his wife, together with their daughters—one or two of them being young girls—and their twelve grandchildren. The Indians ordered Mr. Weeks to leave the

* See page 991.

† See page 987.

Valley. "How can I," said he, "you have slain my whole family." Getting what provisions they could find the Indians feasted heartily, and then "Anthony Turkey," shoving a rocking-chair into the road, put on his head the hat of Mr. Weeks (which he had taken from the old gentleman), sat down in the chair and began to rock. Finally "Turkey" and his companions took their departure, driving before them all of Mr. Weeks' cattle except one yoke of oxen. These they told him he could use in getting out of the Valley, and informed him that he must leave in three days.

The foregoing incidents, and many others of a similar character which happened in various parts of the Valley on Saturday after the surrender of Forty Fort, and likewise on the following day, convinced many of the inhabitants, who had determined to remain on the ground and attempt to recover from their misfortunes, that the terms of capitulation would not be regarded by the enemy. Overpowered by excitement and horror these people saw safety and peace only in flight, and so, without tarrying to make proper preparations—neglecting, even, to provide themselves with proper supplies of food—they fled from the Valley; some going down the river in canoes and others trudging over the Wilkes-Barré Mountain. Among those who quit Forty Fort early in the morning of Sunday, July 5th, before news had been received at the fort of the murder of the Hickmans and of St. John and Leach, was Colonel Denison. He went down the river to Sunbury, and a week or two later went across the country to Lower Smithfield Township in Northampton County.

Abel Yarrington was the ferryman at Wilkes-Barré. He attended to his duties faithfully during the 3d, 4th and 5th days of July, and on the last two of these days carried many fugitives from the Kingston to the Wilkes-Barré side of the river. Then, believing it was time to make preparations for the departure of himself and family, he placed the latter in his flat-boat, with a few articles of clothing and bedding, and made all haste down the river. Before reaching Nanticoke Falls he saw the smoke rising from his burning house (on the Kingston side of the river), it having been set on fire by some prowling Indians.

The fugitives generally crossed the mountains to Fort Penn (the present Stroudsburg, Monroe County, Pennsylvania), which was located on land owned by Col. Jacob Stroud (see note on page 851), in what was then Lower Smithfield Township, Northampton County. This fort, which, like the Wyoming forts, was constructed of logs, had been built as a possible means of protection against the Indians, and it served as a place of rendezvous for the militia of the neighborhood when called into active service. Colonel Stroud made it his headquarters.

One of the first survivors of the battle of July 3d to set out from Wilkes-Barré over the "Lower Road" (mentioned on page 979), which led to Fort Penn and to Easton, was Ensign Matthias Hollenback. As hereinbefore related he had reached the fort at Wilkes-Barré in the evening of July 3d. Early the next morning he mounted a horse, and, accompanied by a Mr. Hageman (either John or Joseph), set out with the hope and expectation of meeting Captain Spalding's company and urging them to hasten to the relief of the distressed inhabitants. On the evening of the 3d Spalding and his men were at Shupp's, about forty miles from Wilkes-Barré. Marching early on the 4th, they had

advanced about thirteen miles when they met Messrs. Hollenback and Hageman—the first fugitives to come that road—and learned from them what they knew about the situation of affairs in Wyoming. Pushing forward, without delay, Spalding and his men, accompanied by Hollenback and Hageman, reached Bear Swamp, twelve miles from Wilkes-Barré, at nightfall. The men were practically worn out by their march of nearly thirty miles over a wretched path, but nevertheless two of them volunteered to go forward to the top of Wilkes-Barré Mountain to reconnoiter. Arriving there they saw the flames rising from the buildings in the upper end of the Valley which had been set on fire by the enemy on their return march to Wintermute's after the surrender of Forty Fort. The men hastened back to Captain Spalding with a report of what they had seen, and with the further information that they had found at the deserted house of Nathan Bullock* on the "Lower Road," some three miles from Bear Swamp and nine miles from Wilkes-Barré, a company of fugitives, composed of the following-named residents of Wilkes-Barré: Mrs. Susanna (*Huntington*) Dana, widow of Anderson Dana, Sr. (mentioned on pages 957, 958 and 963), who had fallen in the battle of the 3d; Mrs. Susanna (*Dana*) Whiton, daughter of Anderson and Susanna Dana, and widow of Stephen Whiton who had fallen in the battle; Sarah, Anderson, Aziel, Sylvester and Eleazar Dana (four of them under fourteen years of age), children of Anderson and Susanna (*Huntington*) Dana; Daniel Downing,† Sr. (who had been in the battle of the 3d and had escaped safely), his sons Reuben and Daniel, Jr., and other members of his family; Mrs. Sarah Durkee, widow of Capt. Robert Durkee (who had fallen on the 3d of July), and her two sons and two daughters. These people had with them a single horse, upon which was carried the few belongings of the party and a scanty supply of provisions, and they purposed spending the night at Bullock's. From them Spalding's scouts learned of the happenings in the Valley (including the withdrawal of Lieut. Col. Zebulon Butler and the survivors of Hewitt's company, as well as the surrender of Forty Fort) since the departure of Ensign Hollenback early in the morning of that day.

The next morning Captain Spalding, governed by what his scouts had seen and learned, determined that it would be useless as well as rash for him to venture into the Valley with his company of less than sixty men. He concluded, therefore, to march his men back over about thirty miles of the road they had come, and then change their course in the direction of Fort Penn—there to await orders from headquarters, and in the meantime to render all the assistance possible to the Wyoming fugitives. Before leaving their bivouac at Bear Swamp Ensign Hollenback obtained from Captain Spalding's commissary a pack-load of provisions, and placing this on his horse he hastened along the path in the direction of Wyoming and administered much needed relief to the many hungry fugitives who were now beginning to make their appearance in large numbers. "Imparting a saving morsel to one, and then hastening on to another starving group, he came, said the ancient people, 'like an Angel of Mercy.'"

According to the testimony of Samuel Finch, who was a prisoner in the hands of the enemy, but was released on July 7th in conformity

* Two of his sons fell in the battle of July 3, 1778, and it is probable that the other members of the family had moved down to Fort Wilkes-Barré on the first alarm of danger.

† See note on page 996.

with the terms of the articles of capitulation, Major Butler received a letter on July 6th by the hands of a messenger. He immediately assembled his officers and the principal Indian chiefs and read the letter to them. Then he addressed the chiefs very earnestly in their own tongue, and Finch was informed that Butler enjoined upon the Indians not to kill women and children. When Butler ceased speaking the Indians raised a great shout. Then Butler ordered preparations to be made for the evacuation of the Valley by his command. Commenting upon this incident Miner (see his "History of Wyoming," pages 235 and 236) says: "It was supposed the letter hastened his march. Such a letter may have been received, or it might have been a scheme devised to hasten the departure of the Indians. Butler did not lack sense. All that duty, more than honor, required, had been done. He must have been insensible to interest, as well as character, to countenance further atrocities. The Valley was in his absolute power. Had he meant to plunder and destroy the whole, certainly he would not have entered into written articles, voluntarily stipulating the reverse. * * * It is certain Butler could have commanded much more severe conditions. The settlement was wholly at his mercy. No one can deny but the capitulation, on its face, was, under the circumstances, in a high degree honorable and favorable to Colonel Denison. Colonel Franklin confirms the statement of Mrs. Myers, that Butler exerted himself to restrain the savages, seemed deeply hurt when he was unable to do so, and at once offered, if a list could be furnished of property lost, to make it good."

After a long and careful consideration of the events which took place in Wyoming in July, 1778, the present writer is firmly convinced that the looting of the inhabitants and the burning of their homes, subsequently to the capitulation of Forty Fort and prior to the departure from the Valley of the *regular* forces of Major Butler, were done with the latter's knowledge and approval. It will be observed that in the Forty Fort articles of capitulation it was stipulated that the inhabitants should occupy their farms peaceably, and that Butler would use his utmost influence to preserve entire, for the use and enjoyment of the inhabitants, their private property. In the capitulations executed at Wintermute's, Jenkins' and Pittston Forts the only "promise" made in behalf of Butler was that the lives of the men, women and children should "be preserved entire." In his report to Lieut. Colonel Bolton relative to the Wyoming incursion (see page 1047) Butler made particular mention of the destruction by his forces of 1,000 dwelling-houses (a very much larger number, in fact, than was destroyed, for there were not that many houses in the whole of Westmoreland at that time). It is very evident that he made mention of this destruction of property in order to impress upon his superior officers the great value of the results accomplished by the expedition. He certainly did not hesitate to exaggerate the extent of the destruction of property. This, undoubtedly, he would not have done had the destruction taken place contrary to his desires and orders.

When the looting began at Forty Fort—almost before the ink was dry on the document executed by Butler and Denison—the former threw all the blame on the Indians and claimed that he could do nothing with them. Perhaps he could not, but the Indians—in particular, the Senecas—were under the command and control of powerful chiefs, who,

had it been desirable or necessary, could have restrained the most disorderly and unruly of the savages. As we have before noted (on pages 984 and 985), the Senecas greatly outnumbered all the other Indians in the expedition—they alone, of all the Indians on the ground, forming a part of the *regular* force under the command of Major Butler. The other Indians—to whom we have referred as “miscellaneous” Indians (see page 985)—were a lot of nondescripts, forming the rag-tag-and-bob-tail of the expedition. The Senecas were a very martial and warlike nation (see page 121, Vol. I), and, particularly during the Revolutionary War, their warriors were, to a greater degree than those of any other Indian nation, organized on a military basis. They were arranged in bands and companies, which were commanded by “Captains,” who were war-chiefs of note, while over all *Sayenqueraghta* was supreme. He was really a remarkable and forceful man, and, as we have shown in the sketch of his life on pages 968-970, was for many years prior to his death one of the most distinguished men of the Iroquois, the most popular and prominent of the Senecas, and always a firm friend where he pledged fidelity. In a word, then, had Major Butler, the commander-in-chief of the Wyoming expedition, indicated to *Sayenqueraghta* in positive and unequivocal terms that no depredations should be committed after the surrender of the inhabitants, we question if more than a very few would have occurred.

The names of only a few of the sub-chiefs, or “Captains,” of the Senecas who were here under *Sayenqueraghta* are now known. Roland Montour and his brother, “Stuttering John,” have been already mentioned. Others, who subsequently became prominent chiefs, were “Big Tree,” or “Captain Pollard,”* “Little Beard,”† and *Ta-wan-ne-ars*, or “Governor Blacksnake.”‡ For many years it was almost universally believed, and in fact it is still stated by some modern writers, that Joseph Brant (see page 299, and other pages) was in command of the Indians at the battle of Wyoming. This belief has been quite thoroughly destroyed, however, by many authentic letters and other documents that have been brought to light within recent years. School-

* GA-ON-DO-WAU-NA, or KA-OUN-DO-WA-NA (“Big Tree”) was a half-breed, his father being an English Indian trader, with headquarters at Niagara, and his mother a Seneca woman. After the death of the latter *Kaoundowana*’s father was married to Catharine Montour (“Queen Catharine”), mentioned on page 207, Vol. I, and thus *Kaoundowana* became the step-brother of Roland Montour and “Stuttering John.” Catharine Montour bore to *Kaoundowana*’s father three sons, all of whom were renowned in the border warfare of the Revolutionary period. In youth *Kaoundowana* was an ambitious warrior, and later he made himself conspicuous in the many forays against the border settlements by the British and Indians during the Revolutionary War. In middle life he was known as “Captain Pollard,” and in his later years as “Colonel Pollard.” In January, 1777, he was at Wilkes-Barré with a large body of Indians en route to Easton, Pennsylvania, to hold a treaty. In the list of names of the chiefs of these Indians (see page 914) *Kaoundowana*’s name is given as *Tawanah*—which was as near as the interpreter, or recorder, of the treaty could get to the true name.

In 1777, ’78 and ’79 the home of “Big Tree” was at Conesus, or Adjutsa, a small Seneca village about a mile south-south-east of the head of Conesus, or Adjutsa, Lake (“Lake Between the Hills”), in Livingston County, New York. In September, 1779, Conesus, then consisting of eighteen houses, was destroyed by the Sullivan Expedition. Maj. James Norris, an officer of the Expedition, recorded in his journal under the date of September 13, at Conesus: “At this town lived a very great noted warrior called ‘The Great Tree,’ who has made great pretensions of friendship to us, and has been to Philadelphia and to General Washington’s headquarters since the war commenced, and has received a number of presents from General Washington and from the Congress; yet we suppose that he is with [Maj. John] Butler against us.”

After the Revolutionary War “Big Tree,” or “Captain Pollard” as he was then called, settled at Buffalo Creek near the present city of Buffalo, New York, and at that time he was a Sachem of the first class. A number of years later he became one of the first-fruits of the missionary labors among the Senecas in that locality. After his conversion to Christianity he led a blameless and beneficent life, and always spoke with abhorrence and deep contrition of the events of his warrior days. At the commencement of the War of 1812 the Indians who were allies of the United States forces formally selected “Captain Pollard” as their leader, or war-captain, and he proved to be an able and valiant commander. He was a man of commanding presence, and of dignified and benevolent aspect, showing but few traces of his Indian lineage. He was a contemporary of the famous Seneca chief, “Red Jacket,” and was only second to him as an orator. In moral attributes he was the superior of “Red Jacket,” being literally a man without guile, and distinguished for his benevolence and wisdom. In 1821 “Captain Pollard” was the head of the Christian party of the Senecas, and “Red Jacket” was the Orator and

craft, in his "History of the Indian Tribes of the United States" (VI: 297), says:

"It was at Niagara that the plan of the incursion into the valley of Wyoming originated. * * It was then believed, and it has since been frequently asserted, that Brant led the Indians on that occasion; but it is doubtful whether he was actually present, though he probably approved of the movement, if he was not the original instigator of it. This chief was known to cherish such a deadly hatred of the revolutionists, and had been so frequently connected with the incursions and midnight massacres perpetrated on the frontiers, that, in the popular estimation, no injustice has been done to his bad reputation in the use which has been made of his name by the poet Campbell [in 'Gertrude of Wyoming']. A melancholy catalogue, indeed, would be a detail of the enterprises in which Brant was the leader and principal actor."

In 1838 Col. William L. Stone published his "Life of Joseph Brant," and in 1840 he published the first edition of his "Poetry and History of Wyoming." On page 213 of the latter book is the following note:

"Until the publication, year before last, of the Life of Brant by the writer of the present work, it had been asserted in all history that that celebrated Mohawk chieftain was the Indian leader at Wyoming. He himself always denied any participation in this bloody expedition, and his assertions were corroborated by the British officers, when questioned upon the subject. * * The author made a journey into the Seneca country, and pushed the investigation among the surviving chiefs and warriors of the Senecas engaged in that campaign. The result was a *triumphant acquittal of Brant* from all participation therein. The celebrated chief 'Captain Pollard,' whose Indian name is *Kaoundowana*, a fine old warrior, was a young chief in that battle. He gave a full account of it, and was clear and positive in his declarations that Brant and the Mohawks were not engaged in that campaign at all. Their leader, he said, was *Gi-en-gwah-toh*,* who lived many years afterwards."

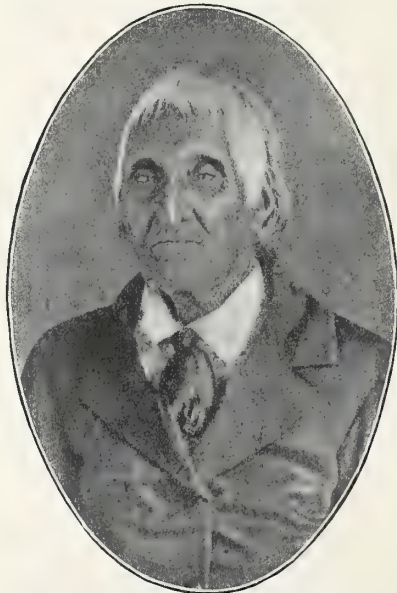
principal chief of the Pagan party. Ketcham, who knew "Captain Pollard" personally, says in his "Buffalo and the Senecas": "After the death of 'Farmer's Brother' the most considerable of the chiefs of the Senecas was 'Captain Pollard.'"

"Captain Pollard" died at an advanced age April 10, 1841, and was buried in the old mission cemetery at East Buffalo near the graves of "Red Jacket," "Young King," "Tall Peter," and other Senecas of note in their day. In October, 1884, the remains of "Red Jacket," "Captain Pollard," "Young King," and other Senecas were re-entombed in Forest Lawn Cemetery, Buffalo.

† "Little Beard," who was a Captain under *Sayenqueraghta* in the Wyoming expedition, lived at Deonundagaa, or Little Beard's Town, sometimes called Genesee Castle. (See page 967.) This

town, together with 20,000 bushels of corn, was destroyed by the Sullivan Expedition in September, 1779. It was much the largest town happened upon by the Expedition. The Indians deserted the town in a great hurry. While Sullivan's army was encamped there a white woman with a small child, who had been captured in Wyoming in 1778 by Indians, made her appearance.

‡ TA-WAN-NE-ARS, or THA-O-WA-NYUTH ("The Nephew"), belonged to the Seneca nation. The place and date of his birth are unknown. He was associated with "John Halftown" and "Cornplanter" (see page 164, Vol. I) in negotiations with General Washington, by whom he was greatly esteemed, and who, when "The Nephew" visited the capital in company with "Cornplanter," gave him the name of "Governor Blacksnake." George S. Conover, in his pamphlet, entitled "Sayenqueraghta, King of the Senecas," says: "The Indians generally acknowledge that 'Governor Blacksnake' was quite prominent and one of the leaders on that occasion [the battle of Wyoming]. Dr. Morgan says that the Iroquois had two supreme military chieftains, whose duty it was 'rather to take the general supervision of the affairs of war than the actual command in the field, although they were not debarred from assuming it if they were disposed to do so.' These offices were hereditary, and were assigned to the Senecas. The first was named 'Ta-wan-ne-ars,' and was hereditary in the Wolf clan. * * * The first of these positions was held by 'Governor Blacksnake.'" This old chief died December 26, 1859, at Cold Springs, in South Valley, on the Allegany Reservation, New York. He was believed to be at least 112 years old. The accompanying picture of "Governor Blacksnake" is a photo-reproduction of an engraved copy of a portrait, which was painted prior to 1853, at which time it was in existence in Owego, New York.



"GOVERNOR BLACKSNAKE."

* One of the various forms in which the name of *Sayenqueraghta* appears, as mentioned on page 968.

In 1843 Eleazar Carey of Wilkes-Barré (see page 1026) wrote to the Hon. Charles Miner as follows (see Miner's "History of Wyoming," page 233):

"When a lad fourteen years old I resided in the Genesee country, and in 1803 became acquainted with the family of *Kanchilak*, eldest son of 'Blue Throat,' or *Talag-uadeak*. He had sons and daughters not differing much from my age, and he said the boys must teach me to talk Indian, and I them to speak Yankee. We thus became intimate. 'Blue Throat' could speak our language understandingly. He assured me, as did 'Little Beard'—who held the rank of Captain in the battle [of Wyoming]—that Brant was not present. This statement was confirmed by 'Stuttering John' and Roland Montour*—the latter a half-blood, who took my uncle, Samuel Carey, prisoner."

On Tuesday, July 7th, the inhabitants who had been inmates of Jenkins' Fort, Wintermute's Fort, Pittston Fort and Forty Fort at the time of the several surrenders, and who since then had been, in some measure, prisoners, were given permission to depart from the Valley. According to the statement of Ishmael Bennett (see Hayden's "The Massacre of Wyoming," page 53) some sixty persons started together from Pittston Fort. They were allowed by the enemy to take with them a couple of cows. They set out for the Delaware by way of the "Upper Road" (see page 646), which passed through the Lackaway District of Westmoreland. As they left the Valley burning buildings were seen in many directions, and a little farther on they passed the bodies of St. John and Leach, who had been slain two days before, as previously mentioned. In the afternoon of the 7th the "Rangers" and Senecas were ordered to make preparations for their departure, and during the remainder of that day and the following night there was considerable bustle and confusion in the upper part of the Valley. Major Butler, who, since the surrender of Forty Fort, had spent the most of his time at his headquarters near the ruins of Wintermute's Fort, was still on the ground—Miner stating that "he did not even indulge himself with a visit to Wilkes-Barré or the lower part of the Valley."

Early in the morning of July 8th Butler ordered his drummers to beat the generale, and soon thereafter the "Rangers" and the Senecas—the *regular* forces—together with the Onondagas, and probably the Cayugas, of the "miscellaneous" Indians (see pages 985 and 1041), had arranged themselves in marching order. Butler placed himself at the head of the column with his standard-bearer,† the drums

* See note on page 1027.

† The standard (or "colors") of the "Rangers" was eight feet long by five feet and four inches in width; its ground was buff in color, upon which was borne the red cross of St. George, extending to the four edges of the standard and covering a large part of its surface. In each of the four quarters of the standard, formed by the arms of the cross, there were two triangular designs in blue.

Some years after the disbanding of the "Rangers" Fort George was built by the British authorities on the Canadian shore of Lake Ontario near the mouth of Niagara River, and near the spot where the old barracks of the "Rangers" stood. The colors of the disbanded "Rangers," and of various Canadian military organizations, were later deposited in Fort George for preservation. During the War of 1812 Fort George was the most important frontier fortification of the British, and it was called by the Americans the "Pandora's-box of the frontiers." The fort was captured by 4,000 United States troops on May 27, 1813, and this gave the Americans possession of all the forts and the country on both sides of Niagara River from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario. Among the property found in Fort George and taken possession of by the United States troops was the old standard of "Butler's Rangers." It was sent to Washington, where, a suitable inscription having been placed upon it, it was deposited in the War Department.

In March, 1837, Mr. Frederick Hancock, a native of Wilkes-Barré, but at that time residing in Philadelphia, happened to be in Washington, and while there visited the War Department and asked to be shown the collection of standards taken from the enemies of the United States in times of war. Mr. Hancock was conducted to the attic of the building and shown a number of flags. "After some further examination," wrote Mr. Hancock in 1837, "I was shown a very ancient-looking British flag, and was informed that it had been carried in the 'Wyoming Massacre.' My attention was at once excited, and upon examination I found the following words written on the margin [of the flag]: 'The standard of the bloody, scalping Colonel Butler, carried in the Massacre of Wyoming.' The flag was much defaced, and stained with blood, and looked as though it might have been in the front of the battle on that memorable day." Mr. Hancock—as he subsequently stated—endeavored to obtain the flag from the Adjutant General of the army, in order that he might present it to the citizens of Wyoming; but, finding that that officer had no authority to part with the flag, Mr. Hancock called upon the Hon. Joseph R. Underwood, a Representative in Congress from Kentucky, and who, as a

struck up, and the invaders began their return march up along the river—following the road which at that day ran through Exeter northward to Sutton's Creek and beyond. As previously noted, some of the "miscellaneous" Indians who had accompanied the expedition into the Valley withdrew with it, but no small number of them—including the Delawares and others belonging to the villages near Tioga Point—remained behind. Miner states that squaws, to a considerable number, mounted astride on stolen horses, brought up the rear of the retiring column, each of the squaws wearing a belt of scalps (stretched on small hoops) around the waist for a girdle, and some of them having on four, others six, and even more, dresses, one over the other, and on their heads three, four or five bonnets, one atop of the other and worn wrong side before—all this clothing having been taken, of course, from the women of Wyoming.

The enemy carried away, as prisoners, John Gardner and Daniel Carr (who had been captured at Sutton's Creek, as related on pages 987 and 989), and Samuel Carey, captured on July 3d (as described on page 1027). On the morning of their departure Gardner's arms were pinioned and a heavy pack of plunder was placed on his back. His wife and children were then allowed to come to him to bid him farewell; but after a short time the command "Go! Go!" was given, when an Indian put a rope around Gardner's neck and led him off as one would lead a beast. He was compelled to carry his load to Kanadesaga (see page

young man, had been at the taking of Fort George. Mr. Underwood immediately became interested in the matter, for he was familiar with the history of Wyoming, and this particular flag of the "Rangers" had previously attracted his attention.

At the request of Mr. Hancock, upon his return to Philadelphia, the Hon. George W. Woodward of Wilkes-Barré (then in Philadelphia as a member of the convention to frame a new constitution for the State) wrote a petition to Congress asking that the flag previously mentioned might be delivered up to the inhabitants of Wyoming. Mr. Hancock signed this petition and forwarded it to Representative Underwood, who read it in the House of Representatives and had it referred to a select committee. From the *Congressional Globe* (VI: 302) we learn that in the House of Representatives on April 12, 1838, Mr. Underwood, "from the select committee raised on the subject, reported a joint-resolution authorizing the Secretary of War to deliver up to the people of that valley the Wyoming flag now in the War Department—in case the people thereof so desire. * * * Mr. Underwood corrected an erroneous impression in relation to the flag. It was not the flag of the ancestors of the people of Wyoming, but that of the enemy. Mr. David Petriken of Pennsylvania said that as the flag was not that of the Wyoming fort, but of the enemy, and as no general petition had come on from the district asking for it, but only one from a single individual; and as several respectable men from that section now in this city [Washington] had stated that *they did not want this banner*, he moved to lay the resolution on the table." The Hon. William W. Potter, a Representative from Pennsylvania, then made a long and interesting speech relative to the battle of Wyoming, in the course of which he referred to the many erroneous accounts of the battle and the subsequent massacre contained in various published histories. In conclusion he said: "The ensign in the Department, captured in Canada during the late war, is the British flag borne in the battle of Wyoming by the British troops. A sight of the blood-stained banner of the savage murderers of their lamented companions and ancestors, is calculated to give a pang to the hearts of the few survivors of that fatal day, and to the descendants of those who sleep the sleep of death. The flag being in the resolution recognized as the British, and not the American; and under which the miscreants Butler and Brant—

"The monster Brant,
With all his howling, devastating bard—"

fought on that fatal day; and under whose folds the fairest and most beautiful valley of Pennsylvania was drenched in blood—if I duly appreciate the feelings of the people of Wyoming, the permission given by the terms of the resolution will never be acceded to by them." The resolution under consideration by the House was then laid on the table—and that was the end of the matter so far as Congress was concerned.

At some time between 1837 and 1840 the abovementioned standard of "Butler's Rangers" was transferred from the War Department at Washington to the United States Military Academy at West Point. In the Spring of 1840, at West Point, a colored sketch of the standard was made by Richard Smith on a scale one-eighth the size of the original. This identical sketch is now in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, and the following partly obliterated inscription is represented as appearing on the flag itself: "The standard of the noted murdering, scalping corps * * * by Colonel Butler in the Revolutionary War, whose * * * long be remembered by the * * * and Susquehanna River. Taken at * * * May 27, 1813." On the margin of the sketch is the following inscription: "From the original color now at the Military Academy, West Point, April 6, 1840. [Signed] RICHARD DELAFIELD, Major of Engineers."

In 1903 the present writer had considerable correspondence with the Adjutant of the West Point Academy relative to the standard of "Butler's Rangers," and he seemed to be unable to locate it. In "Bulletin No. 2," issued in January, 1902, by "The Association of Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy," there is an interesting article on "Trophies and Flags in the Chapel" of the Academy. Mention is made therein of "five tattered and time-worn flags" captured by the Americans from the British forces "over a century ago." Two of these flags are stated to be "English standards;" but the Butler standard is not mentioned by the writer, nor can it be identified from any description given in the article above mentioned.



DEPARTURE OF THE INDIANS FROM WYOMING AFTER THE BATTLE AND MASSACRE IN JULY, 1778.
Photo-reproduction of an original drawing by Frederick C. Yohn in 1902.

By courtesy of Charles Scribner's Sons.

967), and when he arrived there he was completely exhausted from fatigue. Thereupon he was handed over by his captor to the squaws, who tortured him to death by fire. Daniel Carr saw Gardner's remains the following day.*

The writer has recently seen (since the printing of page 975) a copy of an interesting document now preserved among the "Haldimand Papers," previously mentioned. It relates to some of the inhabitants of Westmoreland who were carried away into captivity by the British and Indians during the Summer of 1778, and is entitled "Return of Rebel Prisoners [at Quebec] November 15, 1778—showing age, residence, date and place of capture." From this list we glean that the men captured in Westmoreland June 5, 1778, as mentioned on page 975, were as follows: James Whitney, aged thirty-six years, a native of Dunstable, Massachusetts; Timothy Pearce,† aged thirty-nine years, a resident of Westmoreland, Connecticut; Joseph Budd, aged twenty-two years, a native of Long Island; Daniel Walling, aged twenty-two years, a resident of Westmoreland, and "not in arms." We find also the following names of other Westmorelanders who were in custody at Quebec at that time. Timothy Dory, aged twenty-two years, captured August 22d; Stephen Kimball, aged twenty years, a native of Preston, Connecticut, captured July 4th; John Benjamin, aged twenty years, a native of Northumberland, Pennsylvania; Andrew Sherard, aged nineteen years, a resident of Westmoreland, captured July 11th on the Lackawanna River, "not in arms;" James Huff, aged forty-two years, a resident of Westmoreland, captured July 3d on the Lackawack River, "not in arms;" John McPhattage, aged twenty-one years, a resident of Westmoreland, captured August 22d, "not in arms;" John Kertell, aged twenty-five years, a resident of Westmoreland, gave himself up at Oswegatchie, "was formerly a soldier in the 'Royal Americans,'‡ but obtained his discharge."

A march of about two miles brought Major Butler and his command to a point opposite Scovell's Island and the mouth of Lackawanna River. There the Major ordered a halt, and shortly afterwards detached twenty "Rangers" and Indians with orders to cross the Susquehanna and march out the "Upper Road" to the Westmoreland settlements (in the Lackaway District) near the Delaware, in order to destroy the same. He then despatched Lieut. (later Capt.) Peter Hare of the "Rangers" to Lieut. Colonel Bolton at Fort Niagara, with an official report relative to the Wyoming incursion, accompanied by the original articles of capitulation of the several forts. Lieutenant Hare set off post-haste on horseback, and then the expedition resumed its march northward. Without any unnecessary halts Tioga Point was reached in due time; but almost immediately upon his arrival there Major Butler was prostrated by a violent attack of fever and ague, accompanied by "rheumatism in the head." As soon as he was able to travel§ he set out for Niagara, leaving Captain Caldwell in command of the "Rangers," with instructions to march at once to Oghwaga (see page 257) and inform the Indians that he had come to assist in the defense of their border villages, and conduct any offensive movement he considered practicable. Accord-

* See Miner's "History of Wyoming," page 238, and Hayden's "The Massacre of Wyoming," page 76.

† See page 715, *ante*.

‡ See pages 346 and 578, Vol. I.

§ July 22d.

ing to the orders given by Butler to Caldwell* an officer and a few "Rangers" were to accompany every party of Indians sent out to reconnoiter and harass the frontier. "I would have you give orders," wrote Butler, "to every party you send out to burn and destroy everything they possibly can. If we can prevent the enemy getting in their grain, their general army—already much distressed—must disperse, and their country fall an easy prey. You are to enlist into the 'Rangers' as many able-bodied men as you can, who are recommended for their loyalty."†

Lieutenant Hare arrived at Fort Niagara on Tuesday, July 14, 1778, and delivered to Lieut. Colonel Bolton Major Butler's report and the accompanying papers. Bolton prepared, or had prepared, immediately, copies of these documents (as mentioned on page 1032), and, retaining the originals, sent the copies, on the same day, to Deputy Adjutant General Le Maistre at Quebec, accompanied by the following letter:

"I have the pleasure of acquainting you with the signal success of the 'Rangers' and Indians with Colonel Butler over the Rebels at Wioming, where they had not less than ten stockaded Forts & were defeated. Inclosed I send you the particulars which I request you will lay before His Excellency. I received this moment by Lieutenant Hare of the 'Rangers.' The *Caldwell* being ready to sail, I have only time to assure you that I am
[Signed] "MASON BOLTON."

"I request that you will inform Capt. [Walter N.] Butler of the Colonel's success."

The copies of the capitulations of the Wyoming forts, and of Major Butler's report on the Wyoming campaign, together with Lieut. Colonel Bolton's holograph letter, forwarded to and received at headquarters in Quebec, as narrated above, are now among the "Haldimand Papers" in London. The following is a verbatim copy‡—made at the instance of the Hon. Whitelaw Reid for this work—of the abovementioned copy§ of Major Butler's report to Lieut. Colonel Bolton, dated at "Lacuwanack, 8th July, 1778."

"*Sir:* On the 30th of June I arrived with about 500 Rangers & Indians at Wioming, & camped on an Eminence which overlooks the greatest part of the Settlement, from whence I sent out parties to discover the Situation, and strength of the Enemy, who brought in Eight Prisoners and Scalps: Two loyalists who came into my camp informed me, that the Rebels could muster about 800 Men who were all assembled in their Forts.

"July 1st I marched to the distance of half a mile of Wintermonts Fort, & sent in Lieut. Turney with a flag to demand immediate possession of it, which was soon agreed to. A flag was next sent to Jenkin's Fort which surrendered on nearly the same Condi-

* See Cruikshank's "The Story of Butler's Rangers," page 51.

† A memorandum among the "Haldimand Papers," relating to the distribution of the "Rangers" and certain officers of the Indian Department early in September, 1778, indicates the vast extent of country covered by their operations at that period. "Captain Caldwell of the 'Rangers,' Captain Powell of the Indian Department, and Mr. Joseph Brant, are at Oghwaga, employed in scouting from there to the Delaware River as low as the Minisinks, and to Schoharie—as well to annoy the enemy as to gain intelligence. Mr. Pawling is also detached from Oghwaga with thirty 'Rangers' and a number of Indians to Wyalusing, upon the Susquehanna, with directions to scout as low as Wyoming, to watch the motions of the rebels said to be assembling there. Mr. John Young, detached from Oghwaga with thirty 'Rangers,' is constantly scouting towards the German Flats and Cherry Valley. Captain Johnston, from the Seneca country, keeps continual parties of Indians out from thence to the West Branch of the Susquehanna and the Juniata. * * The main body of the 'Rangers' is at Oghwaga and neighborhood, ready, when joined by the Indians, for an incursion to the enemy's frontier, or to defend the Indian country." At Unadilla, under the date of September 21, 1778, Captain Caldwell wrote to Major Butler reporting the success of an expedition against German Flats, and his safe return to Unadilla. (See the "Haldimand Papers"—B. M. 21,765, B. CV : p. 56.)

‡ During the time Caldwell held command a tragic event occurred, which occasioned profound discontent among the 'Rangers,' states Cruikshank. "A number of unknown men had offered themselves from time to time for enlistment. Some, it was subsequently discovered, were actually spies in the enemy's service. A single traitor might easily accomplish the destruction of the entire corps. During his advance upon Wyoming Butler had, accordingly, issued a standing order that if any man should attempt to desert he must be instantly pursued and shot on the spot. Shortly after their arrival at Oghwaga two men from the Susquehanna asked leave to visit their families. Caldwell peremptorily refused. Taking advantage of an opportunity when on guard at the 'Indian Castle,' they stole quietly away with their arms, after destroying the arms of the rest of the guard. This, of course, was an unpardonable offense. Caldwell sent out a party, which soon overtook the fugitives and shot them at sight. But their friends and relatives stubbornly refused to believe that they had actually intended to desert, and continued to manifest their sympathy for the offenders in various ways."

§ A copy of this report is printed in Peck's "Wyoming," page 52, but it contains several serious errors. § "B. M., Additional MSS., 21,760—XXXVII."

tions as Wintermonts, both of which are inclosed. I next summoned Forty Fort, the Commandant of which refused the Condition I sent him.

"July 3^d parties were sent out to collect Cattle, who informed me that the Rebels were preparing to attack me: This pleased the Indians highly, who observed they should be upon an equal footing with them in the Woods; At two O'Clock we discovered the Rebels upon their march in number about four, or five hundred; Between 4 & 5 O'clock they were advanced within a mile of Us; finding them determined, I ordered the Forts to be sett on fire, which deceived the Enemy into an Opinion that we had retreated: We then posted ourselves in a fine, open Wood, & for our greater safety lay flat upon the ground, waiting their approach. When they were within 200 Yards of us, they began firing; We still continued upon the ground without returning their fire till they had fired three Vollies: by this time they had advanced within 100 Yards of Us, and being quite near enough *Saengerachtion* ordered his Indians who were upon the right, to begin the Attack upon our part, which was immediately well seconded by the Rangers on the left. Our fire was so close, and well directed, that the Affair was soon over, not lasting above half an hour, from the Time they gave us the first fire till their flight:

"In this Action were taken 227 Scalps, and only five prisoners: The Indians were so exasperated with their loss last Year near Fort Stanwix, that it was with the greatest difficulty I could save the lives of those few. Col^d Denniston, who came in next day with a Minister & four others to treat for the remainder of the Settlement of Westmoreland, assures me that they have lost one Col^d, two Majors, seven Captains, Thirteen Lieut^s, Eleven Ensigns, and two hundred & Sixty-eight Privates. On our side are killed one Indian, two Rangers, and Eight Indians wounded. In this incursion We have taken and destroyed eight Pallisadoed Forts, & burned about 1,000 Dwelling houses, all their Mills &c^a. We have also killed & drove off about 1,000 head of horned Cattle, and Sheep and Swine in great numbers: But what gives me the sincerest satisfaction is, that I can with great truth assure You that in the destruction of this Settlement *not a single Person has been hurt of the Inhabitants, but such as were in Arms*, to those indeed the Indians gave no Quarter.

"I have also the pleasure to inform You, that the Officers and Rangers behaved during this short action highly to my satisfaction, & have always supported themselves through hunger & fatigue with great cheerfulness.

"I have this day sent a party of twenty Men to the Delaware to destroy a small Settlement there, and to bring off Prisoners; In two or three days I shall send out other parties for the same purpose, if I can supply myself with provisions. I shall harrass the adjacent Country, & prevent them from getting in their Harvest. The Settlement of Schohary or the Minisinks will be my next Objects, both of which abound in Corn & Cattle, the destruction of which cannot fail of greatly distressing the Rebels.

"I have not yet been able to hear anything of the Expresses I sent to the Generals Howe & Clinton, but as I sent them by Ten different Routes, I am in hopes that some of them will be able to make their way to them, & return. In a few days I do myself the honor of writing to You more fully, & send You a Journal of my proceedings since I left Niagara.

"I am, Sir, with respect, Your most Obedient & very humbl^e Serv^t,

[Signed] "JOHN BUTLER."

At Quebec, under the date of August 4, 1778, Sir Frederick Haldimand transmitted to Lord George Germain, the British Secretary of State, and to Sir Henry Clinton, commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, duplicate copies of Lieut. Colonel Bolton's letter to Captain Le Maistre; of Major Butler's report to Bolton; and of the Wyoming capitulations. At New York, under the date of August 12, 1778, Sir Henry Clinton wrote to Lord George Germain*:

"Reports which seem to be credited say that a body of Indians, assembled under the command of Colonel Butler, have destroyed a number of settlements upon the frontiers of Pennsylvania, and repulsed what troops the rebels had collected to oppose them. When I receive certain intelligence of their proceedings I shall acquaint your Lordship."

Sir Henry had not then received General Haldimand's despatches, but they came to hand some days later, and were forwarded by Sir Henry to Lord George Germain, at London.

At New York, under the date of September 10, 1778, Col. Guy Johnson (see note on page 300, Vol. I) wrote to Lord George Germain in part as follows †:

* See "Stevens' Facsimiles," XI : 1127.

† See "Documentary History of the Colony of New York," VIII : 752.

* * * "I am this day to embark for Quebec, whence I propose to write more at large. Your Lordship will have heard, before this can reach you, of the successful incursions of the Indians and Loyalists from the northward. In conformity to the instructions I conveyed to my officers, they assembled their force early in May, and one division, under one of my Deputies (Mr. Butler), proceeded with great success down the Susquehanna, destroying the posts and settlements at Wioming, augmenting their number with many Loyalists, and alarming all the country; whilst another division (under Mr. Brandt, the Indian chief) cut off 294 men near Schohare, and destroyed the adjacent settlements, with several magazines from whence the rebels had derived great resources—thereby affording encouragement and opportunity to many friends of Government to join them. * * * As I have good reasons to apprehend that difficulties may arise respecting my rank as *Colonel of the Six Nations*—which seems the more extraordinary, where men never in any service are Colonels and Brigadiers—I could wish this point was obviated." * * *

With the withdrawal of Major Butler's forces from Wyoming Valley the Loyalists, or Tories, who, for some years, had dwelt here, and along the Susquehanna as far north as Tunkhannock and Wyalusing, departed with their families for good and all. It is quite probable that when they left it was their intention to return to their abandoned homes and farms when the men's terms of enlistment in "Butler's Rangers," or other British military organizations, should come to an end; or, at the latest, when hostilities should be concluded. But, after the severe and successful campaign of General Sullivan against the Tories and Indians in western New York in 1779, and again after the surrender of Lord Cornwallis to Washington in October, 1781 (which really closed the Revolution itself), the Tories—not only those who had formerly lived in Westmoreland, but those of the United States generally—came to the conclusion that it would be neither feasible nor safe for them to essay to return to their former homes, or, where they had never left their homes, to attempt to remain there, should the war result favorably to the Americans. Those who had adhered to the old order of things made their way out of the revolted States in almost incredible numbers, as the issue of the war approached and became certain. Says Dr. Woodrow Wilson in his "History of the American People" (III: 24):

"Throughout the latter part of 1782 and all of 1783 they [the Loyalists] had poured out of the country in a veritable flight, knowing themselves proscribed and ruined, and not daring to wait for the actual evacuation of the English. * * Those who were within reach of Canada set out northward through the forests to seek a refuge there, following the rough, uncleared trails and the water-courses, with pack-horse and boat, as in the old days of the first settlement of the continent out of Europe, abandoning home and property to escape contumely and the unspeakable hardship of being outlawed and hated in the communities of their own birth and breeding. Thousands upon thousands crowded to New York to seek the shelter of the British arms. It was the 25th of November, 1783, before Sir Guy Carleton could effect the final evacuation of the city, so great and so troublesome was the pitiful company of refugees for which he felt himself obliged in mere compassion to provide protection and transportation. More than 29,000 refugees (including 3,000 negroes) left the State of New York alone, for Canada, during that confused and anxious year 1783.

"Most of these had taken no active part in the struggle which had rendered them homeless. Almost without exception they had been, in opinion, as thoroughly opposed as their neighbors to the policy of the King and Parliament towards the Colonies. But they had not been willing to go the ugly length of rebellion and of outright separation from England. * * The more partizan had taken up arms for the King. First and last, during the five years of the fighting, there had been no fewer than 25,000 Loyalists enlisted in the British service. At one time (1779) they had actually outnumbered the whole of the Continental muster under the personal command of Washington. Most of those, however, who would not join the patriot party had been quiet non-combatants, and had been opponents of the Revolution only in opinion. When the war was over the men who spoke the mind of the majority and who accordingly controlled policy in the new States refused to make any distinction between those who had taken up arms and those who had not. In their eyes they were all alike 'Tories' and traitors; and many an excess of persecution and spoliation, many a wanton insult, many an act of mere vengeance darkened the years which immediately followed the war. * * The bitterest

words of the great Washington himself were uttered against the Tories. Even with his splendid moderation and poise of mind, he could not find it in his heart to forgive the men who had seemed to fill every country-side his army entered with intrigue and threat of treason to the cause he had given his life to."

Cruikshank, in his "Story of Butler's Rangers" (page 112), referring to the Loyalists who were settled at and near Niagara, says:

"The prospective return of peace inspired the exiles with little hope of being restored to their former homes. In May, 1783, [Col. Allan] Maclean [then in command of the garrison at Niagara] wrote: 'Colonel Butler says that none of his people will ever think of going to attend courts of law in the Colonies, where they could not expect the shadow of Justice; and that to repurchase their estates is what they are not able to do. That for a much smaller sum the Missassaugas will part with twelve miles more along the lake, and that they would rather go to Japan than go among the Americans, where they could never live in peace.' As soon as the stipulations in their [the Loyalists'] favor, contained in the provisional articles of peace, became generally known, the American newspapers* were filled with declarations of undying animosity to the expatriated Loyalists, and there could be no doubt that that part of the treaty at least would be openly set at defiance. Of those who had already rashly ventured to return to their former homes, some were executed without form of law, and many savagely assaulted. The remainder were peremptorily warned to leave the country before the 10th of June [1783], under penalty of being treated 'with the severity due to their crimes and nefarious defection.'"

In the preceding pages the names of a number of the Westmoreland Tories are printed, together with a few details concerning some of them, drawn from various sources. In the subjoined note† we give some

* In a Philadelphia newspaper the following definition of a Tory was printed: "A Tory is a thing whose head is in England and its body in America, and its neck ought to be stretched."

† The facts contained in this note have been drawn almost entirely from "Stevens' Transcripts—American Loyalists" (Vols. X, XXV, XXXII, etc.), unpublished.

PHILIP BUCK was a native of Germany, who in his infancy came to America with his parents. In 1771 he repaired to Wyoming Valley, and January 13, 1772, was admitted as a settler in Wilkes-Barré "to hold a settling right for Mr. William Stewart." (See page 719.) In 1772 or '73—being then of Wilkes-Barré—he paid Peregreen Gardner of Wilkes-Barré ten Spanish milled dollars for a quarter-right in the Susquehanna Purchase. We next find him settled on land (subsequently claimed by Christopher Avery) at the mouth of Tunkhannock Creek, in Putnam Township—which township was laid out and accepted by the committee of The Susquehanna Company in October, 1775. (See "Proceedings and Collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," VII: 158.) In August, 1787, Philip Buck was living at Niagara, in the Province of Quebec, and in his claim to the British Commissioners for losses as a Loyalist, made at that time, he set forth that at the beginning of the troubles he was in possession of a good farm (he had fifteen acres of land cleared, and had built a house, barn and barracks), with live stock, &c., valued at £275, New York currency. That he made "his escape to the British army in 1777, from which period till the close of the war he served the King in Colonel Butler's Rangers." That he joined in 1777 at Fort Stanwix, and continued in "Butler's Rangers" till he was taken prisoner. Was exchanged to New York in 1778, and came thence to Niagara, where he joined the "Rangers" again and served till the end of the war. He was at Niagara in 1783. He lost grain and twenty hogs by the rebels when he went away from his home on the Susquehanna in 1777. "The Indians had his other cattle (cows and sheep) in 1778." The Commissioners of Claims awarded Buck £62 as damages December 7, 1787.

ISAAC VAN ALSTYNE, a native of America, had resided on the Susquehanna five years when the Revolutionary War broke out. (See note on page 867, *ante*.) He joined the British forces in 1778, and served through the war in the second battalion of "The King's Royal Regiment of New York," commanded by Sir John Johnson. (See page 983.) In 1783 he resided at Coteau de Lac, and in December, 1787, resided in "the third township above Cataragui." He claimed £232 for the loss of a 200-acre farm. One of his witnesses was Isaac Larraway, formerly of Westmoreland. The Commissioners awarded Van Alstyne £31.

ABRAHAM WORTMAN was a native of Germany. He took up lands under the Province of Pennsylvania, in disputed territory on the Susquehanna, some seven or eight years before the Revolutionary War began. His family consisted of himself, his wife Catharine, and sons Adam, John, Peter, and two others. Abraham and his eldest son [Adam] joined Butler's corps in 1777. The son was "killed in service in 1778 (?)." (See note on page 948, *ante*.) Abraham served three years in the army; was then discharged on account of age, and went to Canada and was employed as an artificer in the King's works. He afterwards settled at Cataragui, where he died in 1787. His widow Catharine, and sons John, Peter, and two others were living in August, 1787, and their claim was for £180, 1s. 10d.

CONRAD SILLS was a native of Germany. He lived on the Susquehanna, and joined the British in 1777. He was at Fort Stanwix. He served three years, and then came into Canada. He claimed £211, 3s. Three of his sons joined Sir John Johnson's regiment. One of his sons was named Lawrence.

WILLIAM VANDERLIP, SR., was a native of Holland, who immigrated to America about 1757. Settled on the Susquehanna, in Northumberland County, under a Pennsylvania title. His family accompanied him. His eldest son was named John, and his second son was William, Jr. At the beginning of the war William Vanderlip's farm, buildings, etc., were worth £411 in New York currency. In 1777 William Vanderlip, Sr., made his escape to the British army, joined "Butler's Rangers" and served three years. William Vanderlip, Jr., served in the "Rangers" one and a-half years, and John also served in the "Rangers," but after peace was declared returned to the United States. After the war William Vanderlip, Sr., settled at Niagara, where he died in 1785. In December, 1787, William Vanderlip, Jr., was living near Niagara. His claim was for £231, 3s. 9d., but he was allowed only £60.

GEORGE KENTNER (mentioned on page 960, *ante*) was a native of Germany, who had come to America in 1765. Resided on the Susquehanna, where, in 1776, he bought lands of Jesse Lukens. He had 300 acres of land, household goods, live-stock, etc., valued at £628, 17s. He joined Colonel Butler in 1777, and was at Fort Stanwix. "Was taken prisoner on the retreat from Fort Stanwix;

additional names and biographical data, together with a few interesting facts relative to some of those Tories previously mentioned.

From the journals of Congress we learn that on the very day Butler and his forces retired from Wyoming Valley the following was adopted by Congress: "*Resolved*, That the Board of War be directed to send for the Seneca chiefs that have lately quitted Philadelphia, and inquire whether the Seneca nation, as such, have committed hostilities against us." It seems that when preparations were being made by the Loyalists

was released, and afterwards served in the second battalion of Sir John Johnson's regiment." In December, 1787, Kentner lived at New Johnstown, Canada. His claim was for £352, 4s. 7d., but he was allowed only £75.

CASPER HOVER was a native of Holland. Had a wife and three sons—Jacob, Henry, and another. They were living on the Susquehanna in 1777, when the father and three sons joined the British. After the war the family settled at La Chine, where the father died in July, 1786, being survived by his wife and sons Jacob and Henry.

JAMES SECORD, a native of America, settled with his family on 300 acres of land in the disputed territory on the Susquehanna, about three years before the breaking out of the Revolutionary War. In 1775 he was commissioned Captain of the 9th Company, 24th Regiment, Connecticut Militia. (See page 857.) His eldest son was named Solomon. James Secord "left his home in March, 1777, because he would not side with the rebels." His son Solomon and two other sons accompanied him, and all joined the British army. (See page 944, *ante*.) The rest of the family removed soon within the British lines. James Secord served first in the "Rangers," and afterwards as a Lieutenant in the Indian Department until 1782. In 1783 he was living at Niagara, and in June of that year John Butler wrote to General Haldimand that Peter and James Secord were preparing to build a saw- and grist-mill near the Rangers' barracks. James Secord died at Niagara in the Summer of 1784. His widow, son Solomon, and the rest of the family were all living at or near Niagara in December, 1787. Solomon filed with the Commissioners a claim for £127, 13s. 9d., but was allowed only £84. John Secord—evidently either a brother or the father of James—testified in support of this claim. (See page 869.)

GEORGE FIELD, a native of Pennsylvania, purchased 300 acres of land of Daniel Rees and Dr. William Plunket in the disputed territory on the Susquehanna, and was living there in 1778 with his wife Rebecca and their three sons, Daniel, Gilbert and Nathan. Early in that year the whole family repaired to Fort Niagara, where the father and three sons joined "Butler's Rangers." George Field died at Niagara in 1785, and in 1787 Daniel was living at Detroit and Gilbert and Nathan were living at Niagara.

MORRIS TURNER had 300 acres of land on the Susquehanna which he had obtained from the Pennsylvania Proprietaries, and which, with the buildings, utensils, etc., thereon, he valued at £515. Morris Turner left home early in 1778 with his son Edward, and both joined the "Rangers." The father died in service. Edward served nine months in the "Rangers," and then was in the naval service on the great lakes until the close of the war. Morris Turner was survived by his wife Sarah (who later married Jordan Avery), his son Edward, and two daughters.

PHILIP BENDER, a native of Germany, came at an early age to America. In 1776 he was living on the Susquehanna in Northumberland County, Pennsylvania, on a farm of 320 acres, which, with the buildings, stock, etc., thereon, was worth £246, 10s. In the Spring of 1777 he left his home and joined "Butler's Rangers," and served as a private in the corps until 1782. In 1787 he was living at Niagara.

JOHN DEPUÉ, or DE PUI (mentioned on pages 730, 935 and 939, *ante*), was a native of America. He settled early on the Susquehanna River, in Northumberland County, Pennsylvania, where he possessed 1,250 acres of land (obtained from William Paterson and Philip Johnston, under a Pennsylvania title), which, together with the buildings, he valued at £400. He produces to the Commissioners of Claims (in 1787) "a commission from Governor Trumbull in the year 1775, appointing him Lieutenant in the 9th Company, 24th Regiment, in said Colony [see page 857, *ante*], and says the chief part of that company joined the British afterwards." He (De Pui) was one of the earliest to join the British. He served first under Colonel Butler in the "Rangers," and then, until the close of the war, under Col. Guy Johnson in the Indian Department. Was employed to go with intelligence from Niagara. He was living at Fort Erie in 1787. The Commissioners allowed him £149 as compensation for his losses.

JOHN WINTERMUTE, a native of America, settled on the North Branch of the Susquehanna about 1772, obtaining 300 acres—being one-half a Proprietor's Right—under Connecticut, for which he paid 160 dollars. Cleared sixty acres of the land, and built upon it. He joined Colonel Butler of the British army in 1778, and served till the close of the war as a Corporal in the "Rangers." He lost ten horses, six horned cattle, ten cows, forty-two sheep and thirty hogs. "The Indians and 'Rangers' had all these things in 1778." John Wintermute and his family were living at Niagara in August, 1787, at which time he presented to the Commissioners of Claims a claim for £450—setting forth his losses, as mentioned above, and stating that the same amounted to £800, New York currency. Michael Showers (previously mentioned) was one of his witnesses, and "Col. John Butler certifies strongly to the loyalty of the claimant and all his family." The Commissioners subsequently allowed Wintermute £186.

It seems that there was a large number of Wintermutes in Exeter Township in 1776 and 1777. Philip, Philip, Jr., John, Christopher, Abraham, Peter and Benjamin were some of them, and they were all Tories. Philip Wintermute, Sr., was undoubtedly the head of the family. John Wintermute, mentioned in the preceding paragraph, was probably a son of Philip, Sr., although he may have been a brother. It is shown by a record on page 1034 of "The Town Book of Wilkes Barre" (mentioned on page 27, Vol. I) that September 14, 1772, Nicholas Phillips (see page 919, *ante*) of Wyoming conveyed to Philip Wintermute of Mountain Township, Sussex County, New Jersey, for £45, certain lands in Kingstown Township, and 116 acres north of Kingstown (in what subsequently became Exeter Township), in Wyoming Valley, together with a dwelling-house in which said Phillips then lived; said lands having been purchased by Phillips from Zebulon Butler, to whom they had been "surveyed by John Jenkins, Surveyor, by order of Maj. John Durkee." This was the land upon which Wintermute's Fort was subsequently erected, and upon which the battle of Wyoming was fought, and as heretofore mentioned it later came into the ownership and possession of John Jenkins, Jr. In March, 1773, Philip Wintermute was one of the original proprietors of the township of Providence, laid out by The Susquehanna Company. The following paragraph was printed in the *Susquehanna Democrat* of August 27, 1813 (during the progress of the War of 1812). "A party lately made an incursion into Canada, under command of General Porter, and returned with a number of prisoners, a quantity of stores, cattle, &c. Among the prisoners were Wintermoot and Overholt, two noted characters of the Revolution."

and Indians for the descent upon Wyoming, a delegation of Seneca chiefs, "daringly presuming on the stolidity of Congress, repaired to Philadelphia, ostensibly to negotiate, really to amuse the members of Congress—to put them off their guard, and prevent any troops being sent to the threatened frontier." Nor did the bold and crafty chiefs leave the city until the fatal blow at Wyoming had been struck. The chiefs refused to return to Philadelphia in response to the message sent to them by the Board of War, and on July 17th a motion was made in Congress to the effect that General Schuyler be directed "to take effectual measures for detaining the Seneca chiefs at Albany;" but the motion was decided in the negative.

Notwithstanding the fact that the articles of capitulation signed at Forty Fort on July 4th stipulated that all "the garrisons be demolished," Major Butler consented, before leaving the Valley, that Forty Fort should remain standing as a place of refuge for the women and children of Wyoming. He directed, however, that a large part of the stockade should be destroyed, and this was done.*

Almost immediately after Major Butler and his regular forces had withdrawn from the Valley, those "miscellaneous" Indians of the irregular division of the expedition who had remained behind (as we have previously mentioned) began to disperse themselves throughout the Valley and commit depredations of all kinds. Says Miner ("History of Wyoming," page 238): "The savages remaining, now freed from the slight restraint the presence of their white allies imposed, gave themselves up to the wildest disorder. Separating in parties of from five to ten, they scattered through the Valley, marking their course, as if in sheer wantonness, with fire. After stripping a house of everything fancied, they would either leave it, or set fire to it, as whim or caprice seemed to dictate. Such was their joyous exultation, they hardly knew how to give it expression." Every dwelling-house and barn still stand-

* About a year later Forty Fort was repaired in an indifferent manner, and was occupied by a small part of Sullivan's army during its stay in the Valley. (See the "Journals of the Sullivan Expedition," pages 64, 182 and 225.) Some years later the fort began to fall into decay, and about that time it was set on fire and partly consumed. In February, 1787, some portion of the fort was still standing, as is shown by a certain deed (on record in the office of the Recorder of Deeds of Luzerne County) conveying "all that certain house-lot in Kingston, bounded east by the highway that leads through what is called Forty Fort. Said Fort stands partly on the north-east corner of said lot." When Joseph McCoy wrote "The Frontier Maid" (in 1818) he referred to Forty Fort in these words: "The traveler may still recognize its site by traces of its mounds and trenches, which yet remain visible." Col. W. L. Stone, who visited Wyoming in 1839, wrote as follows: "Forty Fort stood upon the bank of the river, and the spot is preserved as a common—beautifully carpeted with green, but bearing no distinctive marks denoting the purposes for which the ground in those troublous times was occupied." The Hon. Eli K. Price of West Chester, Pennsylvania, visited Wyoming in 1842, and wrote: "On the west side of the river are the now almost obliterated remains of Forty Fort, which bore such a conspicuous part in the dreadful massacre of '78. There is little now left to tell the sad story." In 1850 the ground where the fort had stood was dug up in several places, and an iron hatchet, a copper kettle, some chains, and a number of other articles were brought to light. Wyoming Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, marked the site of Forty Fort by erecting thereon, October 19, 1900, a conglomerate boulder from Wilkes-Barré Mountain, to which is fixed a bronze tablet bearing an appropriate inscription—but erroneous in one respect, in that it sets forth that Forty Fort was built in 1770.



MARKER ON THE SITE OF FORTY FORT.

ing, and not spared by caprice, was burnt. In Wilkes-Barré the fort and the public buildings forming a part of it, together with some dwelling-houses, were set on fire and consumed on Sunday, July 5th. Now, in addition, nearly all the buildings in the lower end of the town-plot were destroyed. The Valley below Forty Fort presented one wide scene of conflagration and ruin.

The most of the few inhabitants yet remaining in the Valley—apart from the small number occupying Forty Fort—were compelled to leave, nearly destitute of clothing, provisions, and the necessities of life. In 1794, in the case of *Van Horne vs. Dorrance*, William Gallup (see page 629) deposed as follows relative to the state of affairs in Wyoming after the capitulation of Forty Fort. "We were not to be plundered, but they plundered us of everything. They kept us three or four days, then told us to go. 180 women and children, accompanied by only thirteen men,



THE DESTRUCTION OF WILKES-BARRÉ.

Photo-reproduction of an old engraving published in France and entitled
"Disastre de Wyoming."

went together. They suffered extremely, all on foot, barefoot, bare-headed, in great want of provisions. Two women were delivered in the woods."

Col. John Franklin, in his letters previously mentioned, gives the following account of his escape from the Valley.

"After Major Butler, with the main body of the enemy had left Kingston [in the evening of July 4th, after the surrender of Forty Fort], I set out with four others to go in search of my family, which I had left in Huntington. The Indians stopped us, and said 'May-be some bad Indians kill you;' that we must stay in the fort two days, when they would go with us. We returned back into the fort, and at night lay down under a wagon; made several attempts to get off, but could not succeed without being discovered, until near morning [of Sunday, July 5th], when we got down to the bank of the river, rose the bank, and crossed the road into the woods. When we reached the hill* opposite to Wilkes-Barré, we looked back and saw the smoke of the buildings following us down from Kingston fort; the smoke also rising from the buildings in Wilkes-Barré. We passed down through 'Shawnee' [Plymouth], which was deserted by all its inhabitants. We had passed through but a short distance when we discovered that the fire was following us. The whole of the settlements were laid in ruins as speedily as the enemy could spread the fire. All such property as they could not drive or carry off was burnt or otherwise destroyed. The families which lived below Kingston fort drove off some of

* Now known as Ross Hill.

their cattle—as many as they could find; but they were mostly in the woods, and they had no time to look them up. A few families remained at Wilkes-Barre,* but the great body of the inhabitants fled in every direction. Hundreds of women and children, turning their backs upon the mangled corpses of their husbands, fathers, brothers and sons—who were left on the battle-ground without inhumation—their dwellings enveloped in flames, and their personal property either carried off by the enemy, or burnt in their dwellings. Some went down the river, while others pursued the different roads to the Delaware. Numbers of women, with children in their arms and other small children by their sides, traveled on foot through to the Delaware. A Mrs. Tubbs,† an old lady upwards of seventy years of age, traveled through barefoot, with a grand-child in her arms. Some families that went down the river made a stand at Catawissa. Of those who went east, many stopped at the Delaware, while several hundred continued their march on foot, with their little ones, to the States of New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Several died on the way. It is impossible to give an adequate idea of the fatigue and distress attending the retreat of the inhabitants from Wyoming.”

In a general way the reader has already learned that the Wyoming fugitives quit the Valley by different routes. Quite a large number, particularly from the upper end of the Valley, made their way to the Delaware by the “Upper Road,” running near the Lackawanna River and then crossing the mountains to the Lackaway District of Westmoreland.‡ This was by far the best road leading out of the Valley, as considerable work had been done on it by the Westmorelanders, who traveled it in journeying to and from New York and New England. Not a few—chiefly from Newport, Hanover and lower Wilkes-Barré—toiled along the rough and long-untraveled “Warrior Path” (previously described), leading to Gnadenhütten and Fort Allen on the Lehigh River. Thence they dispersed in different directions, some going across the country to Fort Penn, thirty miles north-east, and others going down the Lehigh to Bethlehem and to Easton.§ From the diaries in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem we get the following information¶:

“[*Bethlehem*] 5 July, 1778. News reached us that Wyoming had been attacked and destroyed by Tories and Indians. 9 July. Many fugitives from Wyoming came hither. 10-11 July. Some of the wounded arrived from Wyoming, who reported that 400 of the New Englanders had been killed in the fight.”

Of course none of the fugitives went up the Susquehanna, for in that direction lay the enemy, but a very large number went down the river to Catawissa, to Northumberland, to Sunbury, and even beyond. They went by water—in canoes or on hastily constructed rafts; and on foot or on horseback—following the path, or road, running along the right bank of the river from Kingston to Northumberland. When they

* One of these was the family of Jonathan Slocum, mentioned more at length hereinafter.

† Undoubtedly Mrs. Mercy Tubbs, widow of Samuel Tubbs and mother of Lieut. Lebbeus Tubbs, mentioned on page 1001.

‡ Relative to the fugitives from Lackaway (see page 1020) and other Westmoreland districts, who journeyed over the “Upper Road” to the Delaware, we have the following testimony extracted from the “Public Papers of George Clinton” (III: 539). At “Minisink” (see note on page 189, Vol. I), under the date of July 10, 1778, Benjamin Tusten, Jr., Jacob Newkirk and Henry Wisner wrote to Governor Clinton at Poughkeepsie, New York, in part as follows: “The confirmation of intelligences, &c., made it necessary for us to repair to this place [from Goshen] with the militia of Colonels McClaghry’s and Allison’s regiments, and on our arrival found things in the greatest confusion. Some few men, with women and children by hundreds, are flocking from Wyoming, where, by the concurrent testimony of numbers, the most horrid scenes of savage barbarity have been exhibited, and sundry families are moving from hence to the Eastward, which was not in our power to prevent till last evening, by the arrival of Captain Cuddeback from Coshethton, where he had been with a small scouting party—whose report, as herein inclosed, quieted in some measure apprehensions of immediate danger.”

§ News of the Wyoming disaster reached Easton on July 6, 1778, as we learn from the following extract from a letter written at Easton on that day by Robert Levers to Vice President Bryan of the Supreme Executive Council, at Philadelphia. (See *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st Series, VI: 371.) “Capt. Alexander Patterson, about an hour ago, came to this place and gave me the disagreeable account of a large body of Indians and Tories having cut off the settlements at Wyoming; and also that another party are at Cushetunk on the Delaware. * * * Two companies [the combined Wyoming companies under Captain Spalding] of about eighty men, of the Continental troops, are stationed, I understand, at Pocono, or the Second Blue Mountain, at one John Learn’s [tavern], whither the militia, I believe, are repairing. John Learn’s is about twenty-eight miles from Easton, and about forty from Wyoming.”

¶ See *Pennsylvania Magazine*, XIII: 83.

reached the settlements at and below Fishing Creek they caused great consternation among the inhabitants there, many of whom joined the fugitives in their onward flight. Concerning the situation at and near Sunbury at that time we have the following information, gleaned from letters* written at Paxtang on Sunday, July 12, 1778, and addressed to the Supreme Executive Council of the State, at Philadelphia. Matthew Smith wrote: "I am this moment arrived at Mr. Harris' ferry,† and just now behold the greatest scenes of distress I ever saw. The numerous poor ran away from their habitations and left their all." William Maclay (mentioned on page 759) wrote as follows:

"I write you this letter with reluctance, as I am certain it must give pain to any man of sensibility. I left Sunbury, and almost my whole property, on Wednesday last [July 8th]. * * I never in my life saw such scenes of distress. The river and the roads leading down it were covered with men, women and children flying for their lives—many without any property at all, and none who had not left the greatest part behind. In short, Northumberland County is broken up. Col. [Samuel] Hunter‡ only remained, using his utmost endeavors to rally some of the inhabitants and to make a stand, however short, against the enemy. I left him with very few—he had not 100 men on whom he could depend. Wyoming is totally abandoned—scarce a single family remained between that place and Sunbury when I came away. The panic and spirit of flight has reached even to this place—many having moved even out of this township—and almost every one is thinking of some place of greater security. * * *

"For God's sake—for the sake of the Country—let Colonel Hunter be reinforced at Sunbury. Send him but a single company if you cannot do more. * * Something in the way of charity ought to be done for the many miserable objects that crowd the banks of this river—especially those who fled from Wyoming. They are a people, you know, I did not use to love, but I now most sincerely pity their distress. The women and children, in general, are now removed out of Northumberland County, and I cannot but hope that the men will most cheerfully return with the first troops that go up that way."

By far the largest number of fugitives left Wyoming by way of the "Lower Road"—which passed up through Solomon's Gap, then ran in a north-easterly direction along the eastern base of Wilkes-Barré Mountain for about two miles, and then took a course for the most part south-easterly. At a point about nine miles (by the road) from Wilkes-Barré was Nathan Bullock's house and clearing, previously referred to; two and a-half miles farther on the road entered Bear Swamp, and ran for a mile and a-quarter through it—crossing, a little more than midway, Bear Creek. Two and a-quarter miles beyond Bear Swamp the road entered the "Great Swamp" (described, in part, in the note on page 329, Vol. I), through which it ran for fifteen miles. In the depths of these swamps (particularly the Great Swamp) were, at that period and for many years later, the lairs of wolves, bears, panthers, wild-cats and foxes, while rattlesnakes—some of them seven and eight feet in length—abounded.

Fleeing women and children thronged this road, with here and there a man to advise. All was confusion, consternation and horror. Whichever way the afflicted people turned their eyes, Death seemed to stare them in the face. Some died of excitement and fatigue, others of hunger and exposure, while many were lost, who never found their way out of the wilderness. Hundreds were never seen again after they turned their backs on Wyoming. By what sufferings and tortures they died the world will never know. One part of the Great Swamp was particularly dreary and dismal, and, on account of the number of fugitives who fell and perished in its mire and among its thorny brambles,

* See *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st Series, VI : 632, 634.

† Now Harrisburg.

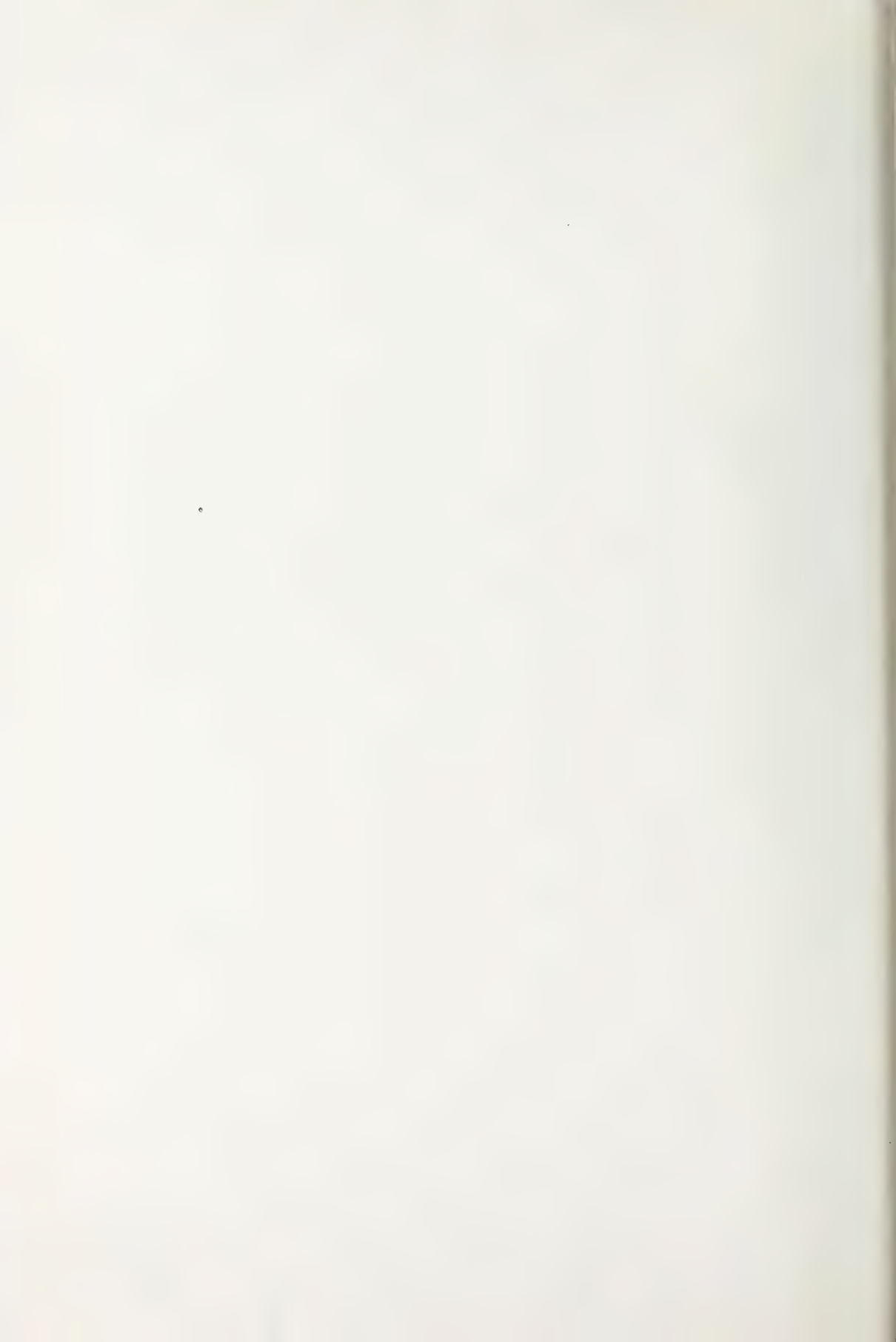
‡ Mentioned on page 664.



FLIGHT OF THE INHABITANTS FROM WYOMING.

After the battle and massacre in July, 1778.

Photo-reproduction of an original drawing by Denman Fink in 1902. By courtesy of Charles Scribner's Sons.



it was called "The Shades of Death"—which name it still bears. Botta, in his history of the Revolutionary War, gives an account of the battle and massacre of Wyoming, and, in concluding it, states:

"Those who survived the massacre were no less worthy of our commiseration. They were women and children who had escaped to the mountains at the time their husbands, fathers and friends expired under the blows of the barbarians. Dispersed and wandering in the wilderness as chance and fear directed their steps, without clothes, without food, without guide, these defenseless fugitives suffered every degree of distress. Several of the women were delivered of children alone in the woods, at a great distance from every possibility of relief or help. The most robust and resolute only escaped, the others perished; their bodies and those of their helpless infants became the prey of wild beasts."

Jabez Fish, who was in the battle, escaped, but not being able to join his family, was supposed by them to have fallen. Mrs. Fish hastened with her children through the wilderness. Overcome with fatigue and want her infant died. Sitting down a moment, on a stone, to see it draw its last breath, she gazed at its face with unutterable anguish. There was no way to dig a grave, and to leave the dead babe to be devoured by wolves seemed worse than death; so she took the little body in her arms and carried it twenty miles till she came to a German settlement. There was one company of about one hundred women and children, with but a single man—Jonathan Fitch, Sheriff of the county of Westmoreland—to advise and aid them. William Searle, a son of Constant Searle, Sr., of Kingston, went out over the "Lower Road" with a company of twelve women and children in his care. They left Forty Fort on the 7th or 8th of July and arrived at Fort Penn on the 13th. There they received from Colonel Stroud a "recommendation and pass" which is still in existence.* It reads as follows:

"Permit the bearers, Serg't WILLIAM SEARLE, with twelve women and children in company with him, to pass unmolested to some part of the State of Connecticut where they may be able, by their industry, to obtain an honest living—they being part of the unhappy, distressed people drove off from Wyoming by the Tories and Indians, and are truly a stripped and distressed people, and their circumstances call for the charity of all Christian people; and [they] are especially recommended by me to all authority, both civil and military, and to all Continental officers and Commissaries, to issue provisions and other necessities for their relief on the road.

"Given under my hand at Fort Penn, July 14, 1778.

[Signed] "JACOB STROUD, Col."

The endorsements upon the back of the foregoing recommendation show that the bearers thereof received provisions, etc., at the places and on the dates following, to wit: Newtown, Sussex County, New Jersey, July 18; Fishkill Landing, New York, August 30; Hartford, Connecticut, September 14. The following is a verbatim copy of another passport† issued by Colonel Stroud to Wyoming refugees.

"Permit PETER FINCH with five of his family to pass to Stanford in Connecticut, being one of the distressed families from Westmoreland on Susquehannah. They are recommended to the Charity of all Good People, as they are plundered of every thing valuable by the Tories and Indians. In particular they are Recommended to all Officers civil and military to afford all the aid & assistance their distress circumstances require—in particular with Provision.

"Given under my hand at Fort Penn 14th Day of July 1778."

[Signed] "JACOB STROUD, Col. &c."

A few families still continued to stand their ground in Wyoming—the majority of them occupying Forty Fort, while here and there throughout the Valley were others. In the town-plot of Wilkes-Barré,

* See "Proceedings and Collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," VII: 78, 81.

† The original is document "No. 161" in the collection entitled "Susquehannah Settlers, 1755-1796," mentioned on page 29, Vol. I.

at its north-east corner, were Jonathan Slocum and the members of his family; in the lower part of Kingston was the family of Elijah Harris. Mr. Harris had been in the battle and had escaped to Forty Fort. After nightfall he made his way to his home, where were his wife, his son Charles (thirteen years of age), several younger children, and two sisters who were ill and confined to their beds. Making hasty provision for the sustenance of his family, Elijah Harris left the Valley at day-break the following morning; but a few days later—after the departure of Major Butler's forces—he returned to his home and family.

Finally the Indians who had remained in the Valley gradually departed; but about the 18th of July two or three Indians came down the river to Forty Fort and notified the occupants thereof that they and all others in the Valley must move off without delay. It was believed at the time by the inhabitants that some Tories up the river had, without authority, sent this notice, and therefore Dr. William Hooker Smith immediately set out on horse-back from Forty Fort for Fort Penn to urge Captain Spalding to repair to Wyoming with his company. But after Dr. Smith's departure it seemed to those who remained behind that the articles of capitulation executed on July 4th neither afforded nor would afford the people of Wyoming any security, and so they set about preparing to remove.

Among the families then at Forty Fort were those of Dr. William Hooker Smith, James Sutton and Dr. Lemuel Gustin. Sutton and Gustin were sons-in-law of Dr. Smith,* and the family of Sutton consisted of himself and his wife Sarah, their daughter Deborah† (then in her sixth year), and a younger daughter. James Sutton and Dr. Gustin, having decided to quit the Valley, proceeded to build a rude boat of timber, boards and nails which they obtained from a deserted cabin. In a few days their craft was completed, and into it were loaded the Smith, Sutton and Gustin families (fifteen persons in all), together with the few belongings which they had saved from the plundering savages. In due time these voyagers arrived at Northumberland, near Sunbury. Thence, after a short stay, they floated on down the river to Middletown, where the Sutton family remained for a considerable length of time. Dr. Gustin, however, proceeded to Carlisle, Pennsylvania, where he engaged in the practise of his profession. The Slocums, the Harrises, and the other families scattered throughout the Valley, deserted it at about the same time the Sutton-Gustin party went down the river.

In very truth Wyoming was now desolated and depopulated!

Lieut. Col. Zebulon Butler, who, as mentioned on page 1031, set out on July 4th from Wilkes-Barré for Fort Allen, at Gnadenhütten, in Penn Township, Northampton County, reached that place a few days later. From there, under the date of July 10th, he despatched to the Board of War at Philadelphia a letter reading as follows‡:

"*Honoured Sirs.*—On my arrival at Westmoreland (which was only four days after I left Yorktown§), I found there was a large body of the enemy advancing on that settlement. On the 1st of July we mustered the militia and marched towards them, by the

* The wife of Dr. Smith, and his daughter Susanna, wife of Dr. Gustin, had died shortly before the battle of Wyoming of "putrid fever," which was then prevalent in the Valley. A sketch of Dr. William Hooker Smith will be found in a subsequent chapter.

† Deborah, daughter of James and Sarah (Smith) Sutton, was born at North Castle, Westchester County, New York, February 8, 1773, and died at Waverly, Pennsylvania, April 3, 1869. She was married May 16, 1799, as his second wife, to Jacob Bedford (born in 1762; died August 23, 1849), a resident of Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, for many years.

‡ See Marshall's "Life of George Washington" (Second edition), I: 281.

§ York, Pennsylvania, where the Continental Congress was then sitting.

river, above the settlement; found and killed two Indians at a place where, the day before, they had murdered nine men engaged in hoeing corn. We found some canoes, etc., but, finding we were above their main body, it was judged prudent to return; and as every man had to go to his own house for his provisions, we could not muster again till the 3d of July. In the meantime the enemy had got possession of two forts, one of which we had reason to believe was designed for them, though they burnt them both.

"The inhabitants had seven forts, for the security of their women and children, extending about ten miles on the river, and too many men would [have to] stay in them to take care of them; but, after collecting about 300 of the most spirited of them, including Captain Hewitt's company, I held a council with the officers, who were all agreed that it was best to attack the enemy before they got any farther. We accordingly marched, found their situation, formed a front of the same extension of the enemy's, and attacked from right to left at the same time. Our men stood the fire well for three or four shots, till some part of the enemy gave way; but, unfortunately for us, through some mistake the word 'retreat' was understood from some officer on the left, which took so quick that it was not in the power of the officers to form them again, though I believe if they had stood three minutes longer the enemy would have been beaten.

"The utmost pains were taken by the officers, who mostly fell. A Lieutenant Colonel, a Major, and five Captains, who were in commission in the militia, all fell. Colonel Durkee* and Captains Hewitt and Ransom were likewise killed. In the whole, about 200 men lost their lives in the action on our side. What number of the enemy were killed is yet uncertain, though I believe a very considerable number. The loss of these men [on the American side] so intimidated the inhabitants that they gave up the matter of fighting. Great numbers ran off, and others would comply with the terms that I had refused. The enemy sent flags frequently; the terms you will see in the enclosed letter. They repeatedly said that they had nothing to do with any but the inhabitants, and did not want to treat with me. Colonel Denison, by desire of the inhabitants, went and complied, which made it necessary for me and the little remains of Captain Hewitt's company to leave the place. Indeed, it was determined by the enemy to spare the inhabitants after their agreement, and that myself and the few Continental soldiers should be delivered up to the savages; upon which I left the place and came away, scarcely able to move, as I have had no rest since I left Yorktown.

"It has not been in my power to find a horse or man to wait on the Board till now. I must submit to the Board what must be the next step. The little remains of Hewitt's company (which are about fifteen), are gone to Shamoken, and Captain Spalding's company, I have heard, are on the Delaware. Several-hundred of the inhabitants are strolling in the country, destitute of provisions, who have large fields of grain and other necessities of life at Westmoreland. In short, if the inhabitants can go back, there may yet be saved double the quantity of provisions to support themselves; otherwise they must be beggars, and a burthen to the world.

"I have heard from men that came from the place since the people gave up, that the Indians have killed no person since, but have burnt most of the buildings, and are collecting all the horses they can, and are moving up the river. They likewise say the enemy were 800, one-half white men. I should be glad that, if possible, there might be a sufficient guard sent for the defence of the place, which will be the means of saving thousands from poverty—but [I] must submit to the wisdom of Congress. I desire further orders from the honourable Board of War with respect to myself and the soldiers under my direction."

On the very day that Colonel Butler wrote and despatched the foregoing letter, Col. Timothy Pickering, at the War Office in Philadelphia, wrote to Colonel Butler (in response to the latter's report forwarded to the Board of War on July 3d—as noted on page 1005) the following letter†:

"I received your letter of the 3d *inst.*, relative to the invasion of the Indians, and have since heard the engagement you expected actually took place, and greatly to the advantage of the enemy. The letter, with the additional information, was laid before Congress, and I hoped they would have given some order for relieving you; but, as yet, nothing has been done. Congress have been engaged in business of very great consequence. I have conversed with the Delegates from Connecticut, but they, as well as others, are at a loss to determine what measures are best to be pursued. A small force of Continental troops, unless joined by the militia of this State, would be unequal to the enemy invading you; and to detach a large force from the army may be inconvenient; and either would probably arrive too late—for the enemy will not stay long in your borders, especially when they are informed that the British have evacuated Philadelphia, and that, in

* Capt. ROBERT DURKEE is here referred to. He is given the title of "Colonel" by Colonel Butler presumably for the following reason: Captain Durkee, as senior Captain of the two Westmoreland Independent Companies, had commanded during the whole period of his service in the Continental army the battalion which these two companies formed. For this reason he may have been called by his fellow officers, by courtesy, Lieutenant Colonel, or Colonel.

† See "Life of Timothy Pickering," II : 221.

their retreat through the Jerseys, we gained a victory over them, in which, and by desertions since they left the city, and fatigues and skirmishes on their march, they have lost full 3,000 men.

"I am anxious to hear of your present situation, which I hope is not so dangerous as the last reports represented it. If the enemy have invested your fort, and you can *hold it long enough*, surely Congress will order up a force sufficient to relieve you. The savages, I trust, will ere long find sufficient employment in their own countries, and repent of their union with the falling power of Britain; for, if the Indians persist in their hostilities, the resentment of the United States will not cool till those barbarians are exterminated from the earth. I hope soon to receive further information of the state of your settlement. This afternoon there will be a [meeting of the] Board for the express purpose of *devising some measures for your assistance*."

Upon the receipt of Colonel Butler's letter of July 10th, Colonel Pickering replied to it, under the date of July 15, 1778, as follows*:

"Your melancholy account of the fate of Wyoming I received by Mr. Williams. I regret that measures were not earlier taken for the relief of that and the other settlements on the frontiers. Something effectual *would have been done in any other State than this* by the people themselves, or their executive power. But the circumstances of this State are singular on many accounts. At length orders are issued for assembling immediately considerable bodies of militia at Standing Stone,† Sunbury and Easton. The latter, I hope, will be strengthened by the Jersey militia, which, I hear, have been ordered out against the Indians. The Commissary has been directed to appoint proper persons to supply these troops with provisions. To encourage the militia, and to give some certain and immediate relief to the frontiers, Colonel Hartley's regiment is ordered to march to Sunbury (for 'tis apprehended the enemy from Wyoming will take that course), except a detachment of about eighty, who escorted some prisoners of war to Brunswick and will march from thence to Easton as soon as the express, who set off this morning, can reach them. At Easton they will receive further orders, either to join their regiment at Sunbury, or the troops on Delaware, as the movements of the enemy shall render expedient.

"We are informed that Colonel Kowatz, with part of General Pulaski's corps, is at Fort Penn. Captain Spalding's company, you hear, is on the Delaware. I should think it advisable for you, with such troops as are with you, to join it. You will co-operate with the Continental troops and militia which shall be collected, and concert with the commanding officers the most effectual measures for stopping the further ravages of the enemy. You can best judge on the spot to what quarter you should march; the numbers and movements of the enemy must direct you. I am convinced that motives of honor, as well as duty, will prompt you to exert your utmost ability to promote the common good and save the distressed frontier. Ammunition and some arms will be sent to the different frontier counties, as soon as the Council of this State have informed the Board what quantities they shall want for the militia—1,900 of whom they have ordered out in the whole. * * *

"General Washington, with the main army, is probably now crossing the North River. There is the highest reason to believe that he, by land, and the French Admiral by sea, will coop up the enemy at New York and make prisoners of the whole. We shall then be at leisure *to chastise the savages, and the barbarous villains who have led and joined them in laying waste our frontiers*."

At a meeting of the Supreme Executive Council held in Philadelphia July 14, 1778—the day preceding that upon which the foregoing letter was written—there was adopted a "circular letter," reading in part as follows‡:

"The following arrangements for defence are agreed upon in view of the attack which has been made by the Indians and others on the frontiers of the State. A detachment of Colonel Hartley's regiment to march from New Jersey to Easton. The remainder of Colonel Hartley's regiment now in Philadelphia to march immediately to Sunbury and join the two companies lately raised at Wyoming.§ * * * It is necessary to add to these Continental troops a considerable body of militia. Council have, therefore, determined to order to Sunbury 300 militia from the county of Northumberland, 400 from Lancaster, and 150 from Berks. To Easton, from the county of Northampton, 300 men."

Upon the receipt of Colonel Pickering's second letter, Colonel Butler immediately repaired to Fort Penn, in Lower Smithfield Township,

* See "Life of Timothy Pickering," II : 223.

† On the Juniata River, where the borough of Huntingdon (mentioned on page 783) now stands. See Eggle's "History of Pennsylvania," pages 778 and 779.

‡ See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," XI : 531.

§ The companies formerly commanded by Captains Durkee and Ransom, but then consolidated under the captaincy of Simon Spalding, as explained on page 978.

where he was met by Lieut. Obadiah Gore, Jr. (see page 833), who had just arrived from the Continental army encamped at White Plains, New York. Lieutenant Gore was the bearer from Brig. Gen. S. H. Parsons (see page 978) to Colonel Butler of a letter dated at White Plains July 15, 1778, and reading in part as follows* :

"The rumor of the Wioming settlement being nearly destroyed has given me great concern. General Gates has therefore sent Lieutenant Gore, with leave of six weeks' absence, to see your state, &c. I must beg you to give me the earliest particular intelligence about the matter, that proper measures may be taken to chastize the insolence of those villains."

At Lower Smithfield, under the date of July 28, 1778, Col. Nathan Denison wrote to Gov. Jonathan Trumbull of Connecticut and transmitted to him a copy (in his own handwriting) of the Forty Fort articles of capitulation. These documents were received by Governor Trumbull on the 4th of August following, and are now preserved among the "Trumbull Papers" previously mentioned. The letter reads as follows:

"*Honoured Sir*—As my circumstances have been such that it rendered almost impracticable for me to give your Excellency an account of the unhappy affair that hapned at Westmoreland on the 3d of this instant, shall now indever to Represent the affair:

"on the Last of June We got intelligence of a Party of the Enemy being up the River about thirty miles Distant from us—the Party supposed not to be grate. the Next Day after another Scout Returned & gave an account that they had Discovered about 50 Cannoe Loads of the Enemy, with considerable parties of them on each side the River, coming down. Which intelligence alarmed the inhabitece so that some ware for secur-ing thare famalies in our forts, others for moveing out of the settlement. In this situa-tion We collected to the number of four Hundred of our men & marched up the River in order to meet the Enemy, but not meeting with them, saving a small scout which ware killed by our People. the Day before this hapned the Enemy fell on a small Party of our men that ware at work, killed four of them—the others made there escape. the Next Day after the body of the Enemy came to a small fort and demanded it, which was instantly given up, Whear they made there Head Quarters. during the time they was in the settlement there Parties ware Destroying our Cattle, Horses, &c.

"the Day that we had the battle with them we had between 3 & 4 Hundred men collected at Kingstown fort, about 3 miles distant from the Enemy. in this situation it was concluded best to march out & attact the Enemy, upon which there was a little over 3 Hundred that marched out & attact them. the Enemy got no advantage of us in the first fire, but we ware over Powerd by numbers. our People ware obliged to retreat. the Number Killed on our side can not be certing Knoon, but I beleve *not far from two Hundred*. the number of the Enemy killed, not far from Eighty.† the next morning John Butler, the Commander of the Enemys forces, sent a flag to demand the fort. I let him no that I wold see him at one o'clk. after noon, after which I went to the Loar [lower] Part of the settlement to find the situation of the People, & found numbrs of Wimen & Children then in the Roads, some Pushing out of the settlement, some one way and some the other, in the utmost distres and ankseity indevering to make their escape from the Savages.

"at my Return to the fort, found that it was the minds of the grater Part of the Peo-ple then Present to Capitulate with the enemy. I went to there Camp, & was put to the disagreeable necesity of sineing the inclosed Paper, after which *no person was hurt by the enemy* untill after I left that place: the Next Day after I come from there there was five Persons murdered by the Enemy on the Rode,‡ as they was coming from there, and as the artikls of cappitulation are broke on the part of the Enemy I do not look upon myself holden on my part by them, & expect soon to Return to Westmoreland to see if some trifels can be saved that the savages have left. the number of the Enemy that came against us did not exceed seven or Eight Hundred at most, by the best information I can git.

"I am, Sir, with due Regard, your Exlences most obedient humble

[Signed] "NATHAN DENISON."

"N. B. I find that there is Numbers of People in this State [Pennsylvania] desire to take the advantage of our distressed situation to get Posession of our Settlement, which I think cannot be allowed of—but the gratest part of them have been very kind to our scattered inhabitece."

* See "Proceedings and Collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," VII:131.

† See page 1029.

‡ The Hickman family and Messrs. Leach and St. John, mentioned on page 1037.

At Fort Penni, in Lower Smithfield, under the date of July 30, 1778, Colonel Denison wrote as follows* to Lieut. Col. Zebulon Butler—who had gone to Easton a day or two previously.

"The cloven foot seems to appear most plain than when you left this [place]. I applied to Colonel Stroud this morning for arms and ammunition for our people. He replied that he had not more than 100 or 150 weight of lead in store, but expected a wagon load of ammunition from Allentown soon; so that we need not expect to be supplied from this store. As to arms, he says he has about 100 which he had from Colonel Hooper, and wants directions from him how to dispose of them. Dr. [William Hooker] Smith is here, and says that he saw Dr. [Lemuel] Gustin at Catawissa, who left our settlement yesterday week [Wednesday, July 22d], and says that there were only a few Tories there; and further says that there is a scheme that way on foot for the Pennsylvania people to get in possession of our settlement."

There is no doubt that the Wyoming refugees—particularly the women, and the youth of both sexes—when they arrived at the inhabited parts of the country in the course of their flight, were not only physically exhausted, but had, naturally, become worked up to a high degree of excitement, and a consequent condition of excessive exasperation against the authors of their ills. It followed, therefore, as a matter of course, that when they told their tales of the enemy's doings in Wyoming, they told them with hyperbolic amplification—to speak frankly. Many of their hearers, in repeating these stories, added to them certain details of their own fabrication, and thus it came to pass that many remarkable accounts of the Wyoming battle and massacre were put in circulation. Miner, writing in 1845 in reference to this matter, said† :

"I beg leave to remark that no important subject was ever before involved in such embarrassing contradictions. The reason, I take it, is this: On the invasion by Butler and his Indians, most of the leading men were slain, and the rest of the inhabitants scattered in the wildest state of alarm. Rumor brought to every flying group a tale of seven-fold horror, and these, repeated by the fugitives wherever they fled, were told and received as historic truth. * * * Black with cruelty and crimsoned with blood—sufficient to harrow up the soul with horror—is the simple narrative, attested by truth, which displays the ferocity of demons, the malignity of fiends. *The false account was immeasurably worse!* It may excite inquiry, why the oft published error was not earlier corrected. It is obvious that the false statement which took its published form at Poughkeepsie, and was thence circulated, not only in the United Colonies, but throughout every nation in Europe, was calculated to arouse the most powerful emotions of the human soul—pity for American suffering—detestation of blackest perfidy—horror at unheard of cruelty on the part of Great Britain and her savage allies; and hence, to strengthen our cause by bringing popular sentiment to bear in our favor, both at home and abroad.

"With motives so powerful to allow the published story to run its course, it may be doubted, even if the truth was known, whether any American would at the time have felt it his duty to hunt up the evidence and publish a new version of the matter. After the war Wyoming was, from her remote, reduced and harassed state, too much engaged in more immediately pressing concerns to leave her people free to study her early annals and correct the errors of the historian."

The first news-item published in relation to the battle of Wyoming was printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet* (Philadelphia), July 14, 1778, and it read as follows :

"Mr. Butler, formerly an Indian Agent under Sir William Johnson, with a considerable force consisting of regular troops and Indians, have made an attack on the settlement at Wioming, and have done some mischief. The particulars are not yet come to hand. * * Congress have it under their consideration."

Following this, the first account of the battle of Wyoming and subsequent events to be printed appeared on July 20, 1778, in the *New York Journal*, which, at that time (on account of the British being in possession of the city of New York), was published by John Holt at

* See "Proceedings and Collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," VII:132.

† "History of Wyoming," Introduction, v.

Poughkeepsie, New York. The article in question read in part as follows :

"POUGHKEEPSIE, July 20.

"Since our last, many of the distressed refugees from the Wyoming settlement on the Susquehanna, who escaped the general massacre of the inhabitants, have passed this way, from whom we have collected the following account, *viz.*: [Then follows a brief narrative of the settlement of the Wyoming region, the Pennamite-Yankee contest over the land, etc.] The lands are exceeding good, and produce immense quantities of grain of all sorts, roots, fruits, hemp, flax, etc., and stock of all kinds in abundance. The settlement has lately supplied the Continental army with 3,000 bushels of grain, and the ground was loaded with the most promising crops of every kind. * * *

"The Tories and Indians had given some disturbance to these settlements last year, * * and the Tories concealed themselves among our different settlements. * * The inhabitants having discovered that many of the Tories who had stirred up the Indians and been with them in fighting against us, were within the settlements, twenty-seven of them were in January last taken up and secured. Of these, eighteen were sent to Connecticut; the rest, after being detained some time and examined, were, for want of sufficient evidence, set at liberty. They immediately joined the enemy, and became active in raising in the Indians a spirit of hostility against us. * * *

"Saturday morning, July 4th, the enemy sent 196 scalps into Fort Kingston [Forty Fort], which they invested on the land side, and kept up a continual fire upon. That evening [Saturday, July 4th] Col. Zebulon Butler with his family quitted the fort and went down the river. Col. Nathan Denison went with a flag to Exeter Fort to know of Col. John Butler what terms he would grant on a surrender. Butler answered, '*The hatchet!*' Col. Denison returned to Fort Kingston, which he defended till Sunday morning, when his men being nearly all killed or wounded he could hold out no longer, and was obliged to surrender at discretion.

"The enemy took away some of the unhappy prisoners, and shutting up the rest in the houses set fire to them, and they were all consumed together. These infernals then crossed the river to Fort Wilkesbury [Wilkes-Barré], which in a few minutes surrendered at discretion. About seventy of the men, who had listed in the Continental service to defend the frontiers, they inhumanly butchered; and then, shutting up the rest, with the women and children, in the houses, they set fire to them, and they all perished together in the flames. After burning all the buildings in the fort they proceeded to the destruction of every building and improvement (except what belonged to some Tories). * * * When these miscreants had destroyed the other improvements they proceeded to destroy the crops on the ground, letting in the cattle and horses to the corn, and cutting up as much as they could, or what was left. Great numbers of the cattle they shot and destroyed, and cutting out the tongues of many others, left them to perish.

"Captains James Bidlack, Robert Durkee and Samuel Ransom being made prisoners by the enemy, they stripped Bidlack, tied him to a tree, and stuck him full of sharp splinters of pine knots; then, piling a heap of pine knots around him, they set all on fire, put Durkee and Ransom into the fire, and held them down with pitchforks. * * * Parshall Terry, [Jr.], the son of a man who bore a very respectable character, had several times sent his father word that he hoped to wash his hands in his heart's blood. Agreeable to such a horrid declaration, the monster, with his own hands, murdered his father, mother, brothers and sisters, stripped off their scalps, and cut off his father's head."

This article was reprinted, verbatim, in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of July 30, 1778. It also appeared later, wholly or in part, in other newspapers throughout the country, and subsequently was published in *The Remembrancer* (VII:51) for 1778-79. A long account (herewith reprinted)* of the battle and massacre of Wyoming came out in Dods-

*"Although some tribes of the Indians—particularly of those commonly called the Six Nations—had sent congratulations to General Gates on his success at Saratoga, and seemed to enjoy great satisfaction in that event; and that others took different opportunities for expressing similar sentiments, yet the presents which they continually received from England, the industry of the British agents, and the influence of the great number of American refugees who had taken shelter amongst them—all operating in conjunction upon their own native and unconquerable passion for rapine—soon led them to contradict in act their sentiments or professions upon that occasion.

"The success which attended the small expeditions undertaken by individuals of different tribes, under the guidance of the refugees (who knew where to lead them directly to spoil, and how to bring them off without danger), soon spread the contagion of havoc through the adjoining nations, so that, in a little time, destruction raged very generally through the new settlements on the back of the northern and middle Colonies. Col. [John] Butler, whose name we have seen as an Indian Agent and commander in the wars on the side of Canada [*sic*], and who had great influence with some of the northern nations of that people, together with one [Joseph] Brant, an half Indian by blood, a man of desperate courage, but, as it is said by the Americans, ferocious and cruel beyond example, were the principal leaders in these expeditions. The vast extent of the frontiers, the scattered and remote situation of the settlements, the nature of the combined enemy—which seemed to coalesce in one point of action all the properties of British, American and savage warfare—* * afforded them such advantages in these expeditions that the wretched settlers found all personal resistance as ineffectual as public protection was impracticable. To complete their calamity, submission could procure no mercy; nor was age, sex or condition, in too many instances, capable of allaying the fury of their enemy.

"In this course of havoc, the destruction of the fine, new and flourishing settlement of WYOMING was particularly calamitous to the Americans. That district, situated on the Eastern Branch of the

Susquehanna, in a most beautiful country and delightful climate, although claimed by, and in the natural order of things seeming properly to appertain to, Pennsylvania, was, notwithstanding, since the last [French and Indian] War, settled and cultivated with great ardor by a numerous swarm from the populous hive of Connecticut. This measure was, however, so much opposed and resented by Pennsylvania, and so obstinately supported by its antagonist, that after much altercation it became at length the foundation of an actual war between the two Colonies, in which they engaged with such earnestness that it was not even terminated by the contest with the mother country, until the danger grew so near and so imminent to both sides as, of necessity, to supersede for the present all other considerations. * * *

"The settlement of *WYOMING* consisted of eight townships, each containing a square of five miles, beautifully situated on both sides of the Susquehanna. In such a country, situation and climate as we have described, and blest with a soil luxuriantly fertile—where every man possessed an abundance (which was, however, the fruit of moderate labour and industry), where no man was very rich nor very great—the inhabitants exhibited upon the whole such a picture of primeval happiness as has seldom been equalled; and such, indeed, as humanity in its present state seems scarcely capable of exceeding. The settlement increased, and thrived accordingly. And, notwithstanding its infant state and the opposition they met from Philadelphia, population was already become so vigorous amongst them that they had sent 1,000 [*sic*] men to serve in the Continental army. Yet, with this excessive drain from the cultivation of a new Colony, their farms were still so loaded with plentiful crops of every kind, and their pastures so abundantly covered with cattle, that their supplies to the army in those respects were at least in full proportion to that which they afforded in men. Nor had they been deficient in providing against those dangers to which, from their remote situation, they were particularly exposed, and had accordingly constructed for that purpose no less than four forts, which seemed, at least, fully sufficient to cover the settlement from the irruptions of the savages.

"But neither the happiness of climate, the fertility of soil, nor the remoteness of situation could prevent the evils of party and political discord from springing up amongst them. It might indeed appear from the supply of men which they had sent to the army that only one political principle pervaded the settlement—a supply so ill suited to the state and strength of an infant colony that it seems difficult whether to admire more the excess of zeal from which it proceeded, or the total want of prudence, policy and wisdom under which it was directed. But notwithstanding this appearance, they had no inconsiderable mixture of *Loyalists* among themselves, and the two parties were actuated by sentiments of the most violent animosity. Nor were these animosities confined to particular families or places, or marked by any line of distinction; but, creeping within the roofs and to the hearths and boards where they were least expected, served—as it afterwards fatally appeared—equally to poison the sources of domestic security and happiness, and to cancel the laws of nature and humanity.

"It would seem extraordinary—if such instances had not occurred upon other occasions—that this devoted people had frequent and timely warnings of the danger to which they were exposed by sending all their best men to so great a distance [*i. e.*, to serve in the Continental army], without their taking any timely measures for their recall, or even for procuring a substitute of defence or protection. Their quiet had been interrupted by the savages, joined with marauding parties of their own countrymen, in the preceding year; and it was only by a vigorous opposition, in a course of successful skirmishes, that they had been driven off or dispersed. Several of those whom they called *Tories*, and others who had not before been suspected, had at that time and since abandoned the settlement; and along with a perfect—and consequently, dangerous—knowledge of all the particulars of their situation and circumstances, were well known to have carried along with them such a stock of private resentment (from the abasement and insults they had suffered from the prevailing party) as could not fail to give a direction to the fury, and even a new edge to the cruelty, of their savage and inveterate enemies.

"A sort of public act, which had taken place in the settlement since the last invasion, was preceded with, and productive of, circumstances which afforded cause for the greatest alarm, and for every possible defensive precaution. An unusual number of strangers had, under various pretences, and the sanction of that universal hospitality which once so much distinguished America from the Old World, come into the Colony, where their behaviour became so suspicious, that they were at length taken up and examined, when such evidence appeared against several of them (of their acting in direct concert with the enemy, on a scheme for the destruction of the settlements) that about twenty were sent off under a strong guard to Connecticut, in order to be there imprisoned and tried for their lives. The remainder of these strange *Tories*, against whom no sufficient evidence could be procured, were only expelled. It was soon well known that this measure of sending their fellows to Connecticut, had excited the rage of those so called *Tories*, in general, whether in arms on the frontiers, or otherwise, in the most extreme degree; and that all the threats which had ever been denounced against this people, were now renewed with aggravated vengeance.

"As the time approached for the final catastrophe, the Indians practised a more refined dissimulation, if not greater treachery, than had been customary with them. For several weeks previous to the intended attack, they repeatedly sent small parties to the settlement, charged with the strongest professions of friendship, declarations of the fullest desire and intention to preserve the peace inviolate on their side, and requests that the same favourable and pacific disposition might be entertained and cultivated on the other. These parties, besides lulling the people in their present deceitful security, answered the purposes of communicating with their friends, and of observing the immediate state of affairs in the Colony. Some alarm, or sense of their danger, began, however, to spread among the people, and letters were sent to General Washington, and to others in authority, representing their situation, and demanding immediate assistance.

"As the time more nearly approached, some small parties of the enemy—more impatient than the rest, or more eager and covetous to come in for the first fruits of the spoil—made sudden irruptions into the settlement, and committed several robberies and murders; in the course of which, whether through ignorance, or whether from a total contempt of all ties and obligations, they massacred the unhappy wife and five children of one of those men, who had been sent for trial, in their own cause, to Connecticut.

"At length, in the beginning of July, 1778, the enemy appeared suddenly, but in full force, on the Susquehanna. They were led by [John] Butler (that distinguished partisan, whose name we have already mentioned), who was assisted by most of those leaders who, like him, have rendered themselves terrible in the present frontier war. Their force was estimated at about 1,600 men, of whom, something less than one-fourth were Indians, led by their own chiefs. The others were disguised and painted in such a manner as not to be distinguished from the savages; excepting only their officers, who, being dressed in regimentals, carried the appearance of regulars. One of the smaller forts, which was mostly garrisoned by those called *Tories*, was by them given up; or, as it was said, betrayed. Another was taken by storm, where, although they massacred the men in the most inhuman manner, they spared the women and children.

"It seems odd enough, if not singular, that another Colonel Butler (and said to be a *near relation to the invader*) should chance to have the defence of Wyoming, either committed to his charge, or by some means fall to his lot. This man, with nearly the whole force of the settlement, was stationed in the principal fort, called *Kingston*; whither, also, the women, children, and defenceless of all the forts (as the only place of common refuge) crowded for shelter and protection. It would seem, from his situation and force in that place, that he might there have waited, and successfully resisted, all the attempts of the enemy. But this man was so wretchedly weak that he suffered himself to be enticed by his namesake and kinsman to abandon the advantage and security afforded by his fortress, and to devote those under his charge to certain destruction, by exposing them naked to so severe an enemy.

"Under the colour of holding a parley for the conclusion of a treaty, he [Col. Zebulon Butler] was led into an agreement that, upon the enemy withdrawing their force, he should march out to hold a conference with them in the open field, and that at so great a distance from the fort as shut out every possibility of the protection which it otherwise afforded. To render this measure still more unaccountable, he, at the same time, showed so great a distrust of the enemy, and seemed so thoroughly apprehensive of their designs, that he marched 400 men, well armed (being nearly the whole strength of his garrison), to guard his person to the place of parley! Upon his arrival there he was greatly surprised at finding nobody to treat with; but not being willing to return without finishing his business, he advanced towards the foot of the neighbouring mountains, still hoping that he might hear or see something of those he wanted. As the country began to grow dark and woody, a flag at length appeared, at a considerable distance among the bushes, the holders of which seemed so much afraid of treachery and danger from his side, that they retired as he advanced, whilst he, endeavouring to remove this ill impression, still pursued the flag.

"This commander of a garrison did not once perceive his danger until his party was thoroughly enclosed, and he was suddenly awakened from his dream by finding it attacked at once on every side. His behaviour in this wretched situation could scarcely have been expected from the conduct which led him into it. He and his party, notwithstanding those circumstances of surprise and danger which might have disconcerted the most veteran troops, fought with resolution and bravery, and kept up so continual and heavy a fire for three-quarters of an hour, that they seemed to gain a marked superiority over their numerous enemy. In this critical moment of danger, some sudden impulse of fear or premeditated treachery, in a soldier, which induced him to cry out aloud that the Colonel had ordered a retreat, determined at once the fate of the party, and possibly that of the final author of their ruin.

"In the state of confusion that ensued, the enemy, breaking in on all sides without obstruction, commenced an unresisted slaughter. Considering the great superiority of numbers on the side of the victors, the fleetness of the savages, and the fierceness of the whole, together with the manner in which the vanquished had been originally surrounded, it affords no small room for astonishment that the commander of the garrison, with about seventy of his party, should have been able to effect their escape, and to make their way good to a small fort on the other side of the river. The conquerors immediately invested Fort Kingston, and, to cheer the drooping spirits of the weak remaining garrison, sent in for their contemplation the bloody scalps of 200 of their late relations, friends and comrades.

"Colonel Dennison, the present commander of the fort, seeing the impossibility of any effectual defence (not having force sufficient even to man the works for one effort), went with a flag to Butler, to know what terms he would grant on a surrender. To this application of weakness and misery Butler, with all the phlegm of a real savage, answered in two short words, '*The hatchet!*' In these dreadful circumstances the unfortunate governor, having defended his fort until most of the garrison were killed or disabled, was at length compelled to surrender at discretion. Some of the unhappy persons in the fort were carried away alive; but the barbarous conquerors, to save the trouble of murder in detail, shut up the greater part promiscuously in the houses and barracks, which having then set on fire, they enjoyed the savage pleasure of beholding the whole consumed in one general blaze.

"They then proceeded to the only remaining fort, called *Wilkesborough*, which, in hopes of obtaining mercy, was surrendered without resistance, or without even demanding any conditions. Here the tragedy was renewed with aggravated horrors. They found here about seventy of that sort of militia who are engaged by the different Provinces merely for the guard and defence of their respective frontiers, and who are not called to any other service. With these, as objects of particular enmity, the slaughter was begun, and they were butchered with every possible circumstance of the most deliberate, wanton and savage cruelty. The remainder of the men, with the women and children, not demanding so much particular attention, were shut up as before in the houses, which being then set on fire, they perished all together in the flames.

"A general scene of devastation was now spread through all the townships. Fire, sword, and the other different instruments of destruction alternately triumphed. The corn-fields were set on fire, and the standing corn, now almost ready for the sickle, burnt as it grew. The houses, furniture, valuables of every kind, together with all those improvements which owed their rise to the persevering toil, and patient industry of man, were as completely destroyed as their nature, or the industry of the spoilers, would admit. The settlements of the Tories alone generally escaped, and appeared as islands in the midst of the surrounding ruin.

"It has been often observed, that the practice and habit of cruelty with respect to any particular object begets a facility in its execution, and a disposition to its commission, with regard to all others. Thus these merciless savages, when the main objects of their cruelty were exhausted, seemed to direct their animosity to every part of living nature; and, as if it were a relaxation or amusement, cut out the tongues of the horses and cattle, leaving them still alive only to prolong their agonies.

"The following are a few of the more singular or detached circumstances of barbarity which are related as parts of this massacre. A Captain Bidlack, who had been taken prisoner, being stripped naked, had his body stuck full of sharp pine splinters, and then a heap of knots of the same wood being piled round him, the whole was set on fire; and his two companions, the Captains Ransom and Durgée, thrown alive into the flames. It is said that the returned Tories, who had at different times abandoned the settlement in order to join in those savage expeditions, were the most distinguished for their cruelty. Among these, one—whose mother had married a second husband—butchered with his own hands both her, his father-in-law [*sic*], his own sisters and their infant children. Another, who, during his absence, had sent home several threats against the life of his father, now not only realized them in person, but was himself, with his own hands, the exterminator of his whole family; mother, brothers, and sisters, mingled their blood in one common carnage, with that of the ancient husband and father.

"However painful the task of reciting such horrible barbarities (many of the worst circumstances of which are spared), it may not be totally useless if they serve to produce a dislike of that promptitude of entering into wars (which is but too natural to people, as well as to princes), when they see the consequences which their passion, often for trivial and contemptible objects, so frequently produce; and by which they are led gradually, not only to great crimes and great misfortunes, but even to a total change and degradation of their nature.

"It is necessary to observe, with respect to the destruction of Wyoming, that, as no narrative of the exploits of the leaders in that transaction—whether by authority or otherwise—has as yet appeared in this country, we can only rely, for the authenticity of the facts which we have stated, upon the accounts published by the Americans. As these have already been long exposed to the view of all Europe, without their yet producing a single contradiction, any natural (but improper) partiality, which might be a temptation to induce us either to draw a veil over the whole, or to suppress any of the parts of that transaction, would therefore, of course, be as fruitless in the effect as disgraceful in the design. Happy should we deem it, for the honour of humanity, that the whole account was demonstrated to be a fable! The event has already shown the impolitic nature of these proceedings, which have only served to fix a bitter and lasting resentment in the minds of the colonists.

"The sufferings of the refugees (consisting mostly of women and children), the broken parts and scattered relics of families (who had escaped to the woods during the different scenes of this devastation), were little less deplorable than those of their friends who had perished in the ruins of their houses. Dispersed and wandering in the forests, as chance and fear directed their steps; without any mutual knowledge or communication; without provision or covering, they had a long tract of desert to traverse without guide or direction. They accordingly suffered every degree of distress. Several women were delivered alone in the woods, at a great distance from every possibility of relief. If these,

ley's *Annual Register* for the year 1779, published early in 1780 at London, England. The famous Edmund Burke (see page 593, Vol. I) was at that time editor of the *Register*, and was (we have it on the authority of Col. Timothy Pickering) the author of the account in question. It will be noticed that the author states—in the third paragraph from the end—that he relied “for the authenticity of the facts” stated “upon the accounts published by the Americans.” In 1788 Dr. William Gordon's “History of the United States” was published in London, and in it appeared a very fanciful account* of the battle and massacre of Wyoming, drawn largely, if not entirely, from the article printed in the *Annual Register*, as mentioned above. (See Vol. I, page 19.)

In the petition of Capt. Alexander Patterson, printed in 1804, and referred to on page 868, *ante*, was a brief but fabulous account (inspired by vindictive passions) of some of the incidents connected with the battle of Wyoming. The account read, in part, as follows:

“It was well known at that time [1776] on the frontiers of Northampton and Northumberland Counties that the conduct of those [Wyoming] Yankees occasioned the secession of the Five Nations from the United States. As was natural to imagine, those Pennsylvania settlers who had been so cruelly robbed of their property would endeavor to regain it. Their address and moving complaints induced Joseph Brant, a well-known Indian chief, and a Colonel Butler, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to come with them to Wyoming, with a number of Indians, for the recovery of their goods and chattels. The party had arrived at Abraham's Plains; the Yankees were apprized of their being at that place, and must needs go fight them, led on by that old murderer, Lazarus Stewart—first having drunk two barrels of whisky to stimulate their spirits. They marched in riot, with drums beating and colors flying. The result was that a number of them were killed; those who asked quarter were humanely treated, nor was a woman or child molested, only enjoined to quit the country and leave it for the rightful owners. Surely there was no propriety in calling that transaction a massacre or murder! The wretches brought it upon themselves—and so be it!

“Your petitioner had at that time been assigned a district in the Quartermaster General's Department, north of the mountains† in Jersey and Pennsylvania. Notwithstanding the former enmity all the vagrants that left Wyoming at that time came to him for succor. His charity superceded prejudice, and for their support [he] ordered them rations out of the public stores. If there were any widows among them, they were very merry ones, and their conduct induced no respect; nor could it be expected, as most of their women, like their men, were of the lowest order of beings.”

In 1805 the first edition of the Hon. John Marshall's “Life of Washington” was published, containing a very erroneous account of the events following the battle of Wyoming, based on the story told in Gordon's history. In a revised edition of his book published in 1831, Judge Marshall not only gladly corrected the errors in the text of the first edition, but appended a note in which he stated that he had followed Gordon and Dr. Ramsay (in his “History of the American Revolution,” published in 1790), but was now convinced of their errors.

Prior to 1820 Charles Botta, the Italian historian, wrote a “History of the War for the Independence of the United States of America,” which was translated into English and published in this country in 1820. Botta's account of the battle and massacre of Wyoming—which

through vigour of mind, or strength of constitution, escaped, undoubtedly others, in similar and in different circumstances, perished.

“Although the fate of Wyoming, and the lamentations of the survivors, had served alternately to freeze every breast with horror, and to melt it with compassion, yet the various objects and exigencies of the war rendered the Americans incapable, for the present, of executing that vengeance on their savage enemy; which was, however, fully intended at a proper season. Some small expeditions were, indeed, undertaken; which, from the difficulties attending them, and the spirit of enterprise under which they were conducted, were not destitute of merit, and consequently are not unworthy of observation in the narrative of a campaign not distinguished by any activity in the great and splendid operations of war.”

* It is printed in full in Miner's “History of Wyoming,” page 257.

† He was stationed at Brinker's Mills, later called “Sullivan's Stores,” on the “Lower Road” from Wyoming to Easton and the Delaware.

was probably based on Burke's article in Dodsley's *Register*—was even more fanciful and mythical than Gordon's, and it was reprinted in several newspapers throughout the United States. On December 6, 1820, it appeared in the *National Gazette*, and a copy of that issue of the paper falling into the hands of Gen. Lord Butler of Wilkes-Barré, eldest son of Col. Zebulon Butler, then deceased, he wrote to the editor of the *Gazette* a letter, to which the written and signed statements of three survivors of the battle of Wyoming were appended. These communications were not designed to form a full historical relation of the events of July 3d and 4th, 1778, but were intended, simply, to point out and correct the errors in Botta's history, and to remove the false and injurious impressions which such an account was calculated to make upon the public mind with reference to the principal actors in the events described. General Butler's communication and the accompanying statements were not only printed in full in the *National Gazette*, but were reprinted in other newspapers, and they read as follows :

"The account as given in the extract is, perhaps, the most incorrect narrative of events that ever found its way into the history of any transaction ever before published, and particularly of one so highly interesting. Indeed, there is scarcely a solitary truth in the whole extract. Most of the circumstances are wholly fabrications; and others are so misrepresented and distorted as hardly to be recognized. That a true estimate may be put upon it, I will point out some of its most prominent deviations from truth and fact.

"In the first place, Col. Zebulon Butler, at the time spoken of, had not the command of the 'whole colony,' as stated in the extract. He was a [Lieutenant] Colonel in Washington's army, but, happening to be in this part of the country on a furlough, he was requested to give his assistance, and take the command of the men in case it should be necessary to fight. Further, it is not true that Zebulon Butler was a cousin of John, the commander of the enemy's forces. There was no relationship subsisting between them, [so] of course the influence which the writer of the extract would seem to draw from that circumstance, must fail. It is not true that Col. Zebulon Butler was drawn out of the fort by the 'lavish promises' of his enemy 'that, if he would consent to a parley in the open field, the siege would be raised, and every thing accommodated.' Nor is it true that he [Col. Zebulon Butler] marched out for *that* purpose, and 'from motives of caution took with him four hundred men, well armed.' The fact is, the only conference he marched out to was a battle; the only parley he expected was the point of the bayonet.

"The whole number of men under his [Zebulon Butler's] command that day was about 350, and it has since been ascertained that the enemy's force amounted to from 1,000 to 1,500. The battle was fought sooner than Colonel Butler wished. He advised delay, hoping to ascertain the force, position and intentions of the enemy; [hoping] that succours would arrive, and that he then would be able to meet the enemy to more advantage. But as he had no right to the submission of either the officers or their men—except what they voluntarily paid him—he was obliged to forego his own opinion, and consent to lead them on. Another circumstance obliged him to take this course. There were some brave men among them, but who were as rash and imprudent as they were brave, who were determined to fight that day, or leave the fort and return to their homes.

"It is not a fact that Colonel Butler and his men were enticed into the 'dismal solitudes' and 'thick forests' by a 'flag,' and there 'completely surrounded' by the enemy. All that is said in the extract about the 'unfortunate American' being 'without suspicion of the peril he was in,' continuing 'to press forward,' &c., and 'being awakened but too soon from this dream of security,' &c., *is false!* So far from the Americans having been 'surprised' by the British and Indians—had it not been for the imprudence of a few men (sent forward as an advance guard) in firing upon some Indians whom they discovered setting fire to a house, the enemy themselves would in all probability have been taken by surprise, and obliged to engage under many disadvantages.

"The Americans, instead of forming into 'a compact column,' fought in a line, on the left of which there was a marsh. The British and Indians, being more than twice as numerous as the Americans, endeavored to outflank them by going around and through this marsh. Colonel Denison, who was a Colonel of the militia, and properly the commander of the 'whole colony,' and who had taken charge of the left wing, perceiving the intentions of the enemy, took prompt measures to defeat their expectations, and gave the necessary orders to effect it. *It was in the execution of these orders that the confusion began!* And though Colonel Denison, and the other officers on that wing, did all that men could do to prevent it, the left wing gave way. The right wing was at this time beating the enemy back and advancing upon them.

"Col. [Zebulon] Butler, who had continued on horseback throughout the day, finding that the right was doing well, left it and rode towards the left. When he got a little more than half-way down the line he discovered the men were retreating, and that he was between the two lines, near the advancing line of the enemy. The rout soon became general, notwithstanding the extraordinary efforts of the officers, most of whom were killed in *their attempts to rally the men*, and bring them again to the charge. It is not true that 'about sixty men escaped,' and with Zebulon Butler made their way good to 'a redoubt on the opposite bank of the Susquehanna,' for Colonel Butler, when he found it impossible to rally the scattered troops, instead of seeking his own safety by leaving the field instantly, collected four or five men, made them retain their arms and keep together. These he ordered to fire when any of the enemy approached, and by this means brought them safe to the fort at Kingston.

"As it was impossible to defend this fort [Forty Fort], all the men having been killed in the battle except about forty or fifty (not more than ten or twelve of whom came to the fort), he proceeded to Wilkesbarre, which is about two miles distant, and on the opposite side of the river. Colonel Denison having had a conference with the enemy, next morning sent Col. Zebulon Butler word that they [the enemy] would give no quarter to Continental officers or soldiers. He [Colonel Butler] then hastened into Northampton County. Colonel Denison well knew that the fort in Kingston could not be defended with any prospect of success. He therefore did not make the attempt, but obtained what terms he could from the enemy, and surrendered. There were but few men left, and the fort was crowded with women and children.

"It is not true that Colonel Denison 'surrendered at discretion,' nor is it true that the savages 'enclosed the men, women and children promiscuously in the houses and barracks, to which they set fire, and consumed all within.' True they robbed and plundered, contrary to the articles of capitulation, but they killed no one. Finally, it is not a fact that at Wilkesbarre the 'soldiers of the garrison,' were (as stated in the extract) 'put to death;' nor were the 'men, women and children burned, as before, in the barracks and houses.' The British and Indians did not come to Wilkesbarre until the second day after the battle, and then they found the fort and town entirely abandoned. They plundered and burnt every house, except two or three small ones, but there was not an individual killed.

"To perpetuate truth is, or ought to be, the object of history; at all events, history should never be made the vehicle of falsehood. If it be deemed of sufficient interest and importance to the public that any account of the battle of Wyoming should be registered, it certainly is of importance that *that* account should be correct and authentic. That a true narrative of that transaction may be incorporated into history, is one reason why I have noticed the extract. But it is also due to the memory of Col. Zebulon Butler, and to the feelings of his numerous descendants, that the odium which the account in the extract has so unjustly heaped upon his character should be removed. To do this the more effectually, I add a brief abstract of his military career. * * * *

"Upon the breaking out of the American Revolution, he entered the service of his country in the army under Washington; was a Lieutenant Colonel, and at the close of the war commanded one of the best regiments in the whole army. Colonel Butler was the personal friend of General Washington. I have seen letters from the General to him after the close of the war, written in very friendly terms, proving that Washington, at least, had full confidence in his capacity, integrity and patriotism. It is indeed strange, that after so long a service in both British and American armies, he never before was discovered to have been a coward and a traitor, if he really were such. And yet perhaps this need not be wondered at, when even the brave, the intrepid Putnam has, *since his death*, been accused of cowardice!

"A desire to be strictly and critically correct in my statement of facts, has unavoidably occasioned some delay in forwarding my letter to you. What I have stated are facts—you may rely on their accuracy. For *your* satisfaction on this head, however, I send you the certificates of Judge Hollenback and others (who were in the battle) corroborating and substantiating my allegations. Certificates to the same effect might have been obtained from all the survivors of that day's disasters, who yet live in this part of the country, but it was not tho't necessary. It is my intention, at some future period, to send you an authentic narrative of the battle of Wyoming, embracing the transactions of several weeks, and perhaps months, both previous and subsequent, which if it should meet your approbation, you will be at liberty to publish.

"I am Yours, &c., [Signed] "LORD BUTLER."

"Wilkesbarre, Dec. 26, 1820.

"I do certify that I was in the battle of Wyoming, fought on the 3d day of July, 1778, and that I am well acquainted with the facts as they took place on that day, and subsequently. I have read the account published in the *National Gazette* of the 6th *inst.*, and know that most of the circumstances related, and especially the material ones, are absolutely false. I have read, also, the above letter of Lord Butler, Esq., and from personal knowledge, as well as from the information obtained at the time, know the facts therein stated to be correct. I also certify that I was stationed about the centre of the line

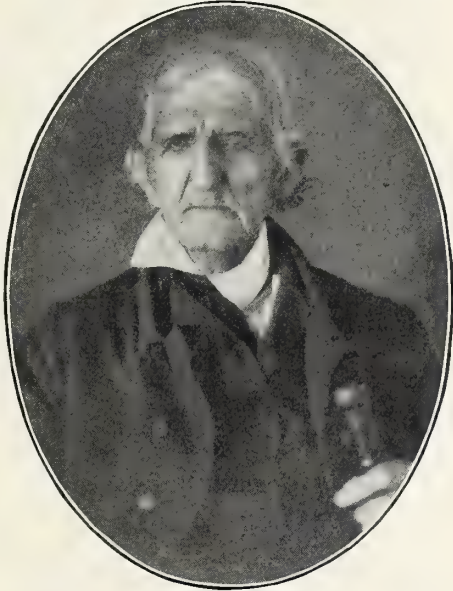
[of battle], and saw Col. Zebulon Butler, about the time the retreat commenced, riding from the right to the left, between the two contending lines, and saw him turn his horse, ride after his men, and endeavor to stop them. I never heard, until I saw the account above referred to, any blame imputed to Col. Zebulon Butler for his conduct on that, or any other occasion.

[Signed] "ELISHA BLACKMAN.*"

"December 26, 1820.

* ELISHA BLACKMAN, the third of this name in his line, was born in Lebanon, New London County, Connecticut, April 4, 1760, the third child and eldest son of Elisha and Lucy (Polley) Blackman. So far as known, the American progenitor of this particular family of Blackmans was John Blackman, who lived at Dorchester, Massachusetts, and died there in 1675. His wife was Mary Pond, and their fourth child was Joseph, who was born June 7, 1661. The last-named removed, in early manhood, to Little Compton, Rhode Island, and thence, about 1709, to Freetown, Massachusetts. In 1717 he settled in Lebanon, Connecticut, where he died three years later. His wife was Elizabeth Church, and their fifth child and third son was Elisha Blackman, who was born September 23, 1699, at Little Compton. Thence he removed with his parents and the other members of the family to Lebanon, Connecticut, where he was married January 2, 1724, to Susanna, daughter of Capt. John and Hannah (Drake) Higley, and a sister of Hannah, wife of Capt. Joseph Trumbull, mentioned on page 470, Vol. I.

Elisha and Susanna (Higley) Blackman became the parents of three sons and one daughter, and Elisha, the father, died about the year 1767. His second child was Elisha, who was born at Lebanon September 19, 1727. During the French and Indian War (see pages 297 and 481) Elisha Blackman, last mentioned, served as a private in the Colonial army in three campaigns, as follows: From April 10 to October 18, 1755, in the 3d Company (Robert Denison of New London, Captain) in the 1st Regiment of Connecticut troops, commanded by Phineas Lyman. From April 8 till November 23, 1756, in the 1st, or Colonel's, Company, in the 4th Regiment of Connecticut troops, commanded by Col. Andrew Ward, Jr., of Guilford. From March 24 till November 14, 1762, in the 10th Company (Azul Fitch of Lebanon, Captain) in the 2d Regiment of Connecticut troops, commanded by Col. Nathan Whiting. (See "Connecticut Historical Society's Collections," IX : 10, 144, 340.) Elisha Blackman came to Wyoming for the first time in June, 1772, and in the following October, at



ELISHA BLACKMAN.
(1760-1845.)

From a portrait taken late in life.

Wilkes-Barré, he signed the petition reproduced on page 751, *ante*. About that time he was admitted an inhabitant in the township of Wilkes-Barré, and became the owner of a lot in the "Third Division" of the township. His name will be found in the Wilkes-Barré tax-lists for 1776, '77 and '78. In May, 1777, he was established and commissioned Ensign of the "2d Alarm List Company in the 24th (or Westmoreland) Regiment of Connecticut Militia," as noted on page 922. During the battle of Wyoming he was one of those who garrisoned Fort Wilkes-Barré. The next morning (July 4th) Ensign Blackman said to his wife: "Take the children and make the best of your way to a place of safety; we must stay and defend the fort." The family set out by the "Warrior Path," taking with them two horses; but in their alarm and distress took no provisions. They got on their way a scanty supply of huckleberries, but on the third day, having reached the German settlements in Northampton County, they were kindly cared for and supplied with proper food. They finally arrived at their old home in Connecticut.

Late in the morning of July 4th Ensign Blackman was joined at the fort by his son Elisha, who had escaped from the battle-field, and in the afternoon they set out on foot for Fort Penn. Ensign Blackman's house and barn and their contents were totally destroyed when Wilkes-Barré was burnt by the savages. He also lost his oxen and other stock, with the exception of two cows. The two Elishas made their way to Fort Penn in due time, but later they both returned to Wilkes-Barré and were in service here as early, at least, as August 9, 1778 (see "Collections and Proceedings of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," VII : 112), in the detachment of militia commanded by Lieut. Col. Zebulon Butler—as explained in the ensuing chapter. Some time later in 1778, or perhaps early in 1779, Ensign Elisha Blackman joined his wife and children in Connecticut, where, in April, 1780, he was one of the signers of a memorial presented to the General Assembly of Connecticut by certain Wyoming refugees who were then temporarily residing in Connecticut. (See a subsequent chapter.) In 1787 Elisha Blackman returned to Wilkes-Barré, whither his sons had preceded him in 1786, and here he lived until his death, September 10, 1804.

Elisha Blackman was married March 22, 1753, to Mrs. Lucy (Polley) Smith, widow of Ebenezer Smith, and they became the parents of the following-named children, who were all born in Lebanon, Connecticut: (i) *Lucy*, born September 7, 1755; married to Titus Darrow. (ii) *Lovina*, born September 7, 1757; married to Darinus Spafford, who was killed in the battle of Wyoming. (iii) *Elisha*, born April 4, 1760. (iv) *Ichabod*, born March 24, 1762. (v) *Eleazar*, born May 31, 1765.

(iii) *Elisha Blackman, Jr.*, whose picture stands at the head of this note, came to Wilkes-Barré in 1773, at the age of thirteen, with the other members of his father's family. He took part in the battle of Wyoming as a private in the "Lower Wilkes-Barré Company," commanded by Capt. James Bidlack, Jr. In the hardest part of the battle he saw his brother-in-law, Darius Spafford, fall mortally wounded, and he became so intent on avenging the death of the latter that it was some time before he discovered that the Americans were losing ground. In the flight from the field he and a companion headed for the river. Indians chased them and called to them to surrender, assuring them that they would not be hurt. Blackman did not surrender, but his companion did, only to have his skull

immediately split open with a tomahawk. Blackman strained every nerve to escape, and did so by swimming to Monocanock Island—with the bullets fired by the pursuing savages whistling about his head. He remained in hiding on the island until after nightfall, and then made his way to Forty Fort. The next morning he set out for Wilkes-Barré, and, as previously mentioned, reached the fort here shortly before noon. Miner says ("Wyoming," Appendix, page 33) that only eight members of Captain Blacklad's company escaped from the battle-ground on July 3, 1778: Ensign Daniel Downing, Serg't Jabez Fish, Serg't Phineas Spafford, Elisha Blackman, Jr., Samuel Carey, M. Mullen, Thomas Porter, drummer, and one other.

As previously mentioned, Elisha Blackman, Jr., returned to Wilkes-Barré in August, 1778, and was in service here as a militia-man under the command of Lieut. Colonel Butler. In the Sullivan Expedition of 1779 (see Chapter XVIII), he served in the Wyoming militia company commanded by Capt. John Franklin. Later in that year, or early in 1780, he joined his parents and the other members of their family in Connecticut.

Early in 1781 Elisha Blackman, Jr., enlisted as a private in the company of Capt. Selah Benton of Stratford, in the 5th Regiment, Connecticut Line, commanded by Lieut. Col. Isaac Sherman (see note on page 840), and served till the latter part of June, 1782. He was honorably discharged from the service at Fishkill, New York, and thence he went to the home of his parents in Lebanon. There he subsequently learned the trade of a tanner and currier, and in 1786, in company with his brothers Ichabod and Eleazar, he returned to Wilkes-Barré. The three brothers built a log house on the lot of their father—on South Main Street, between the present Academy and Sullivan Streets.

Elisha Blackman, Jr., was married January 10, 1788, to Anna (born January 5, 1763), daughter of "Deacon" John and Abigail (Avery) Hurlbut of Westmoreland. March 25, 1790, Elisha Blackman, Jr., was commissioned First Lieutenant of the Light Infantry Company attached to the "1st Regiment of Militia in Luzerne County," commanded by Lieut. Col. Matthias Hollenback. In 1791 Lieutenant Blackman bought a tract of land in Hanover Township, to which he removed and which he cleared up and converted into a farm. His wife died there January 6, 1828. There he resided until his death, which occurred December 5, 1845. (His obituary was published in the *Republican Farmer and Democratic Journal* of December 10, 1845.) During the last ten years of his life he was a United States pensioner.

Elisha and Anna (Hurlbut) Blackman were the parents of the following-named children: (1) *Henry*, born August 28, 1788. See below. (2) *Stephen*, born August 20, 1790; died September 28, 1790. (3) *Ebenezer*, born July 22, 1791; married in 1817 to Susan M. Stockbridge; died December 4, 1844. (4) *Lovina*, born August 6, 1793; died August 29, 1793. (5) *Hurlbut*, born September 25, 1794; married January 18, 1821, to Sarah Rollin; died October 17, 1872. (6) *William*, born November 19, 1796; died January 14, 1800. (7) *Elizabeth*, born August 26, 1799; married August 27, 1823, to Henry Boos; died prior to 1862. (8) *Elisha*, born August 1, 1801; married December 22, 1828, to Amy Rollin; died February 29, 1872. (9) *Julia Anna*, born April 25, 1806. See below. (10) *Abigail*, twin sister of *Julia Anna*, died April 24, 1807.

(1) *Henry Blackman*, born August 28, 1788, was married June 27, 1813, to Sarah E. Bennett, born March 8, 1796. The former died October 18, 1842, and the latter died January 22, 1881. Their remains lie in Forty Fort Cemetery. Henry and Sarah (Bennett) Blackman were the parents of twelve children, all born in Hanover Township, Wyoming Valley, as follows: (i) *Lucinda*, born October 18, 1814; married November 15, 1831, to Avery Marcy, and had ten children; died in Ashley, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, April 13, 1891. (ii) *Abigail*, born May 3, 1816; married in 1842 to William Potter; died October 16, 1889. (iii) *Sally*, born March 30, 1818; died October 25, 1821. (iv) *Melinda C.*, born June 9, 1820; married December 31, 1844, to the Rev. John White, son of Daniel White of Wilkes-Barré, and had two sons and one daughter who grew to maturity; she died at Ashley, in Wyoming Valley, December 4, 1902. (v) *Elisha*, born July 22, 1822; married February 24, 1848, to Adaline Bidleman. (vi) *Araminta*, born August 24, 1824; married July 11, 1848, to John Dwight Safford. (vii) *Hiram*, born August 26, 1826; died December 5, 1850. (viii) *Elizabeth A.*, born September 20, 1828; married December 28, 1844, to Daniel Kidney. (ix) *William R.*, born March 16, 1831; died March 9, 1833. (x) *Martha Lovina*, born November 16, 1833; married in 1853 to Brittain Williams; died in 1860. (xi) *George Henry*, born March 8, 1837; died April 8, 1838. (xii) *Susan Maria*, born December 25, 1839.

(9) *Julia Anna Blackman* (born April 25, 1806), daughter of Elisha and Anna (Hurlbut) Blackman, was married December 21, 1828, to Charles Plumb, who was born August 4, 1802, and died February 14, 1831. Mrs. Julia A. (Blackman) Plumb died in Hanover Township June 29, 1889. The only child of Charles and Julia A. (Blackman) Plumb is Henry Blackman Plumb, born in Hanover Township November 13, 1829. He is the author of "A History of Hanover Township," published at Wilkes-Barré in 1885, and the compiler of the pedigrees of the Blackman, Plumb, Collings, and other families, published in folio form at Wilkes-Barré in 1894. From the latter work the present writer derived the greater part of the genealogical data contained in this note.

(iv) *Ichabod Blackman*, born at Lebanon, Connecticut, March 24, 1762, second son of Elisha and Lucy (Polley) Blackman, was eleven years old when he came with his parents and the other members of their family to Wilkes-Barré. At the time of the irruption of the Tories and Indians into Wyoming Valley Ichabod Blackman was in the seventeenth year of his life, and, being within the age limits fixed by the militia laws of Connecticut, was an enrolled member of the 24th Regiment. With his father and elder brother, Elisha, Jr., he took part in the military expedition from Forty Fort to Sutton's Creek, July 1, 1778, as described on page 990. Whether or not Ichabod Blackman took part in the battle of Wyoming is not now known. It is quite probable that he was one of the garrison at Fort Wilkes-Barré. He fled from the Valley with his mother, sisters and younger brother, and, making his way with them to Connecticut, remained there until 1786, when he returned to Wilkes-Barré. The same year he was married at Goshen, New York, to Elizabeth (born at Litchfield, Connecticut, in 1760), daughter of Arnold Franklin of Hanover Township in Wyoming Valley.

In 1790 Ichabod Blackman removed with his wife and child from Wilkes-Barré to Sheshequin (previously mentioned), where he settled on, and cleared up, a large tract of land now owned by one of his descendants. In the month of April, 1798, he was accidentally drowned in the Susquehanna River while crossing it in a canoe near the mouth of Sugar Creek, on a very dark night. He was survived by his wife, Elizabeth (who was subsequently married to Timothy Winship), and the following-named children: (a) *Franklin Blackman*, born at Wilkes-Barré September 28, 1787. He was about three years old when his parents removed to Sheshequin, and there he continued to make his home until his death. He was a useful and an influential citizen. He was a Justice of the Peace for fifteen years, and held various offices in the State militia—attaining, ultimately, the rank of Colonel. In 1809 he was married to Sibyl (born October 6, 1788), daughter of David and Sibyl Beardsley, and they became the parents of ten children. Mrs. Sibyl (Beardsley) Blackman died December 12, 1864, and Colonel Blackman died August 14, 1880. (b) *Elisha Blackman* (commonly known for the greater part of his life as "Elisha Blackman, 2d") was born at Sheshequin, in what is now Bradford County, Pennsylvania, December 15, 1791. About 1812 or '13 he removed from Sheshequin to Wilkes-Barré Township, and July 14, 1814, was married (1st) to Mary, daughter of Miner Searle of Pittston. They settled in that part of Wilkes-Barré which is now Plains Township, and as early as 1821 Elisha Blackman was keeping hotel on the hill now covered by the village of Plains. Some years later he removed to what is now the city of Pittston. He became a member of Lodge No. 61, F. and A. M., Wilkes-Barré, March 5, 1821, and in 1822 and '23 was a member of the "Mark Masters' Lodge" held under the author-

"I do certify that I was in the battle of Wyoming, fought on the 3d day of July, 1778, and that I am well acquainted with the facts as they took place on that day, and subsequently. I have read the account published in the *National Gazette* of the 6th inst., and know that most of the circumstances related, and especially the material ones, are absolutely false. I have also read the letter of Lord Butler, Esq., relating to the battle, and from personal knowledge, as well as from information obtained at the time, know the facts there stated concerning it, to be correct. I was on the left wing and know that that wing retreated first. I heard Col. Zebulon Butler advise not to go forward that day, but to wait for information and succours. I came into the fort at Kingston from the battle with Colonel Butler, and there were but four or five others with him. I served under Colonel Zebulon Butler in Washington's army, and never heard, until I saw the account in the *Gazette*, either his courage or capacity in the least questioned. On the contrary, his character as an officer always stood high.

"December 26, 1820. [Signed] "RUFUS BENNETT.*"

ity of the warrant of Lodge No. 61. He was one of the original members, and the first Secretary, of St. John's Lodge, No. 233, F. and A. M., constituted at Pittston April 17, 1848. Mrs. Mary (Searle) Blackman having died, Elisha Blackman was married (2d) in 1825 to Philena, daughter of William Searle of Pittston; and upon her death at Providence, Luzerne County, December 8, 1833, he was married (3d) in 1836 to Sarah (born in 1796), daughter of Eleazar Atherton of Lackawanna Township, Luzerne County, who was one of the earliest settlers in the Lackawanna Valley. Mrs. Sarah (Atherton) Blackman died at Waverly (formerly Abington Center), Luzerne County, November 10, 1858, and some time later Elisha Blackman was married (for the fourth and last time) to Mrs. Myra G. Reynolds. Elisha Blackman died October 17, 1881, in the ninetieth year of his age. He was the father of the following-named children: (1) *Miner Searle*, born August 14, 1815; married in 1843 to Ann Elizabeth Drake of Wilkes-Barré; died May 26, 1848. (See a subsequent chapter for a sketch of his life.) (2) *Frances Searle*, born April 20, 1817; married in 1848 to Dr. Avery Knapp of Pittston (born May 25, 1815; died October 4, 1896). She died in March, 1882. (3) *Charles R.*, born March 28, 1819. (4) *Harvey C.*, born September 28, 1821. (5) *Cornelius Searle*, born January 12, 1826. (6) *Mary H.*, born August 26, 1827. (7) *Elizabeth F.*, born February 6, 1831. (8) *Thomas Atherton*, born April 23, 1838. (c) *David S. Blackman*, third and youngest child of Ichabod and Elizabeth (Franklin) Blackman, was born at Sheshequin June 14, 1794, and became a Methodist minister. He was married to Lydia, daughter of Elijah M. Horton. He died September 5, 1828, and was survived by his wife and six children.

(v) *Eleazar Blackman*, youngest child of Elisha and Lucy (Polley) Blackman, was born in Lebanon, Connecticut, May 31, 1765, and was consequently eight years old when he came with his parents to Wilkes-Barré. In the Spring of 1778, as a boy of thirteen, he aided in strengthening the defenses of Fort Wilkes-Barré—by hauling logs with an ox-team, and digging in the trenches. After the battle of July 3d he fled from the Valley with his mother, sisters and brother, as previously related, and proceeded to Lebanon, Connecticut, where he remained until his return to Wilkes-Barré in 1786. Eleazar Blackman was married October 7, 1786, at Wilkes-Barré, to Clorinda (born February 14, 1769), daughter of John Hyde, originally of New London County, Connecticut, but then an inhabitant of Wilkes-Barré, residing on Lot No. 29 of the "Second Division" of the township. (Some years later he removed to Hanover Township.)

Eleazar Blackman settled in Wilkes-Barré. "In the progress of the settlement and opening up of the country he mingled actively in the business of life, held public stations—both civil and military—and during his entire life enjoyed the respect and esteem of all who knew him." In 1788 he was a private in the "Troop of Light Dragoons" raised and commanded by Capt. John Paul Schott. In 1790 he was a private in the company of Light Infantry (commanded by his brother, Lieut. Elisha Blackman, Jr.) attached to the "1st Regiment of Militia in Luzerne County," commanded by Lieut. Col. Matthias Hollenback. In September, 1800, he was elected and commissioned Captain of the "First Troop of Horse," 2d Brigade, 8th Division, Pennsylvania Militia. This position he held for a number of years, and in 1812 he attained the rank of Major in the militia. From 1801 till 1803 he was one of the Commissioners of Luzerne County; and from 1808 till 1810 Treasurer of the County. He was made a Free Mason in Lodge No. 61, F. and A. M., Wilkes-Barré, November 2, 1795, and was Secretary of the Lodge in 1797, Senior Warden in 1798, '99, 1800, '01, '02, '03, '13, '14, '15 and '16, Treasurer in 1806, and Worshipful Master in 1804 and 1809. In 1822 and '23 he was a member of the "Mark Masters' Lodge" working under the authority of the Warrant of Lodge No. 61.

Major Blackman, for many years prior to his death, lived on his farm in Wilkes-Barré near the Hanover Township line and not far from the foot of the mountain. Prior to 1830 he opened up a "coal-bed" on this farm, and thenceforward, for a number of years, he carried on in a small way the business of coal-mining in addition to his farming operations. In time this coal-bed became known as the "Blackman Mine," and years later—when the operations had become more extensive—the mine was known as the "Franklin." (See its location on the map facing page 456, Vol. I.) Major Blackman died at his home September 10, 1843, and was buried two days later with the honors of Free Masonry—a large number of the Brethren of the Craft being in attendance at the funeral. Mrs. Clorinda (Hyde) Blackman died December 26, 1829. The children of Maj. Eleazar and Clorinda (Hyde) Blackman were all born in the township of Wilkes-Barré, and their names were as follows: (i) *Lucy*, born March 4, 1788; married at Wilkes-Barré March 17, 1806, to Shepard Sterne. (ii) *Lucretia*, born August 22, 1789; died February 10, 1790. (iii) *Minerva*, born December 30, 1790; married at Wilkes-Barré July 28, 1811, to Calvin Edwards, a tailor. (iv) *Melinda*, born May 4, 1793; married at Wilkes-Barré October 7, 1812, by William Ross, Esq., to Daniel Collings (a sketch of whose life will be found in a subsequent chapter); she died in Wilkes-Barré March 28, 1861. (v) *Amanda*, born February 27, 1795; married to Thomas Gray; died in March, 1861. (vi) *Hiram*, born March 27, 1801; died August 7, 1822. (vii) *Clorinda*, born March 4, 1803; died December 24, 1805. (viii) *Eleazar*, born March 25, 1806. (ix) *Julia*, born September 4, 1808; married to Edward Jones, a native of Wales, who died about 1850, survived by his wife, one son and two daughters. Mrs. Julia (Blackman) Jones died October 22, 1889. (x) *Lovina*, born March 4, 1811; married at Beaver Meadows, Carbon County, Pennsylvania, April 19, 1837, by the Rev. Roger Moister to Richard Jones (born March 20, 1816), a brother of Edward Jones, mentioned above. Richard Jones died at Wilkes-Barré January 17, 1874, and his widow—survived by one son and one daughter—died here April 5, 1894.

* RUFUS BENNETT was born in New England in 1760. The names of his parents are not known, but it is probable that he was a brother or a son of Isaac Bennett who died in Newport Township, Luzerne County, July 28, 1809, aged seventy-six years. Rufus Bennett was administrator of Isaac's estate. On the tax-lists of Hanover District (which included Newport Township) the name Isaac Bennett, Jr., appears in 1776, '77 and '78. He was dead in 1787, and had left children: Isaac, Lois (wife of Moses Brown) and Susanna (wife of Elias Green). The Isaac last mentioned may have been the Isaac who died in July, 1809, and the father of Rufus.

Rufus Bennett was a private in Capt. Samuel Ransom's Wyoming company in the Continental ser-

"I was in the battle of Wyoming, July 3d, 1778, and am acquainted with the circumstances attending it. I can assert that Col. Zebulon Butler had not the command of the whole colony, but that he was requested to take the command of the militia who were collected, and lead them on to battle. I know that Col. Zebulon Butler was not a cousin of Col. John Butler, the commander of the enemy's forces, for I have heard them both say so. I know Col. Zebulon Butler was not drawn out of the fort by the lavish promises of the enemy. He did not march out to a parley, but went to meet the enemy for the purpose of fighting them. He had with him between 300 and 400 men, all that were collected in the fort. Colonel Butler's opinion was that it would be better to delay and not fight that day. His reasons I do not know particularly.

"No flag appeared to entice Zebulon Butler and his men into an ambush. We marched out between the Kingston Fort and the Wintermute's Fort, so called, and formed a line in a secure place, without danger of being surrounded, and were there to have waited for the British and Indians. But the men, seeing the smoke rise from a burning house, and having their feelings much excited, were determined to press forward. Previous to this our advance guard had fired upon some Indians. We then marched up and attacked the enemy, who were also formed in a line. I was on the right wing when the battle commenced, and supposed we were beating the enemy, until the firing ceased on the left, and the confusion and retreat began.

"Colonel Denison did not attempt to defend the fort in Kingston—there was not a gun fired from it to my knowledge—nor did the enemy burn the women and children either at Kingston or at Wilkesbarre. I knew Colonel Butler from the year 1769 till the time of his death. I was an officer in his regiment and served under his command in the militia before the war, as well as in the Continental army, and never heard his patriotism, courage or capacity questioned in any way whatever.

"Dec. 26th, 1820.

[Signed] "MATTHIAS HOLLENBACK."

In 1824 there was published the "Military Journal" of James Thacher, M. D., of Massachusetts, who had been a surgeon in the American army during the Revolutionary War. This book was widely read, and in 1827 a second edition was published. On page 141 of the book we find these paragraphs:

"*Highlands [on the Hudson], August 3, 1778.* I am now to notice one of the most dreadful instances of perfidious savage cruelty that can perhaps be found on the records of history. However incredible the particulars may appear, they are found in various publications, and received as indubitable facts. Nor would I tarnish a page with the diabolical transaction till the detailed account has been incontrovertibly established. * * * Wyoming consisted of eight townships, containing 1,000 families; and such was the zeal with which they espoused the cause of America, that they voluntarily raised about 1,000 soldiers for the Continental army. * * *

"About the 1st of July last the ferocious enemy, consisting of 1,600 Tories, Indians and half-blooded Englishmen, approached the settlement. This motley combination was commanded by Col. John Butler, a Tory refugee, and others, no less inhuman and

vice, and continued in the service under Captain Spalding upon the consolidation of the two Wyoming companies. He was one of those who came home from "the front" (as mentioned on page 978) to assist in defending Wyoming against the enemy. After the battle he joined Captain Spalding, and undoubtedly served with him until the end of the war. After the war he settled in Hanover Township, where, about 1783 or '84 he was married to Martha Bennett (born in 1763), daughter of Ishmael Bennett of Hanover by his first wife.

Ishmael Bennett, mentioned above, was, so far as known, not related by blood to Rufus Bennett. He was born in Rhode Island about 1730; removed to Connecticut, and came to Wyoming about 1773 with his three children—his wife being dead. He settled in Pittston, and, with his children, was in the Pittston fort at the time of the battle of Wyoming. About 1783 Ishmael Bennett—then living in Wilkes-Barré—was married (2d) to Abigail (Beers) Weeks, widow of Philip Weeks of Wilkes-Barré, and about 1788 they removed to Hanover Township. About 1816 Ishmael Bennett removed to the State of Ohio, where he died at the age of 104 years. His children by his first wife were: (i) *Ishmael*, born in 1760; came to Wyoming with his father; some years subsequently to the battle of Wyoming he was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Constant Searle and widow of Capt. Dethick Hewitt; settled in Pittston Township, where he died August 29, 1844, at the age of eighty-four years. (ii) *Martha*, born in 1763; married to Rufus Bennett, as previously noted. (iii) *Thomas*, born in 1765; married to Mary Ann Espy. The children of Ishmael Bennett, Sr., by his second wife were: (iv) *Daniel*, born in 1784. (v) *Josiah*, born in 1786; married to Sarah Taylor; died in 1857. (vi) *Nathan*, born in 1788; died in 1872. (vii) *Polly*, born in 1789; died in 1831. (viii) *Sarah*, born in 1791; died in 1881.

Rufus and Martha (Bennett) Bennett were the parents of three daughters and six sons. Rufus Bennett died April 21, 1842, at the home of one of his sons in the hamlet of Woodville, just below the then borough of Wilkes-Barré, and his widow died there in 1853. On April 22, 1842, a meeting of the citizen-soldiers of Wilkes-Barré was held at Dennis' Hotel, to take into consideration measures for paying proper respect to the remains of Rufus Bennett. Gen. William S. Ross presided, and the following minute was adopted: "Rufus Bennett sleeps with his fathers! The Continental soldier and the border warrior—the staunch foe of the foreign tyrant and the ruthless savage—has closed his earthly career among the scenes consecrated by the blood of his compatriots and endeared by the recollection of his own gallant participation in the memorable struggle for Wyoming. As Americans, and citizens of this Valley, we are anxious to testify our respect for the memory of the veteran soldier who periled life and limb in the war of liberty." The funeral of Rufus Bennett took place on April 23d. There was an unusually large number of people in attendance, and the procession to the graveyard was headed by a detachment of "Citizen Volunteers," with music, under the command of Gen. William S. Ross. Gen. Isaac Bowman was Chief Marshal of the procession.

cruel than their savage allies. * * * Those capable of bearing arms were immediately embodied under the command of Col. Zebulon Butler, *cousin to the commander of the savages*. * * The enemy approached, and pretending they were desirous of a parley, proposed that Col. Zebulon Butler should meet them at some distance from the fort for that purpose. He complied, but for safety took with him 400 armed men. This proved to be a fatal stratagem; he soon found himself surrounded and attacked on every side. He and his little party defended themselves with great firmness and bravery, and the commander, with about twenty of his men, finally made his escape. The enemy now rushed on and invested the fort, which they cannonaded most of the day; and horrid to relate, when they sent in a demand for the surrender, it was accompanied by 196 bloody scalps taken from those who had just been slain.

"Colonel Denison, on whom the command of the fort had devolved, defended himself till most of his men had fallen by his side, when he went out with a flag to inquire what terms would be granted him on surrendering the garrison. He received from the ferocious Butler a reply in two words—'The hatchet!' Colonel Denison was finally obliged to surrender at discretion, still retaining the hope of mercy. But he was woefully mistaken; the threat of Butler was rigorously executed. After selecting a few prisoners, the remainder of the people, including women and children, were enclosed in houses and barracks, which were immediately set on fire, and the whole consumed together.

"Another fort was near at hand, in which were seventy Continental soldiers. On surrendering without conditions, these were, to a man, butchered in a barbarous manner; when the remainder of the men, women and children were shut up in the houses, and the demons of hell glutted their vengeance in beholding their destruction in one general conflagration! This tragical scene being finished, the merciless authors of it spread fire and sword throughout the settlement, sparing, however, the houses and farms of the Tories. They extended their cruel hands to the cattle in the fields, shooting some and cutting out the tongues of others, leaving them alive. The additional particulars, from their unparalleled enormity, would not be recited here, were it not that they have been already promulgated from authentic sources." [Then follows a description of the tortures inflicted upon Captains Bidlack, Durkee and Ransom, and an account of the alleged threats and doings of Thomas Terry and Parshall Terry, Jr.]

Undoubtedly Dr. Thacher gained his information concerning the battle of Wyoming and the after-events from the *New York Journal* and from flying rumors.

In May, 1827, there was published in *The Independent Republican*, a Pennsylvania newspaper, an account of the battle and massacre of Wyoming, evidently drawn from Thacher's "Journal." In answer to this newspaper article Col. John Franklin wrote to the editor of the *Republican* as follows:

"Mr. CATLIN:—In your paper of the third *instant* I find a statement of the battle of Wyoming, which took place on the 3d of July, 1778, and on examination I find the account greatly exaggerated. Though it is true in part, yet there is a large part that is not true. It is stated that the enemy that entered Wyoming on the first of July were supposed to be about sixteen hundred strong. It was not so; their number *did not exceed seven hundred*. That out of four hundred that marched out to the battle with Col. Butler, it is stated that not more than twenty escaped. This is not true; though it is true that more than one half fell a sacrifice to savage barbarity. It is also stated that the great body of the people that were in the fort of Kingston were shut up in their houses and burnt up, and that [Maj. John] Butler, with his forces, crossed to Wilkesbarre fort, and, hacking to pieces about seventy Continental soldiers, the remaining men with the women and children shared the fate of their brethren in Kingston; that they perished in the flames. This is not true.

"I was an eye-witness to the transactions of that time. I cannot at present recollect of any man now living, except myself, that was in the fort at Kingston when it was given up, who knew the transactions. There were numbers of women, young people and children that were in the fort at the time, and I expect numbers are yet living that can bear witness to many things that took place at that time. Colonel Hollenback was in the battle, and made his escape by swimming the river, and got into Wilkesbarre fort, and did not return back to Kingston.

"The fort in Kingston was surrendered to the enemy on Saturday, July the 4th, in pursuance of articles of capitulation previously agreed upon between Col. John Butler, in behalf of his Britannic Majesty, and Col. Nathan Denison, in behalf the inhabitants of Wyoming. I saw the articles written and executed by the parties, and *have the original now in keeping*. The articles of capitulation were as favourable as we could expect, considering the circumstances at that time. I was present when Butler with his Indians and Tories marched into the fort. I walked out with Colonel Denison, and met them and led them in and delivered up the fort with the few arms that were within it.

"The articles agreed on and executed in writing, although favourable for the inhabitants, were violated by the enemy in every part, except that of massacring the people. There was no personal injury done to any one in the fort; but plunder, and firing the dwellings of the inhabitants, laying the whole of the settlements in ruins, without reserve, immediately followed. An old man of the name of Hickman, and his wife, living near Capouse, were murdered, and a man by the name of St. John, when going out towards the great swamp, was shot by the Indians. The woman with her child was suffered to go unhurt.

"On the day of the battle by far the greater part that lost their lives had surrendered on the promise of protection, but were afterwards massacred—many being tortured in the most cruel manner that savages could invent. Only one prisoner was saved alive, whose name was Samuel Cary, who is (or was not long since) living at Lackawanna. Col. Zebulon Butler, and the few Continental soldiers that escaped the slaughter on the day of the battle, left Wyoming before Kingston fort was surrendered, as it was proposed that they should be held as prisoners of war.

"I am not able at present to give you but a short account of the transactions—only some of the outlines. As soon as my health will permit, I will furnish you with the history* of the events that took place in those days of tribulation and distress at Wyoming. "Athens, May 14th, 1827. [Signed] "JOHN FRANKLIN."

In 1840 Col. W. L. Stone's "Poetry and History of Wyoming" was published, and five years later Charles Miner's "History of Wyoming" was given to the public. In each of these books some of the many fabulous tales, which for years had been accepted as authentic Wyoming history, were effectually demolished. But still the earlier-printed accounts of Gordon, Botta and Thacher continued to be read and accepted, and when, in 1857, Dr. J. A. Spencer published his "History of the United States" he incorporated in it an account of the battle of Wyoming based on the disproved narratives of Gordon, Thacher, *et al.* The Rev. George Peck, D. D., wrote to the editor of *The New York Times* in January, 1858 (only a few months prior to the publication of the former's "Wyoming"), in part as follows relative to Dr. Spencer's account of the battle of Wyoming.

"The grave errors of historians, in relation to the early history of this famous locality, seem to be imperishable. They have been corrected and refuted, over and over, and yet they continue to be propagated and palmed upon the public. My principal object in this communication is to draw attention to a few of these errors, found in Dr. J. A. Spencer's 'History of the United States.' * * In Book III, Chapter V, pages 23-25, the author draws upon Thacher's 'Military Journal' for what he seems to suppose to be an authentic account of the Wyoming massacre.

"The points I dispute are: (1) That Col. Zebulon Butler, who commanded the patriots, and Col. John Butler, who commanded the royal forces, were cousins, whereas they were not related to each other by any natural ties of consanguinity. (2) That Col. Zebulon Butler was drawn out by the Tory leader, upon a pretense that 'they were desirous of a parley'—when the patriot band went out to fight and to do nothing else. * * * (7) That the story of Parshall and Thomas Terry is pure fiction. It is said one murdered his father, mother, brothers and sisters; while the other, with his own hands, butchered his mother, his father-in-law, his sisters and their infant children, and exterminated the whole family. Parshall Terry was in John Butler's army, and he had a brother on our side. An eye-witness relates the fact that young [Parshall] Terry came into the fort, after the battle, disguised, to bid his friends farewell. There were real Tory outrages enough committed, without making up fictitious ones. One Tory [Pencil] shot his brother in cold blood, and another [Windecker] tomahawked his friend."

The most remarkable and absurd of all the fabulous accounts of the battle and massacre of Wyoming which the present writer has read, was originally printed in a German publication. In 1850 it was translated from the German into English, and was published in the *Pittsburg Post*. The story was entitled "The German Thermopylae. A Sketch of the American Revolution."†

* This history was subsequently given in the series of articles referred to on page 994, *ante*.

† The translation mentioned above reads as follows:

"There are, we presume, but a few of our readers who have not heard of the beautiful Wyoming Valley, that rich and fertile tract of land situated in the State of Pennsylvania, and which has often been celebrated by poets and writers. This valley was first and chiefly settled by Germans. It contains rich farms, fields and meadows, together with valuable timber, and was visited with fire and

For a considerable number of years following the sanguinary conflict which took place on Abraham's Plains on July 3, 1778, the event was referred to, first, as "*the battle*," and then, as "*the Indian battle*," by the people of Wyoming—who, of all persons, were the best informed as to the particulars and characteristics of that conflict. Thus we find in military orders issued by Lieut. Col. Zebulon Butler at Wilkes-Barré in October, 1778 (see the ensuing chapter), the expressions, "*the late battle at this place*," "*the late battle at Westmoreland*," and "*the late battle at and near the place called Wintermute's Fort*"—all referring to the battle of the previous 3d of July. In the testimony given before the Confirming Commissioners* at Wilkes-Barré in 1787, and in the voluminous evidence—both oral and documentary—produced before the commissioners under the Compromise Law,† at Wilkes-Barré in 1801 and 1802, the expression "*Indian battle*" was frequently used by contemporaries of the event—the reference being, in each instance, to the battle of July 3, 1778.

This conflict was denominated a *battle* notwithstanding the fact that numerous exaggerated accounts of it had been disseminated throughout the civilized world, whereby the event had been represented solely and entirely as a *murderous rout and massacre*. The people of Westmoreland of that period knew very well that a massacre of their fellow-

sword by a party of American Tories, British and Indians in the year 1778, at a time when the male population of the settlement (which number amounted to about 350 souls) had joined the army of the great and immortal Washington, at a distance of several days' journey, where they expected to encounter the main army of the enemy.

"The Colonel of the Wyoming Germans was Hollenback, a Justice of the Peace. He was an intimate friend of Washington, who knew how to appreciate his distinguished qualities, as well as his rare intelligence; although as regarding religion, their views and opinions differed greatly from each other, as it is well known that Washington was a strict believer in the Bible, whereas Hollenback did adhere to the doctrines of Thomas Paine, who was a philosopher and freethinker.

"The heart-rending call in distress, of their parents, wives and children, whom they had left at home, soon reached the ears of the Wyoming Volunteers, and in an instant Hollenback found himself surrounded by his men, who urged him to meet the enemy, whose force consisted of more than 2,000 men. In vain were the representations of Washington, who, being aware of the superior numerical strength of these barbarous and plundering hordes, had prognosticated to all a sure death. Terror and agony moved the heart of every one at the thought of the dear ones whom they had left behind, unprotected, and they clenched their fists in eagerness for combat and vengeance at the gloomy prospects of their ruined happiness; and it was now no longer possible for them to remain with the army.

"At the sound of the trumpet, and headed by their Colonel, they began to return homeward in great haste, marching day and night until they arrived at their settlement, where, instead of meeting again their peaceable abodes, they beheld the smoking ruins of destroyed dwellings, near to which the enemies had comfortably erected their tents—their morning fires blazing triumphantly in the air, intermingled with their huzzas. They soon recognized the red hordes of Brandt, the notorious spoilers of the German Flats, who had joined the rapacious and blood-thirsty Tories and British, who, but a short time ago in Cherry Valley, had given such terrible proofs of their cruelty.

"With doleful looks Hollenback regarded his little gallant band, who, gnashing their teeth for rage and vengeance, stood near the place of destruction, and the looks of his men announced to him the inmost thoughts of their hearts. There was none who would have trembled at an assault on these hordes of murderers. 'Brothers,' exclaimed Hollenback, 'against such cowards, who watch for our absence, and who now rejoice in victory over women and children only, every one of us can stand the ground against eight of them. Let us send these brutes to hell in such a manner that even the Devil himself must have respect for the Germans of Wyoming Valley!' And, raising himself from his saddle, he waved his sword in the air, and spurred his horse onward. Thundering hurrahs followed his words, and his men rushed forward, eager for the ensuing combat.

"At the first volley more than 100 of these red-skins (who formed the advance guard of the enemy) were weltering in their blood. The enemy were quietly reposing in their camp, but in an instant the whole army of the enemy was apprised of the assault, and from all sides they rushed upon the gallant little corps. The sun rose, spreading its animating beams upon the exhausted Germans, who made arrangements to take their stand behind a row of ruins, and to wait for the approach of their enemies. The first assault of the enemy was repulsed, and many kissed the earth in death, caused by the dense drift of bullets sent forth from behind the entrenchments. * * * The enemy soon engaged its whole army in a furious combat, but they were not able to stand their ground against the discharges of the pieces of the little band, which, rattling, cleared their ranks: Repulsed repeatedly, and again hurrying into the fight, the enemy could not gain a foot of ground, although their guns began to clear the ranks of their powerful antagonists. * * *

"During twelve long hours these German Spartans manfully resisted the superior force of the enemy. Finally, and with the last glowing of the setting sun, the fate of the day was decided; 300 Germans had fallen in defense of their adopted country, and fifty more lay badly wounded, who would not seek for quarter, and still strove to make a last effort against the enemy—who seeing their determination, had almost been driven to madness on account of their bravery.

"What a noble military achievement! What persevering heroism! Had these men been Americans, they would, up to this day, have been remembered by the nation as 'The Immortal Wyoming Boys.' But they were only Germans, and their memory—which is as worthy of immortality as that of the Hellenes of Thermopylae—remains silently recorded in the book of history of two Pennsylvania Counties!"

* See paragraph "(4)," page 29, Vol. I.

† See page 25, Vol. I.

townsmen and defenders had been perpetrated on Abraham's Plains by their malevolent enemies—a cold-blooded, savage and brutal slaughter of fleeing foes, and a wicked and unlawful murder of prisoners secured by capture or surrender; but they were aware, also, that these horrors had been preceded by a battle—between their townsmen and a force superior in numbers and arms—which had been carefully planned and deliberately, bravely and vigorously fought by each of the forces engaged. They knew, too (for many of the Westmorelanders who participated in the engagement had been, as we have herein noted, soldiers in more than one campaign of the French and Indian War), that the tactics and methods pursued by the savages on Abraham's Plains on that bloody 3d day of July were absolutely in accordance with Indian warfare as it had been carried on from the earliest historic times.

During the French and Indian War the chief British officers, beginning with Braddock, were slow in obtaining a knowledge of the character of the Indians in times of hostilities, when they were governed by impulse and by hopes of plunder—the desire to obtain scalps and booty being the great (if not the only) motive which ever induced them to accompany either the French or the English on a military campaign.* Then, again, many of those same officers undervalued the Indian system of warfare—placing little faith in the efficiency of guerilla tactics. And yet a review of our Indian history, from Braddock's day down almost to the present era, proves that a small Indian force in ambuscade was an equivalent for, or would overmatch, five times its number of disciplined troops. For the latter, fighting according to the white man's methods, would either be thrown into confusion or become panic-stricken by the peculiar tactics of the savages, and then would be slaughtered in large numbers or totally defeated. To a considerable extent the officers and soldiers of the American army in the Revolutionary War, well informed as they were—either through personal experience or the teachings of history—in respect to the Indians' methods of warfare, fought their battles with the savages in much the same way that they or their ancestors had fought them twenty years earlier; and so the Americans often met with defeat and slaughter—which, in a measure, was what they half expected, for they knew that their foes were blood-thirsty and unrelenting, as well as cautious, wary and vigilant.

Some years ago a famous General of the United States Army, who had fought through the Civil War, declared, "War is hell!" Yes, and it was "hell" in the days of Braddock, of Wolfe, of Amherst, and of Washington, as well as in the time of Sherman. It inflamed the passions, jaundiced the vision and darkened the heart then just as now. It is true that in these days of singular doctrines and strange "isms" there are some men and women who prate about "humane" war. Their ideas were well hit off, during the United States-Philippine troubles in 1902, by a genial and popular poet, in the following lines:

"What we want is a perfectly humane war,
Conducted upon a plan
To put all those natives in first-class shape,
But never to hurt a man.

"Our soldiers must use only olive-branch loads
In their guns, and must exercise care
In furnishing prisoners with dress-suits and pie,
And must open all battles with prayer.

* As to Indian warfare, see pages 145 and 146, Vol. I.

"No matter what tortures our men will endure,
 No matter how nameless the pain,
 We've got to be nice to the poor bolo-men,
 For *civilized war is humane!*"

War against or by the Indians in this country during the Colonial and Revolutionary periods was certainly not carried on along any such lines as those indicated by these verses. No, war was cruel then and is cruel now, "and neither the poet's harp nor the painter's brush nor the orator's lip can make it other than the horrid thing it is. And the War of the Revolution was distinguished by the extreme barbarity of the British," declares Professor Enoch Perrine of Bucknell University, and then asserts further*:

"Men saw this fact while the war was in progress; for when it was almost over, in the year 1780, John Jay, writing for aid to the Spanish people, declared that 'the barbarous and very inhuman manner in which the war has been conducted by the enemy has so alienated the affections of the people from the King and Government of Great Britain and filled their hearts with such deep-rooted and just resentments as render cordial reconciliation, much less dependence on them, utterly impossible.' This alienation is seen in the fact that, as the war went on, many of the Tories here became very lukewarm, and Goldwin Smith, the English publicist, says that their number was reduced and their zeal cooled by the arbitrary violence of the King's officers and the excesses of his hiring troops. * * * This admitted barbarity cannot be defended upon the ground that fire must be fought with fire. As early as the year 1775 Congress said to the Six Nations†: 'This is a family quarrel between us and Old England. You Indians are not concerned in it.' * * * Three years afterwards, when it was thought best to employ some Indians, General Schuyler wrote to James Duane: 'Divesting them of the savage customs exercised in their wars against each other, I think they may be made of excellent use as scouts and light troops.' * * *

"Who, then, were responsible for the extreme cruelty that marked the operations of the English forces? There were, first of all, the savages—spectacular in their war-paint and feathers, like panthers in their sudden, secret and deadly clutch, loud and fierce in their attack. Associated with them in our minds is the pioneer, dead by the side of his plow, his cabin aflame, his children brained and scalped, his wife mayhap fleeing for life across the swamps and through the forests. But the savages were the least culpable. Undeveloped—they were the children only of the woods, an easy prey for plausible villainy; violent—their life of the chase, and their bitter exterminating wars with each other, were to their natures like winds upon the prairies. * * * In the second and higher degree of culpability are the Tories. Intelligent, devoted to the King and the Established Church, possessed frequently of much property, it was their affair if they chose to disregard the signs of the times and to close their eyes to the rising sun of Liberty. Conservative by nature and aristocratic in conduct, they found a plenty of arguments why they should remain loyal to the Crown. * * *

"But for some strange reason the Tory, when opportunity offered, was worse in his cruelty than the red-men themselves. Fiske employs no mere rhetoric when he says that 'the Tories took less pains than Brant to prevent useless slaughter, and some of the atrocities permitted by Walter Butler have never been outdone in the history of savage warfare.' * * * They [the Tories] tried to create this impression of themselves—that they were worse even than the redskins; and, while many were yet living, Fenimore Cooper pilloried them in his novels with the sanction of their contemporaries. Against them, too, the vengeance of the gods was at work. They incensed their friends, neighbors, relatives—paying the price which those pay who set at naught the ties of blood; their property was confiscated, and their estates formed no mean part of Colonial wealth; they lost whatever position they held in either Church or State; they fled to Canada and Nova Scotia, and to this day their descendants apologize and hang the head.

"In the third and highest degree of culpability, raised to a bad eminence, is the British Government, without whose positive sanction and active aid these cruelties would have ceased in their inception. At the head stands George, the King. * * * Soon he began to press for the employment of Indians against the revolted Colonies. At this instigation it was Suffolk who in the House of Lords interrupted the dying Chatham by defending the King's proposition to use the Indians as 'a means that God and Nature put into our hands.' All knew what the savages would do in battle, for they had been tried in the French and Indian War, the memory of which was still fresh. So fearful had the work of the Indians been that the Great Commoner,‡ who died two months before the crowning crime at Wyoming, cried out with expiring breath against the abomi-

* In a scholarly address—"The Nemesis of Wyoming"—delivered before the Wyoming Commemorative Association, July 3, 1905. Published by the Association in 1906.

† See page 925, *ante*.

‡ The Earl of Chatham. See page 608, Vol. I.

nable proposition of Suffolk: 'What! to attribute the sacred sanction of God and Nature to the massacres of the Indian scalping-knife! Such principles shock every sentiment of honor; they shock me as a lover of honor and honorable war.' * * *

"Even with the Ministry in his control the King could not have perfected his plan had there not been at hand one who * * * was both pliant and energetic. He was found in the person of Lord George Germain.* Placed at the head of the department of military affairs, the conduct of the war on the frontier was left largely to him. Fiske tells us that the terrors of the war on the border must be charged to the account of Lord George Germain and a few unworthy men who were willing to be his tools. * * Guy Carleton† tried to restrain the Indian, but Germain would abate neither jot nor tittle. * * He determined to establish the King's supremacy, not by honorable, skilful struggle, but by breaking the spirit of the Americans so far as barbarity, Indian or otherwise, could do it. * * * The enlistment of the German mercenaries was due largely to him; his tactics were to destroy private property and injure individuals by unprovoked attacks with fire and sword. He could not be made to believe other than that the Tories were numerous and strong, while the Colonists were few and feeble."

The methods pursued by the Tories and Indians on the battle-field of Wyoming, after the Westmorelanders had begun to retreat, were probably no more savage and shocking than what they practised on any field where they were the victors. They intended these barbarous doings to be finishing touches to a successful conflict. However, as years rolled on, the *massacre* features of Wyoming's bloody 3d of July became more and more prominent in people's eyes, chiefly because those features were dwelt upon and exaggerated in nearly every piece of prose and poetry—whether trivial or of consequence—which was published during those years on the subject of Wyoming. When, in 1837 and 1838, appeals were made to the National Congress by citizens of Wyoming for aid for "old Wyoming sufferers, their widows, heirs, and legal representatives;" and when, in 1839 and subsequent years, appeals were made by the same citizens to the General Assembly of Connecticut for an appropriation of money to be used in erecting the Wyoming Monument, there was published relative to these matters a considerable amount of literature. The most, if not all, of this was the product of a resident of Wilkes-Barré who was an intelligent, earnest and ardent supporter of all good projects for the benefit and advantage of his fellow-citizens; but who was, withal, a gentleman of elevated sensibility and lively imagination. In his zeal to make out a strong and convincing case for Wyoming, the *massacre*, and the subsequent flight of the survivors from the Valley, were strongly featured in his writings, while he dealt but briefly with the battle itself, its importance and its results. In more recent years the events of July 3, 1778, have been represented and designated—in art, in song, and in history—as the "massacre of Wyoming" more often than as the "battle of Wyoming."

Happily, when Edward Garrick Mallery, the young and brilliant Wilkes-Barré lawyer, wrote in 1843 the graceful, chaste and stirring epitaph now inscribed upon the Wyoming Monument,‡ he denominated the chief event commemorated by that monument as "The Battle of Wyoming"—and *thus it should be entitled always!* Moreover, let it be remembered that it was not only a battle attended with dreadful carnage, and with horrors of every shape and name, and followed by "widespread havoc, desolation and ruin," but that it was a battle of importance and of considerable consequence, when its results are considered.

It is true that the battle was disastrous to the Americans. What else could have been expected! What officer ever yet succeeded in rallying, and bringing again into line, a band of flying militia with a cloud

* See page 568, Vol. I, and page 1047, *ante*.

† See pages 927 and 936.

‡ See Chapter XXVII.

of savages at their heels! Zebulon Butler was not an accidental soldier. His intelligence, courage and fortitude had been exhibited during the French and Indian War, and in the Pennamite-Yankee contest for the possession of the region he was later to defend against a horde of merciless invaders. But when the invasion actually occurred he was not only unprepared (through no fault of his own, however), but was compelled to meet the enemy contrary to his own better judgment. His disposition of his men for the battle was that of a soldier; his conduct during the battle that of a brave man and skilful officer. But for the untoward circumstance of the mistaken order which threw the left wing into confusion, the fortunes of the day might have been different. Neither Lieut. Colonel Butler nor Colonel Denison lost any character in the eyes of those who took part with them in the battle, or in the estimation of those who knew the two men.

In the light of our present knowledge of the event, it is undeniable that the battle of Wyoming has never received its adequate place in the history of the War of the Revolution. "The battle was not one of the great battles of history, either in skill displayed, the numbers engaged, or in the casualties suffered," wrote Gen. Edmund L. Dana in 1878.* "It was fought, however, against superior numbers, arms, and discipline, and in defense of life and home. It was great in the motives which prompted and the courage which inspired the heroes who gave their lives to their country and their example to all time." Three years later General Dana declared† that "he admitted that while the accounts of the battle and massacre may have been exaggerated in many respects, in others he believed justice had never been done those who fought and fell—that the deeds of valor and heroism done by these men were greater than we ever credited them for. He believed they were the greater and grander because the men fought without support—with nothing whatever to rely upon."

"The battle of Wyoming was not a great battle directly in its results, as affecting the struggle for Independence by the Colonies. It was not great in point of the number of men engaged in the conflict. But it was great in this: The exaggerated story of the atrocities committed by the British troops and their allies [after the battle], fired the heart and nerved the arm of every American patriot in this broad land, wherever the story became known. It crossed the broad and tempestuous Atlantic, and the sympathies of European civilization became enlisted on the side of the struggling Colonists." The battle of Wyoming caused General Washington and the Continental authorities to send into the country of the Seneca and other tribes of the Six Nations the military expedition commanded by General Sullivan—as narrated in Chapter XVIII. The short but severe campaign conducted by Sullivan broke the backbone of the Iroquois Confederacy, and greatly weakened the power of the Indian allies of the British. The fertile and beautiful country now forming the western part of the State of New York was then an unknown wilderness, and its value and attractiveness were first made known to the white people through the Sullivan Expedition. As a consequence, many (not a few from Wyoming Valley) of those who shared the perils and privations of that expedition, afterwards became settlers of the land they had aided to conquer.

* See "Wyoming Memorial," page 124.

† See *ibid.*, page 323.

Briefly, and in conclusion : The battle of Wyoming, properly and impartially considered, must be regarded as one of the memorable events in American history ; and it cannot be gainsaid that those who died on Wyoming's field, and whose ashes lie beneath the Wyoming Monument and in unknown places, gave their lives for more than they thought and more than their generation thought and more than succeeding generations have given them credit for.

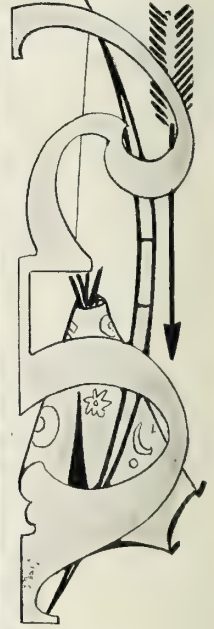
"O martyrs of the matchless vale! no feet
That ever trod Wyoming's lovely ways
Went shod with valor such as thine to meet
The fiercest foe of all the by-gone days.

* * *

"But who shall say ye fought and died in vain,
Looking a-down this peerless vale to-day,
Counting its beauty and its garnered gain,
And listening to the tuneful toiler's lay!

* * *

"O patriots of the peerless vale! we bow
In gratitude to thee for countless good ;
The noble heritage we garner now
Is fruitage of the seed ye sowed in blood."





CHAPTER XVI.

WILKES-BARRÉ TAKEN POSSESSION OF AND OCCUPIED BY CONTINENTAL SOLDIERS AND WESTMORELAND MILITIA—THE HARTLEY EXPEDITION AGAINST THE INDIANS—FORT WYOMING ERECTED—WYOMING'S DEAD INTERRED.

"The equipment of the early American: He had two tools, the ax and the rifle. With the one he built, with the other he fought and lived. * * Each man was a master of weapons, and incapable of fear."

"The path of empire in America—the path of corn and venison—was a highway which never ran backward."—*Emerson Hough*, 1901.

In pursuance of orders issued by the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania July 14, 1778 (see page 1058), Col. Thomas Hartley, commanding "Hartley's Regiment" of the Continental Line, marched from Philadelphia for Sunbury a few days later with such companies of his regiment as were then in Philadelphia, together with some militia. At Sunbury, under the date of August 1, 1778, Colonel Hartley reported to the Supreme Executive Council as follows*:

"I came here a few days since with a detachment of my regiment, and some militia. Upon my arrival I have taken command. Upwards of 200 militia have come to Sunbury. * * Four-fifths of the inhabitants fled with such effects as they could carry from this country. Many of the men are returning. * * * A most extraordinary panic seems to have struck the people. The Wyoming settlement is almost totally destroyed. The most of the surviving inhabitants have fled to Connecticut, or are now removing as paupers to that State. There is no prospect of their returning or re-establishing themselves at Wyoming this Fall. * * The two Wyoming companies were to have joined me here according to my instructions. They are now in Northampton County, where there is also a detachment of my regiment. I have applied to the Board of War for the detachment of my regiment to join me, and the two Wyoming companies to remain there."

Prior to the writing of the foregoing letter Lieut. Col. Zebulon Butler had (as previously noted) repaired from Fort Allen to Fort Penn, where he had established his headquarters and, by order of the Board of War, taken command of Spalding's Westmoreland Independent Company, as well as of such of the Westmoreland militia as came that way in the course of their flight from the Valley. On August 1st, as shown by an

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, VI : 674.

original "return" now in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society,* Spalding's company comprised four commissioned officers, seven non-commissioned officers, and sixty-seven rank and file, making a total of seventy-eight men, while the militia numbered thirty-four men—including one Captain, one Lieutenant and two Sergeants. The militia were under the immediate command of Dr. William Hooker Smith, Captain of the 2d Alarm List Company in the 24th Regiment. This made a total force—including Lieut. Colonel Butler—of 113 men, and on Sunday, August 2, 1778, they set out on their toilsome march over the "Lower Road" for Wilkes-Barré—those of the militia who were without arms and ammunition having first been furnished therewith from Continental stores forwarded to Fort Penn. By rapid marching and few halts this little body of Continentals and Westmoreland militia arrived in the afternoon of August 4th at "Bullock's" (see page 1039), nine miles from Wilkes-Barré. There the men were halted, and Lieut. Colonel Butler sent forward two small detachments to reconnoiter the Valley—one under the command of Matthias Hollenback (formerly an Ensign in the Continental service, but since his resignation therefrom enrolled as a private in the 24th Regiment), and the other under the command of Lieut. John Jenkins, Jr.

Hollenback's party went in a southerly direction, along the eastern base of Wilkes-Barré Mountain, and entered the Valley opposite Nanticoke Falls. Near the river they saw a small party of Indians, who fled to their canoe and started to cross the river. A shot from the rifle of one of the militia-men wounded an Indian, who sprang into the water, but was buoyed up by his companions till they reached the opposite shore, when they carried him off into the woods. One of the Westmorelanders swam the river, secured the canoe, and with it as a trophy returned to his companions. The party then marched up along the river to Wilkes-Barré. Lieutenant Jenkins' party marched from "Bullock's" in a northerly direction and struck the Susquehanna near the mouth of the Lackawanna. They then turned southward and marched in the direction of Wilkes-Barré. On their way down the Valley they met two Indians, upon whom they fired without effect—except to cause them to make a rapid retreat to the woods. In the early evening of August 4th Lieut. Colonel Butler reached Wilkes-Barré with the main body of his command, and very shortly afterwards was joined by Hollenback and Jenkins and their detachments. Fort Wilkes-Barré having been destroyed by the enemy, the Westmorelanders established themselves at a large log house on the east side of Main Street, below Northampton Street. Around this building—which had escaped destruction when the village was burned—the men erected within a couple of days a rude palisade of pickets, and this temporary station, or encampment, was formally designated "Camp Westmoreland."

Under the date of August 5, 1778, Colonel Butler wrote from Wilkes-Barré to Col. Thomas Hartley (previously mentioned) at Sunbury, as follows †:

"I arrived at this place yesterday [Tuesday, August 4th] with about sixty Continental troops and about forty militia. We discovered two small parties of Indians yesterday, and fired at them, and discovered two other parties this day. What number there is about is uncertain. If your Honor should think it consistent to have some part of the

* See Volume VII, page 127, of the Society's published proceedings.

† See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, VI: 690.

troops under your command advance as far up the river as this place, or as far as you should think proper, I think it will be a means of keeping the savages from murdering and robbing the inhabitants of these frontiers."

The following extract, from the original "Orderly Book*" of Col. Zebulon Butler, is entitled "Detachment Orders," and is dated at "Camp Westmoreland, August 7, 1778."

"Our present situation appears rather dangerous and alarming, and as our whole interest and the little remaining prospect of our crops depends on our maintaining this Post and keeping possession of the country, therefore every person will consider himself under the strongest tie and obligation to do his utmost in the defence of the place against our common enemy. And as it is impossible that we can make ourselves formidable in any degree without submitting ourselves to good order and discipline, therefore the martial law is to be strictly adhered to, and obeyed as well by the militia as [by the] Continental troops and all who join the detachment under the command of Colonel Butler.

"The pernicious practice of strolling about in small parties, and absenting themselves without leave, is not only hurtful to good order but dangerous; therefore the Colonel forbids it in the most strongest manner. And because complaints have been exhibited that some evil persons have been plundering and making waste of what little private property has escaped the merciless hands of our common enemy, the Colonel forbids, in the most positive manner, any kind of plundering or making waste of property—as killing sheep, swine or poultry; or in any manner injuring the interest of any man—as removing hidden things out of their places; unless it be such as is taking damage, and then to bring it into store, where it may be taken proper care of.

"For [the] future the guard is to be relieved at 6 o'clock in the morning, and the roll [is] to be called twice a day, *viz.*: morning and evening. It is expected that the officers will be particularly attentive to see that the above order be complied with; and the non-commissioned officers required to enjoin it on the soldiers, and give early information of all breaches that come to their knowledge. And all who are found guilty of the breach of this order may expect to suffer the consequences of the martial law in their cases.

"Officer of the Day—this day, Lieutenant Gore; to-morrow, Lieutenant Peirce."

At Carlisle, Pennsylvania, under the date of August 6, 1778, Gen. John Armstrong† wrote to Vice President Bryant of the Supreme Executive Council of the State, at Philadelphia, suggesting plans for an "excursion into the enemy's country, northward," and then continued as follows‡:

"This Northern Expedition I have very much at heart. * * * The place of rendezvous at Wyoming, or, if more convenient, the junction to be formed still higher on the Susquehanna, at Tioga; thence to proceed by the most direct route to the Seneca towns, as the first mark. * * * For this great purpose, together with the notice to be taken of some whites§, who have lately done us much injury, not less than 3,000 men, under a good commander, ought to penetrate that country, in order to do effectual service." * * *

At the War Office, Philadelphia, under the date of August 7, 1778, Col. Timothy Pickering wrote to Vice President Bryan, by direction of the Board of War, as follows||:

"We do not order the detachment of Colonel Hartley's regiment to join him, because it is not improbable the whole may be recalled by the time they would unite, in case the Northern Expedition proceeds. Besides, we do not know what has become of the Wyoming Company [Spalding's]; but suspect it may have marched to that place [Wyoming Valley]. Our only wish is to provide in the best manner for the security of the frontier."

On the same day that the foregoing letter was written, the Supreme Executive Council sent to the Pennsylvania Assembly a communication containing the following cold-blooded paragraph¶—inspired beyond question by the Pennamites in the Council.

"The late fatal catastrophe which has befallen the Connecticut settlers on the river Susquehanna, deplorable as it is, recollects the disputed footing on which these sufferers

* Now in the possession of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. See the Society's published Proceedings, VII: 111.

† Mentioned on pages 259 and 301, Vol. I.

‡ See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, VI: 680.

|| See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, VI: 684.

§ The Tories.

¶ See *ibid.*, page 686.

stood. Compassion for them, as well as justice to this State, require that they be reminded of the precarious nature of their tenure, before they re-establish themselves."

At Sunbury, under the date of August 9, 1778, Colonel Hartley wrote to Colonel Butler at Wilkes-Barré, as follows* :

"Your letter of the 5th instant came to this place whilst I was up the West Branch, and was forwarded on by express to me. I arrived here last night, and dispatched the express to-day. I am pleased to hear that you have collected so many men, and that you have been able to make the progress you mentioned. I should be still happier to hear you were able to maintain your ground, and that I was capable of sending you a reinforcement.

"The troops belonging to the Continental service now with you *I had instructions to order to join me*, but as you seem to be in a fair way of being of service to the frontiers, where you now are, they are to remain with you till further orders. I understand troops are marching from Easton to support you. I hope this will enable you once more to look the enemy in the face, and revenge those cruel murders and injuries your worthy countrymen have suffered. I expect another part of my regiment to join me every day, and some more militia. I have established a post, and a work is built, at one Jenkins', about six miles below the Nescopeck Falls. There is now a garrison there which is to be strengthened to-morrow. When I am reinforced my wish is to extend our post to Wioming. Should you not think yourself able to maintain yourself at Wioming you are to march your troops to Jenkins' Fort, at the place I have mentioned. I am ordered up to assist the frontiers, which I shall do in the best manner I am capable. It will give me great pleasure to have it in my power to support and maintain yours.

"The enemy have, yesterday morning, appeared near Loyal Sock, on the West Branch. They killed a soldier of mine and one militiaman. One other is missing. Captain Brady's son was wounded and scalped, but there are some hopes of his recovery. There were about thirty Indians; they were pursued, but made off towards the mountains. You will from time to time inform me of anything remarkable in your department. You will receive a box of cartridges by William Stewart. When you want more, let me know."

At Camp Westmoreland, Wilkes-Barré, August 9, 1778, Colonel Butler issued the following orders† :

"Orders that for the future a subaltern officer visit the guards by day and by night and inspect the soldiers' huts and cooking [utensils], and see that they keep them clean, and air their clothing, &c.; and the Sergeant of the guard to make a report in writing to the officer of the day, and the officer of the day to the commanding officer. That no canoe be taken on any pretense whatsoever, without an order from the commanding officer. That a court-martial sit to-morrow morning at nine o'clock, at the President's marquee, to try such prisoners as shall be brought before them. Captain [Simon] Spalding, President; Lieutenant [Phineas] Peirce, Lieutenant [John] Jenkins, Ensign [John] Comstock, Ensign [Elisha] Blackman, members. Officer of the Day to-morrow—Ensign Comstock."

At Camp Westmoreland, under the date of August 14, 1778, Colonel Butler wrote and despatched to the President of the Board of War at Philadelphia the following letter‡ :

"*Honour'd Sir*.—After receiving your letter of the 15 July I repair^d to Fort Penn, found Capt. Spalding's Company there and had some encouragement of troops to join me to go on to Wyoming, and I waited till the 2d instant and found there was no prospect nor even a design of any assistance. In the meantime I kept spies going to Wyoming, by whom I found the enemy were gone excepting small parties. I collected about forty of the Westmoreland Militia. They with Capt. Spalding's Company made about 100.§ With them I marched the 2d instant, and on the 4th at evening I arrived at this place.

"Previous to my coming in I sent small parties to fall in up the River, who came on some small parties and retook about 20 head of horses and cattle the three first days we were here. We discovered small parties and had some skirmishing. We have found since that we killed one Indian, and have lost none. Can see nor hear of none lately. I have built a picket fort since I came here, and shall be able to stand if I get provision in. We have 60 or 70 of the Militia of this place here well arm^d. I expect more daily, but they are employed in securing the crops, so that I have only Capt. Spalding's Company to do all the scouting and guarding. I expect 10 or 12 of Capt. Hewitt's company to join me soon.

"I think it would serve * * * * for 3 or 4 Hundred men to go to [up?] the River. There is a number of Tories and some Indians, supposed to be about 100, on

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, VI : 690.

† See "Collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," VII : 112.

‡ An original draft of this letter, in the handwriting of Colonel Butler, is now in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

§ 113, as noted on page 1080.

the River. The lowest down is about 20 miles above us, and so extend up the River 50 or 60 miles. Some part of them have come out of the States of York and Jerseys, and there is a large number of horses and cattle with them since our defeat at this place.

"I will send you Col. Hartley's & Kowarts letters. You'll see by them there is no prospect of any assistance here with out further orders. So far from that, that Col. Hartley says he has orders for the Continental Troops to join him, which I hope will not be the case except he comes as far up, * * for if the Continental troops are called from this place the Frontiers will lose 150 or 200 good Militia who belong to this place. The building of this fort and some Barracks at [this] place has been done without any expense to the Continent. Should be glad, if the Honr^{le} Board should think it is necessary, to receive Orders for the further employment of the troops at this place.

"The bearer, Mr. [John] Hegeman, waits on the Board with this and with Capt. Spalding's Pay Abstracts. [1] Desire the Board will direct Mr. Hegeman how to get the money, who I desire may receive it for the use of said Company, and his receipt will be sufficient.

"Can only say I have the honour to be, Sir, Your most Obedient Humble Serv^t,
[Signed] "ZEB^N BUTLER, Lt. Col."

At Camp Westmoreland, August 17, 1778, Colonel Butler issued the following orders* :

"Orders that there be a court-martial held this day at the President's marquee at 9 o'clock this morning, for the trial of such prisoners as shall be brought before it. Captain Spalding, President; Lieutenants Gore, Peirce and Jenkins, members.

"It is once more ordered that the Sergeants or Corporals commanding guards, pickets, or scouts, immediately on their relief or return report to the commanding officer, and their neglect will be deemed disobedience of orders, and they will be treated accordingly. And it is ordered that the Commissary issue one pound and one-quarter of flour to each station, and meat as usual—the quarter of a pound of flour being in lieu of money. And as there is a number of hogs now on the ground fit for pork, and their proper owners not present, and it being best to have them killed for the use of the soldiers—ordered that all such as are and may be brought to the Commissary have their description and weight taken, and the Commissary to pay the money, at the usual price, into the hands of Lieut. ASAHUEL BUCK, for the use of the owners when called for by the proper owner or owners; and Lieutenant BUCK to be accountable for the same till paid out as abovementioned.

"Orders that for the fatigue the quarter guard, picket guard, and scout parade together at six of the clock in the morning; the quarter guard to relieve the picket, to keep in the fort for fatigue, &c., till evening, and then take orders from the commanding officer how to conduct for the night following."

Under the date of August 22, 1778, Colonel Hartley wrote from Sunbury to Colonel Butler, at Wilkes-Barré, as follows† :

"My firm intention is to act offensively against the enemy adjoining these frontiers. I go to Muncy to-morrow, and am collecting a clever body of men there. The detachment of my regiment which was in Northampton County is now ordered to Wyoming. This will strengthen us with upwards of 100 good men. I order Capt. [George] Bush of my regiment to join them. I expect also a number of militia from Cumberland and York Counties.

"My plan is this: That on the 31st of August [1778] I march with all the force I can collect to Wyalusing, where we will arrive on the 2d or 3d of September. (Wyoming is about the same distance from Wyalusing that Wallace's‡ is.) That to provide against any misfortune, you remain at Wyoming in garrison, with between 80 and 100 men of those who are worst prepared for an expedition to the woods; and that Captain Bush should take command of all the remainder of the forces at Wyoming—regulars and others—and march on the same 31st of August towards Wyalusing, to effect a junction with me on the 2d or 3d of September—taking care to send on spies to inform me of their approach and situation. The troops that move from Wyoming must draw forty rounds of cartridges per man, carry four days' provisions on their backs, and twelve days' more of flour with them on pack-horses—which Mr. [William] Stewart must provide. If a few beeves could be drove with them with convenience, it might be done; otherwise they must trust to Providence, who, I make no doubt, will favour us.

"I should be happy of your company on this expedition, but as it is of the last consequence to support the post of Wyoming, where you are so well acquainted, I must deprive myself of your assistance on this service. Mr. Stewart has promised to forward on expresses for my men at Fort Penn, and I hope they will soon be with you. An express went from Philadelphia also. The expedition from the north and the expedition to the westward into the Indian country will appear about the beginning of September, [and] our movement may have a happy effect. I trust these frontiers will soon be cleared of the savages.

* See "Collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," VII : 112.

† See "Collections and Proceedings of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," VII:136.

‡ Undoubtedly the plantation of Samuel Wallis, mentioned on page 653, *ante*.

"My orders for the present are that you may have everything in readiness for the proposed expedition by the 31st of August, *inst.* The troops are not to march till they receive my further instructions, which I will give by express. If anything should happen in your quarter which would make the proposed expedition improper, you are to send an express to Wallace's, at Muncy, giving me information, by the 30th of August. You will at any rate give me notice of the arrival of the detachment of my regiment with you, and of anything remarkable in your department. Mr. Stewart will inform you of other particulars. These matters require the utmost secrecy. From your character, I dare say you will consider them accordingly."

A few days after Colonel Butler received the foregoing letter the detachment from "Hartley's Regiment" which had been ordered from Easton, or its vicinity (and which is referred to in Colonel Hartley's letter), arrived at Wilkes-Barré via the "Lower Road." It comprised two Lieutenants, six Sergeants, four musicians, and seventy-nine rank and file—a total of ninety-one effective men. Two or three days later Capt. George Bush arrived at Wilkes-Barré and took command of this detachment.

On August 25th Luke Swetland* and Joseph Blanchard went down

* LUKE SWETLAND was born July 26, 1729, at Lebanon, then in Windham, but now in New London, County, Connecticut. William and Peter Swetland of Connecticut were early members of The Susquehanna Company, and in the list of grantees set forth in the Indian deed of July, 1754, their names appear. About that period the family name was often spelled "Sweetland." Luke Swetland was married April 1, 1762, to Hannah Tiffany (born April 8, 1738), of Lebanon, and shortly afterwards they settled in Kent, Litchfield County, Connecticut. Luke Swetland came to Wyoming Valley first in July, 1772, at which time (as noted on page 757) he became the owner of one "right" in the Susquehanna Purchase. Under this "right" he was allotted lands in Kingston Township, and with his family he settled there. Shortly afterwards he moved up the river to Mehoopany, but soon returned to Kingston. His name appears in the Kingston tax-lists for 1776, '77 and '78. Upon the organization of the town of Westmoreland in 1774 Luke Swetland was elected one of the seven Tything-men of the town. He was a private in Capt. Robert Durkee's Westmoreland Independent Company in the Continental service (see page 892), and served therein from September, 1776, till January 8, 1778, when he was discharged—undoubtedly for disability. He returned to his family at Wyoming, and, being here at the time of the battle of July 3d, it is quite probable that he participated in it as a member of the 24th Regiment. Escaping from the Valley, he came back on August 4, 1778, as a member of the detachment of militia commanded by Colonel Butler, and presumably was still serving with this detachment at the time of his capture by the Indians. His wife and children (the eldest child a boy of fifteen years) had left Forty Fort a day or two after its surrender, and made their way to their former home in Kent.

According to a narrative written by Luke Swetland, and subsequently published, he and his fellow-prisoner, Blanchard, were taken by their captors up the river to Mehoopany, where they met some of Swetland's former Tory neighbors. In the course of a few days the two prisoners were separated—Blanchard being taken off in one direction, and Swetland in another. Finally, after several more days of travel and hardships, the party having the custody of Swetland arrived at Catharine's Town, the home of Catharine Montour, or "Queen Catharine," as mentioned on page 207, Vol. I. There Swetland was compelled to run the gantlet. He states that Catharine, who "could speak good English," then sent him on horseback, with a small party of Indians, to *Kendaia*, or "Appletown." This town, or village, was an old Indian settlement, and in 1778 consisted of about forty houses. There was a large apple-orchard near by, some of the trees of which were very old. There was also a peach-orchard of considerable size. The town was remarkable, also, for the peculiar wooden tombs, elaborately and gaudily painted, in which were deposited the remains of dead warriors of note.

At *Kendaia* an old squaw adopted Swetland as her grandson, and by her and her family he was shown considerable regard. A few days after his arrival at *Kendaia* Indian scouts brought in two captives from the Susquehanna region, but Swetland did not know them, and was not permitted to converse with them. At this town Swetland made his home for twelve months and two days, and he states that the Indians "were remarkably kind" to him, and made him many fine presents. Often he was sent twenty miles away to the salt springs to make salt for the Indians. For a time he suffered considerably from fever and ague, and in the Spring of 1779 he, in common with the other inhabitants of the village, was very much straitened for food. Upon the approach of Sullivan's army in September, 1779, the Indians fled from *Kendaia* towards Fort Niagara. They were very much depressed on account of the defeat of the British and Indians under Maj. John Butler and Joseph Brant at Newtown (now Elmira), New York, on August 29, 1779. Butler, with the whole of his force (about 300 Tories and 500 Indians), was at *Kendaia* on September 1st, and left there the next day. Swetland managed to evade the watchfulness of the Indians, and hid himself in an out-house about a mile from the town. There he remained until the afternoon of Sunday, September 5th, when the advance-guard of Sullivan's army came up. He hastened towards them, but being mistaken for a Tory was rather roughly handled by the soldiers until George Palmer Ransom (see page 896), one of the detachment, recognized him; whereupon he was taken before General Sullivan, who obtained valuable information from him as to the strength and supposed plans of the Indians and Tories. Swetland was overjoyed at being restored to his friends and to liberty. He remained with the army and accompanied it back to Wilkes-Barré, where he obtained a horse and set off for Kent, Connecticut, to rejoin his family, after a separation of about fifteen months.

Luke Swetland and his family remained in Litchfield County, Connecticut, until 1794, when they returned to the Wyoming region and settled on their lands at Mehoopany (then in Luzerne, and now in Wyoming, County), where they resided until 1800, when they removed to the Swetland lands within the present limits of the borough of Wyoming, in the township of Kingston. There Mrs. Hannah (Tiffany) Swetland died January 8, 1809, and Luke Swetland died January 30, 1823, in the ninety-fourth year of his age. Their remains lie in Forty Fort Cemetery. Of Luke Swetland Charles Miner wrote in 1844: "In later days I knew and could not but esteem the good old man. His taste and pride took a right direction, and were of much value to the settlement. I refer to his establishment of a nursery for fruit-trees, and his introduction from New England of various kinds of apples selected with care."

Luke and Hannah (Tiffany) Swetland were the parents of several children, some of whom were: (i) *Belding*, born January 14, 1763. (See next page.) (ii) *William*, who was living in Wyoming as late,

the river by canoe from Wilkes-Barré to Commer's grist-mill* in Newport Township, near Nanticoke Falls. There they were surprised and seized by six Seneca Indians, by whom they were taken as prisoners up the river into New York State to *Kendaia*, or "Appletown," a sizable Seneca village about one-half mile from the eastern shore of Seneca Lake, in what is now Seneca County.

At Wilkes-Barré, under the date of August 26, 1778, Judge John Jenkins, Sr., sent a communication to Governor Trumbull of Connecticut relative to the situation in Wyoming. The original document is now preserved among the "Trumbull Papers" mentioned on page 29, Vol. I, and the following is an extract from it.

"That upwards of 3,000 Inhabitants belonging to the State in the Town of Westmoreland on the Susquehannah River were on or about the 3d of July last past attack by a party of Tories and Indians and after in a most inhuman manner killing upwards of 300 men plundered took destroyed & Carried off all their Stock of all kind, also took destroyed & Carried off all their household furniture clothing &c. Even a great deal they had on their bodies together with all their farming tools &c.: in a word the whole of the Inhabitation were in the space of four or five days striped of all they had, Reduced to a state of Begery & want, their houses, Mills, barns & all kinds of buildings were Consumed by fire & they by Nesity [necessity] drove out of the country & are now Dispersing themselves amongst their friends & must at present be dependant on God & the Charity of their friends for their subsistence, being stript of money Cloathing or anything to subsist on; or even tools to do any kind of Labour withall.

"and as they have Nothing to Depend on under heaven but the pure mercies of God & the Charrity of the people except their lands in Westmoreland & their cropps growing on the same (which is Large) if they could be saved, and therefore desire that the state of their unhappy and distrest sirconstance might be laid before the Hon^d Continental Congress, & General Washington, & in the utmost humiliation hope they will take there distrest Circumstances under their wise & Serious Consideration, & in their great wisdom

at least, as 1800. (iii) *Eli*, born March 6, 1771; died September 6, 1777. (iv) *Seth*, born March 1, 1775; died September 1, 1777. (v) *John*, born March 3, 1777; died September 7, 1777.

(i) *Belding Swetland* was born in Sharon, Litchfield County, Connecticut, January 14, 1763. He accompanied his parents to Wyoming in 1772, and was in Forty Fort at the time of the battle of Wyoming. "Though but a lad, yet the eldest of the children" of Luke Swetland, he piloted his mother and the other children in their flight to their old home in Connecticut. There he remained until 1794, when he returned to Wyoming with his parents. In the meantime, in 1787, he had been married at Sharon to Sally Gay (born in 1763), who, with their three children, accompanied him to Wyoming in 1794. Mrs. Sally (Gay) Swetland died at Wyoming December 18, 1815, and Belding Swetland died there July 22, 1816. They were survived by twelve children, some of whom were: (1) *William*, born June 26, 1789. (See below.) (2) *Eli*, born October 10, 1791; died September 27, 1850; married to Margaret — (born July 26, 1795; died February 26, 1873), and had *David B.*, *Belding*, *Charles*, and other children. (3) *Ebenezer*, born May 15, 1793; died December 13, 1838. (4) *Eleazar*, born December 30, 1796; died February 6, 1878. (5) *Margaret*, born June 27, 1807; married to — Spence; died July 18, 1896. (6) *Harriet*, born August 13, 1809; married Edward D. Whiston (born October 14, 1794; died August 23, 1859); she died August 11, 1894.

(1) *William Swetland*, eldest child of Belding and Sally (Gay) Swetland, was born in Sharon, Litchfield County, Connecticut, June 26, 1789, and came to Wyoming in 1794 with the other members of the family, as previously narrated. About 1812 he left his father's farm and became a clerk in the store of Ezra Hoyt, in Kingston. In 1815 he built a store-house on his father's farm at Wyoming and engaged in mercantile business on his own account. This business was continued for many years, being extended and enlarged from time to time. From 1830 to 1832 he had as a partner in the business David Baldwin, and from 1834 till his death, Payne Pettebone. For many years William Swetland, alone, and in partnership with others, was interested in many business enterprises in Wyoming Valley, and acquired a large amount of property. He was one of the organizers, and for a number of years President of the Board of Managers, of the Lackawanna and Bloomsburg Railroad Company — *q. v.* In April, 1854, in partnership with his son, and his son-in-law Payne Pettebone — under the firm name of Swetland, Pettebone & Co. — he opened a banking and exchange office at Wyoming, which was operated for five or six years. Mr. Swetland was President of the first bank established at Pittston (in November, 1859), which in September, 1865, was merged in the First National Bank of Pittston. He was one of the Commissioners of Luzerne County from 1828 to 1831, and in 1836, in conjunction with George W. Woodward, Esq., and Dr. Andrew Bedford, he was a member of the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention, which met at Philadelphia. For a number of years he was a Trustee of Wyoming Seminary, Kingston, and erected at his own expense the building known as "Swetland Hall." He also made other important gifts to that institution.

William Swetland was married September 28, 1819, to Catharine (born May 18, 1799), daughter of Dr. Peter and Margaret Seiler of Northampton County, Pennsylvania. William Swetland died at his home in Wyoming September 27, 1864, and his wife died there October 6, 1893. They were the parents of the following-named children: (i) *Caroline M.*, born October 17, 1820; married October 3, 1837, to Payne Pettebone (born December 23, 1813; died March 20, 1888); she died July 7, 1900. (See a sketch of the Pettebone Family in a subsequent chapter.) (ii) *Mary*, born August 19, 1824; died August 7, 1829. (iii) *George W.*, born May 9, 1829; married to Mary Polen of Wyoming; died August 23, 1860, survived by his wife and one daughter. (iv) *Margaret A.*, born May 16, 1836; married to William H. Brown, a merchant of Philadelphia; died March 27, 1860.

* This mill, which was a small affair, stood near the Hanover-Newport line, and was the only mill in the Valley which had escaped destruction by the Indians. It had been known as Coffin's Mill, but in 1778 was the property of John Commer.

Divise some speedy measures for the Recovery & Restoration of their lands crops &c. as well as to relieve them in their other present Distresses."

At Easton, Pennsylvania, under the date of August 25, 1778, Robert Levers, Esq., of that town wrote to Vice President Bryan of the Supreme Executive Council, at Philadelphia, as follows* :

* * * "The country of Wyoming, when settled, formed a good barrier for a considerable part of the interior settlements of Northampton County, and for some part of Northumberland. * * Col. Zebulon Butler, in the Continental service, I hear is now at Wyoming with two companies and some of the remains of the Susquehanna settlers, amounting, perhaps, in the whole to 150 men—certainly much too weak a body. They have, however, this for their future consolation, after their past distress, that Wyoming is not now an object for the enemy. They can expect nothing there but hard blows, unless they [the Indians] should come again there formidably, and repossess that country, as having been an ancient place of rendezvous, and to be again considered in that light for the more easy penetrating into and among our settlements.

"If I may presume to deliver my sentiments with freedom and without offense, there seems to be a necessity for supporting the post at Wyoming for the preservation of the interior of the country; for if Wyoming should become a rendezvous for the enemy, the country within will be everlastingly in danger, and the least alarm throw all in confusion. But as the late great settlement at Wyoming is now destroyed by the devastations and depredations of the Tories and Indians, an important question will arise, wherein the interest and peace of the several States may be involved."

Gradually the exiles from Wyoming (that is, the men) were returning to their ruined homes and devastated fields, and were attempting, as best they could, to re-establish themselves in the Valley they loved so well. Owing to their unsafe situation all the men on the ground—whether serving as militia or as Continental soldiers, or engaged in other duties for the general good—were quartered at Camp Westmoreland. From various orders issued by Colonel Butler in August and September, 1778, and from other sources, we learn that here and there in the Valley at that time were fields of growing grain and other crops† which had not been destroyed by the enemy, while through the woods and fields ranged a few stray cattle and a considerable number of other domestic animals which had escaped seizure at the hands of the invaders. Many of the Westmorelanders—not Continental soldiers—who had returned to the Valley, occupied themselves in looking after the crops, in rounding up the estrays, and in erecting temporary houses‡ for the accommodation of the soldiers and their stores. Others of the inhabitants were doing duty as militia. From an original "Return of the Detachment under the command of Lieut. Col. Zebⁿ Butler at Westmoreland, September 1, 1778," now in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society,§ we learn that on the date mentioned the military force at Camp Westmoreland numbered 193, including Colonel Butler, and was made up as follows: Captain Spalding and

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, VI : 719.

† The following is a copy of an original document now in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. "We the subscribers, being appointed by Col. Zebulon Butler, commanding the Garrison at Westmoreland, to apprise the forage and pasture on 2 meadow lots for the use of the Continental cattle and horses, have viewed said lots, together with the corn, English grain and grass yet standing thereon, & do apprise the use of the lot belonging to Ensign Elisha Blackman to be worth 40 dollars, and the use of the lot belonging to Widow Stevens to be worth 40 dollars.

"September 7, 1778.

[Signed] "SIMON SPALDING, Capt.
"JABEZ SILL."

‡ The following is a copy of an account, in the handwriting of Col. Zebulon Butler, now in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

"United States to Zebulon Butler, Dr. "WESTMORELAND, September, 1778.

	£	s.	d.
"To building a house—the frame.....	20	0	0
" paying masons	17	2	0
" tenders to masons, 12 days.....	7	4	0
" joyners	10	13	0
" 1,288 feet quarter stuff for clapboards; 2,580 feet sawed shingles; 2,500 feet boards; 60 lbs. nails; hinges for doors & windows."			

§ See Vol. VII, page 128, of the Society's published Collections.

his Continental company of two Lieutenants, one Ensign, seven Sergeants and sixty rank and file; Captain Bush and the detachment of Colonel Hartley's regiment under his command, numbering ninety-one officers and men; Lieut. Daniel Gore in command of three Sergeants and five rank and file of the Westmoreland militia; Capt. William Hooker Smith in command of two Lieutenants, two Sergeants and eleven rank and file of the Westmoreland militia.

At Sunbury, Pennsylvania, under the date of September 1, 1778, Colonel Hartley wrote to the Supreme Executive Council as follows*:

* * * "Several Indians and Tories have appeared about Wyoming. One family has been killed fifteen miles on this side of it, and two† near the [Wyoming] Garrison. My detachment from Northampton County is arrived there by this time, but I am told their clothes are all torn by the woods. They are in the utmost want of hunting-shirts and woollen overalls or leggings. I hope 200 of each will be sent up immediately."

At Camp Westmoreland, September 3, 1778, Colonel Butler issued the following‡:

"Orders. That there be a return of all the troops at this post—both Continental and militia that does duty—to be made as soon as may be. That there be a court of enquiry set this day at 10 o'clock at Mr. Yarrington's house, to enquire into such matters as shall be brought before them; Lieut. Obadiah Gore, President, Lieutenant Peirce and Lieut. Daniel Gore, members. Whereas there is yet frequent complaints of the troops killing and destroying sheep, hogs and poultry, &c., to the damage of the distressed inhabitants—notwithstanding the peremptory order of the 7th of August against such practices—the Colonel once more strictly forbids them the killing of sheep, swine or poultry on any pretence whatever (not even the excuse of their being their own property shall be admitted), on penalty of severe punishment. As there is a sufficiency of fire-wood nigh and convenient for this encampment, the troops are to be careful and not burn fencing-stuff nor other timber."

On September 4th orders were issued by Colonel Butler as follows:

"Orders. That the guard consist of one subaltern, two Sergeants, two Corporals and twenty-seven privates—out of which one Sergeant, one Corporal and six privates are to be taken for the picket guard—the guard to parade at troop-beating. The officer commanding the guard is to be particularly careful that the men be kept together—not more than two to be absent at a time on any pretence whatever; the picket to remain in the fort until near dusk at evening, then to march to Mill Creek and guard the two bridges until daylight [the next morning], and then to return to the fort and remain until relieved. A drum and fife to attend the parade at guard-mounting.

"Details: Captain Spalding's company, one subaltern, one Sergeant, one Corporal, twelve privates; Captain Bush's company, one Sergeant, one Corporal, fourteen privates; Lieutenant Gore's, one private. Total, thirty-two."

On September 5th orders were issued by Colonel Butler as follows:

"Orders. That a court-martial sit this day at Mr. Yarrington's house at 9 o'clock, to try such prisoners as shall be brought before them. Capt. Bush, President; Lieutenant McCurdy, Lieutenant Lemon, Lieutenant Jenkins and Ensign Hageman, members.

"At a garrison court-martial, whereof Capt. George Bush was President, was tried Thomas Niell, a Sergeant in Captain Spalding's independent company, for absenting himself from his guard contrary to orders. The Court are of opinion from the evidence that the prisoner is guilty of the charge, and sentence him to be reduced to the ranks. The judgment of the court-martial is approved of, and ordered that the prisoner be brought before guard at retreat-beating this evening, and there hear the doings of the Court read, and there be dismissed to go to his duty as a private."§

Early in September Isaac Tripp, Sr. (see page 467, Vol. I), his grandson, Isaac Tripp, Timothy Keyes (see page 998) and James Hocksey went from Wilkes-Barré to Providence Township, where they had resided prior to the battle of Wyoming. Keyes and young Tripp were

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, VI: 730.

† LUKE SWETLAND and JOSEPH BLANCHARD are here referred to; the belief being that they had been killed at or near Nanticoke Falls on August 25th.

‡ See "Orderly Book" previously mentioned, published in "Proceedings and Collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," VII: 113.

§ September 24, 1778, Colonel Butler ordered that Thomas Niell "be restored again to a Sergeant in said Company, and to be obeyed as such."

at this time members of the detachment of militia in service at Wilkes-Barré. (See page 1096.) All of the party, except young Tripp, owned lands and houses in Providence, and they made this journey for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not their houses and crops had been destroyed by the Indians. When they had arrived at a point near where Leggett's Creek empties into the Lackawanna—some eighteen miles from Wilkes-Barré, and within the present limits of the city of Scranton—they were surprised and captured by a band of Indians. Isaac Tripp, Sr.—who was about seventy-eight years of age—had his face painted by the Indians, who then dismissed him; whereupon he made his way back to Wilkes-Barré, which he reached the next day.

The other captives were pinioned and taken by the Indians through Leggett's Gap into what is now the township of South Abington, Lackawanna County, where, after traveling a short distance along the old Indian trail which ran from Capouse Meadows northward to Oghwaga (frequently mentioned hereinbefore), the party halted and bivouacked for the night. Early the next morning they traveled about two miles along the trail till they reached a brook. Here they again halted, and then Keyes and Hocksey were led aside into the depths of the forest by two young Indians. Presently those who had remained behind heard the death-whoop shouted, and shortly afterwards the two Indians returned, brandishing bloody tomahawks and exhibiting the scalps of their victims. The hat of young Isaac Tripp was then taken from his head, and his scalp was examined twice, the savages meanwhile talking earnestly; but he was finally assured that he would not be hurt. His face was then painted in Indian fashion, and the party proceeded northward. They ultimately arrived at Fort Niagara, after journeying many days, in the course of which young Tripp (who was not quite eighteen years of age) endured numerous sufferings.*

Aroused and stimulated by the reports which he received concerning Wyoming affairs, Governor Trumbull of Connecticut urged upon General Washington that proper military protection should be given to the people of Wyoming and their property. At the same time appeals were being made to Washington for the protection of the western frontiers of New York and the western frontiers of Pennsylvania. At his headquarters at White Plains, New York, under the date of September 6, 1778, General Washington wrote to Governor Trumbull as follows:

"I feel with you for the unfortunate frontiers exposed to all the inroads of an enemy, whose natural barbarity in war has been increased by the arts and influence of a civilized nation. I had early ordered for the defence of the inhabitants Colonel Hartley's regiment, Col. [William] Butler's, Colonel Alden's, with the remains of Morgan's rifle corps. These, I believe, have been of considerable service, but I am unhappy in not having it in my power to afford them at present a more complete and sufficient security from this army for the purpose you mention, of carrying the war into the enemy's country."

At Sunbury Colonel Hartley continued to augment and dispose his forces so as to protect the West Branch region, and at the same time enable him to make his projected incursion into the Indian country at

* Isaac Tripp was detained at Fort Niagara for some time—being there when his cousin, Frances Slocum, was brought thither as an Indian captive, as related in the ensuing chapter. He saw her and talked with her there several times. Some time later he and other prisoners were conveyed to Canada, where they were kept, employed by the British in various capacities, until the close of the war. Upon his release Isaac Tripp returned to Providence Township, where he subsequently married Eleanor _____, and lived until at least the year 1800. (His name is in the Providence tax-list for 1796, printed in Pearce's "Annals of Luzerne County.") About the beginning of the nineteenth century Isaac and Eleanor Tripp removed to what was known as the "Elkwoods Settlement," in Luzerne County (now Clifford Township, Susquehanna County), Pennsylvania. Mrs. Eleanor Tripp died there May 10, 1816, aged 67 years, and Isaac Tripp died there April 15, 1820.

and above Tioga Point. Under the date of September 10, 1778, he wrote to Colonel Butler, at Wilkes-Barré, as follows* :

"I received yours of yesterday by the two men I wrote for. They will be very useful in the Indian country. Upon a full consideration concerning the Indian country, and a view of the circumstances of our affairs, I have come to these determinations: That it is absolutely necessary that the troops at Wyoming, those on the West Branch, and in this department, should effect a junction before they proceed against Chemung,† where, I understand, a great part of the plunder taken from our unhappy brethren at Wyoming, and a body of Indians and Tories, are collected. I mean that this town should be approached by the Lycoming path to the mouth of Towanda [Creek], and that the town should be attacked and, if possible, destroyed, and that the troops should sweep the country down the river to Wyoming. This will give relief to our frontiers, and intimidate our enemies. I have mentioned some of the particulars to Lieut. [William] Lemon, which he can inform you.

"I am informed many of your people have the highest inclination to go against some of the Indian towns, [that] they may revenge the murders of fathers, brothers and friends, besides serving their country. You will detain Captain Kenney‡ with a Sergeant and ten men of my regiment, a subaltern and twenty [men] of Spalding's and Howe's men (making in the whole thirty men), of those who are the least able to march; of which Captain Kenney is to take charge, under your immediate direction, in your garrison. That you retain fifty fighting men of the militia, or inhabitants, to compose your garrison. That Captain Bush, with the residue of my regiment and the other troops at Wyoming, do march off from thence on Monday next [September 14th] by the route of Freeland's Mills (if no nearer is known) to Muncy Fort, near Wallace's [Wallis']. They are to bring all the pack-horses, saddles, &c., with them; also a bag for each horse, if possible. Previous to their march they are to draw and cook four days' provisions. Provisions will be provided for them afterwards. Mr. William Stewart will go with them. It is expected they will arrive at Fort Muncy the third night of their march, or the fourth day.

"It will be impossible to tell the troops or people where they are to march to. You must *induce the militia to go*—say they are marching against some Indian town. After they are marched, the garrison are to be informed that the men are gone to the West Branch to support the people there, who have been attacked by the Indians. The route to Muncy will justify the last; the Tories will be deceived. You will act in the best manner you can during the absence of the troops. I shall not, perhaps, go myself to Chemung (this between you and I), and you shall be supported with all the troops in this quarter in case of emergency. A garrison will still be continued near Nescopeck. * * * You may communicate this letter to Captains Bush and Kenney; also to Colonel Denison and Mr. W. Stewart—under the strictest injunction of secrecy. Mr. Howe and Mr. — have had some intimations, but I dare say they will keep them secret. The inhabitants who go on this expedition will be back time enough to put in some Fall grain."

At Wilkes-Barré, under the date of September 12th, Colonel Butler issued the following :

"*Orders.* It is found that the pernicious practice of *playing cards* is prevalent in this camp, notwithstanding the Articles of War and sundry General Orders (which have been published throughout the American army) to the contrary, forbidding such practices. The Colonel is surprised to find that disciplined Continental troops should be so lost to good order as to be found violating those rules and orders. And that if any persist in such practices for the future, they may depend on being severely punished, according to the nature of the offence.

"As the camp has been alarmed by the firing of guns, the practice is once more strictly forbidden on penalty of severe punishment."

At Camp Westmoreland, Wilkes-Barré, on September 13th, in compliance with the instructions sent him by Colonel Hartley, Colonel Butler issued the following :

"*Orders.* That a Detachment of 130 men of Continental Troops march from this post to-morrow under the command of Captain Bush, on an Expedition, and that they draw four days' provisions this afternoon and have it cooked and be in readiness to march by eight o'clock in the morning—and that they be paraded this afternoon, and the officers see that the men are complete with arms and ammunition."

On Monday, September 14, 1778, Colonel Butler issued the following :

* See "Proceedings and Collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," VII:140.

† See page 972.

‡ Capt. James Kenney, an officer of the detachment from "Hartley's Regiment" then at Wilkes-Barré.

"Orders. That there be a return made to-morrow morning of the number and state of the Continental troops at this post, and also a return of the state of the militia who are under pay.

"That no soldier be absent from camp on any account whatever without leave from the commanding officer of the company, and he not to give liberty for more than two at a time.

"It has been observed by the commanding officer of this post that for sundry days past a number of soldiers have been intoxicated and unfit for service. It is ordered that all tavern-keepers and retailers of liquor be careful that no soldier be found drunk by their means, as they shall answer such defect by the forfeiture of their liquor, or at least be prohibited the liberty of retailing for the future."

At eight o'clock in the morning of this day (September 14th) Captain Bush and his detachment set out from Wilkes-Barré on their march to Fort Muncy, on the West Branch of the Susquehanna. According to Dr. Craft* the detachment comprised sixty of the enlisted men of "Hartley's Regiment" who were stationed at Wilkes-Barré; Capt. Simon Spalding and fifty-eight enlisted men of the Westmoreland Independent Company in the Continental service, and Capt. John Franklin (mentioned on page 994) and a company of twelve Westmoreland militiamen, organized for the expedition. The route pursued by the detachment was as follows: Crossing the river at the foot of Northampton Street they struck the road which ran north-north-west across the flats (along the Kingston-Plymouth boundary-line), a distance of a little more than a mile, to a point west of Toby's Creek. There the road made a sharp turn to the south-west and ran an almost straight course over the top of Ross Hill and thence onward through the whole length of "Shawnee Flats;" thence along the foot of the Shawanese Mountain, at a distance of about half a mile from the river, to a point about one mile from Harvey's Creek; thence down the flats, at a short distance from the river, to the mouth of the abovementioned creek, near Nanticoke Falls—down to which point the road was a fairly decent one. It had been laid out several years previously by the surveyors of The Susquehanna Company, and subsequently had been more or less improved from time to time. It was the main, if not the only, public highway leading from the Wilkes-Barré ferry to Nanticoke Falls, and thence to Northumberland.† From Harvey's Creek to Hunlock's Creek, and thence to "Shickohinna" (now Shickshinny) Creek, and then beyond to Fort Jenkins, James McClure's, Fishing Creek, Montgomery's, Scull's, and Northumberland, the road followed the windings of the river, at a distance of from one-half to three-quarters of a mile from the right bank.

Upon reaching the mouth of Shickshinny Creek Captain Bush's detachment took the old Indian path, or trail—then but seldom traveled—leading from the river at that point through the present townships of Union and Huntington, then crossing the North Mountain range, and, running a westerly course, striking the West Branch of the Susquehanna at the mouth of Muncy Creek.‡ The detachment arrived at Fort Muncy on September 18th, having performed the difficult march in less than five days.

In a "narrative" of his expedition—which Colonel Hartley prepared upon the completion of the enterprise, and forwarded to the Supreme Executive Council of the State—he said§ :

* See "Proceedings and Collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," IX:195.

† It followed pretty closely the course of the old Indian path leading to Shamokin—noted on the map on page 454, Vol. I.

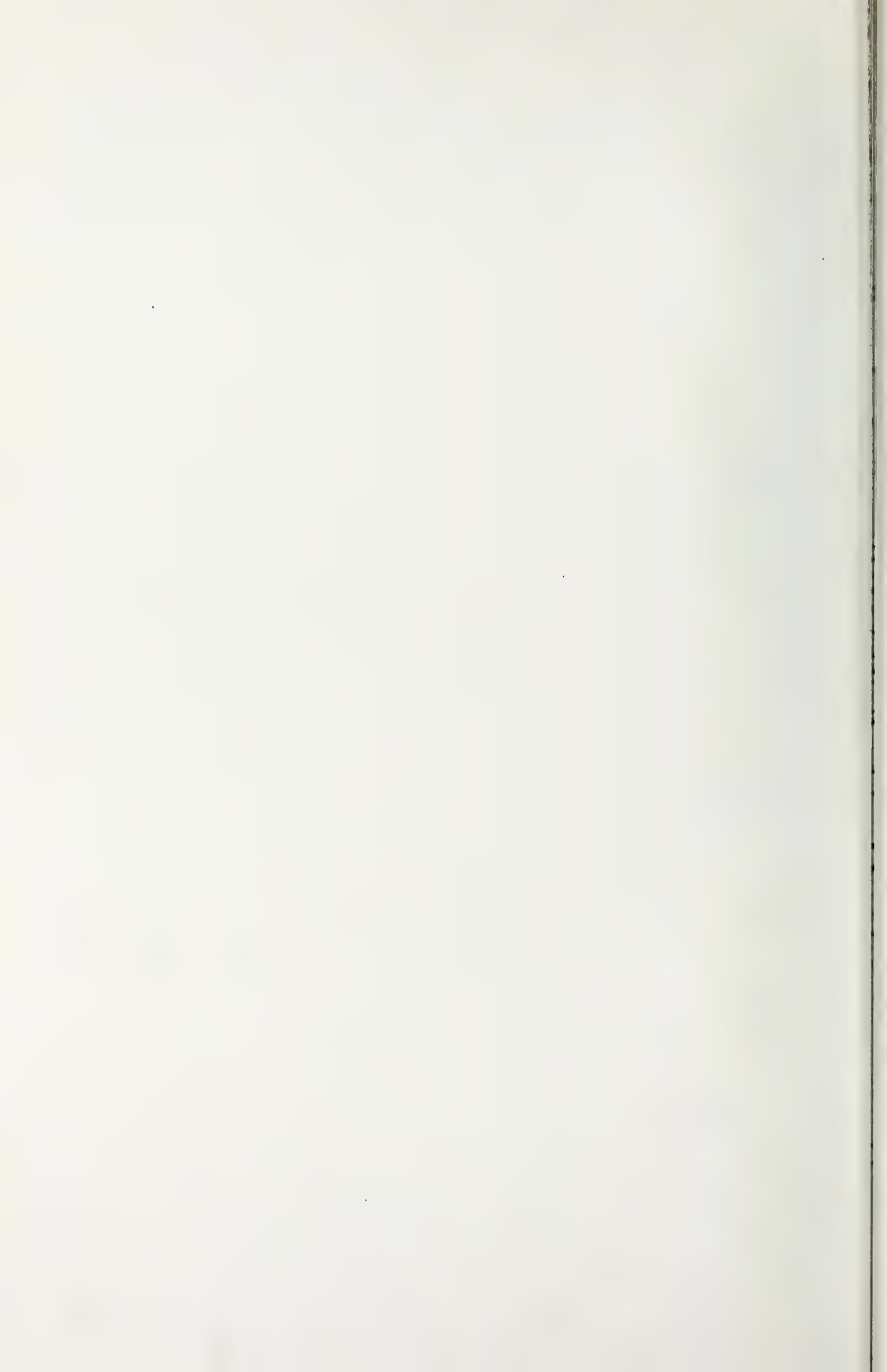
‡ With reference to the country traversed by this Indian path, see the map facing page 790, *ante*, and the map in Chapter XXIII.

§ See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, VII : 5.



AT THE BEND OF THE SUSQUEHANNA OPPOSITE ROSS STREET.

Showing Fish's Island Ross Hill the Woodward Colliery etc. in the distance



"With volunteers and others we reckoned on 400 rank and file for the expedition, besides seventeen horse, which I mounted from my own regiment. Our rendezvous was Fort Muncy, on the West Branch, intending to penetrate by the Sheshhecununk [Sheshequin] path to Tioga. The troops met at Muncy fort the 18th September, and they amounted to only about 200 rank and file. * * On the morning of the 21st, at four o'clock, we marched, carrying twelve days' provisions. We met with great rains and prodigious swamps, mountains, defiles, etc. We waded or swam the river Lycoming upwards of twenty times. * * In lonely woods and groves we found the haunts and lurking places of the savage murderers who had desolated our frontiers. We saw the huts where they had dressed and dried the scalps of the helpless women and children who had fell in their hands. On the morning of the 26th our advance party of nineteen met with an equal number of Indians on the path. A very important Indian chief was killed and scalped, and the rest fled. No time was lost. We advanced toward Sheshequin, in the neighborhood of which we took fifteen prisoners. We learned that a man had deserted from Captain Spalding's company at Wyoming, after the troops had marched from thence, and had given the enemy notice of our intended expedition against them."

The route taken by the Hartley Expedition was what was known as the "Sheshequin Path." It began at Muncy and ran thence along Lycoming Creek to its head, near the south-west corner of the present Bradford County. There the path divided—one branch leading northward through Newtown (now Elmira), New York, to Kanadesaga (mentioned on page 967), and the other branch following Towanda Creek for some distance, then crossing the country to Sugar Creek on the north, following along that stream, eastwardly, for a few miles, and then running in a northerly direction till it joined at ancient Sheshequin (now Ulster, Bradford County, Pennsylvania) the great path along the Susquehanna.

After the skirmish with the Indians on September 26th, as previously mentioned, "it was certain that, although the expedition had been concealed from the enemy thus far, it could be so no longer," states Dr. Craft in his paper, "The Hartley Expedition."* "The fleeing Indians would give the alarm, and a force be collected to receive them as soon as they emerged from the wilderness. Whatever success the expedition might now achieve would depend upon the celerity of its movements in reaching Tioga before the enemy could collect his forces, which, owing to the recent attacks upon the New York frontiers, were considerably scattered. To push forward with all possible speed was now the order. A little farther on * * they discovered where upwards of seventy warriors had slept the night before, on their way to the frontier settlements. The fleeing Indians from the party encountered a little time ago communicated to these their panic, and all ran off to the towns on the Chemung."

The expedition reached Esthertown† (mentioned on page 984) after dark on September 26th, but, without halting, proceeded onward, forded the Chemung, or Tioga, River, and bivouacked for the night in the

* See "Proceedings and Collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," IX:200.

† There seems to be some dispute as to the exact locality which Esthertown occupied. Governed by what we deemed some time ago to be the most satisfactory evidence obtainable, we have stated on page 984, *ante*, that the village in question stood "one mile south of the mouth of the Tioga River, * * near where the village of Milan, in the township of Ulster," now stands. Since this statement was printed, certain unpublished data relative to the subject having been brought to our attention, we have carefully considered the same, and, in connection therewith, have read the references to the site of Esthertown which are made in the journals of Serg't Moses Fellows, Thomas Grant, Lieut. Colonel Hubley, Maj. James Norris, the Rev. William Rogers and Lieut. Charles Nukerck, printed in "Journals of the Military Expedition of Maj. Gen. John Sullivan." Also, we have examined the "View of Tioga" sketched on the spot by Lieutenant Nukerck in August, 1779, and likewise the sketch of Tioga Point made by Lieut. Colonel Hubley at the same time, and reproduced in Chapter XVIII, *post*. The conclusion is irresistible that Esthertown was located, *not* in the present township of Ulster, but in the township of Athens, at a short distance north of Milan, and between one-half and three-quarters of a mile below the mouth of Tioga River. In this place it would have been "not far from, and in full view of, the 'Point,'" as described by one writer, and "a little below, and in full sight of, the 'Point,'" as mentioned in a narrative by another writer.

abandoned Indian village on Tioga Point. At this place another prisoner was taken, and from him it was learned that Capt. Walter N. Butler, of the "Rangers," had been at Tioga a few hours before the arrival of the expedition—"that he had 300 men with him, the most of them Tories dressed in green; that they had gone towards Chemung, twelve miles off; that they were determined to give battle." In his "narrative," previously referred to, Colonel Hartley declared:

"It was soon resolved we should proceed no further, but if possible make our way good to Wyoming. We burnt Tioga, Queen Esther's Palace, or town, and all the settlements on this [the west] side [of the Susquehanna]. Several canoes were taken, and some plunder, part of which was destroyed. Mr. Carberry, with the horse only, was close on Butler. He was in possession of the town of Shawnee, three miles up the Cayuga [Chemung, or Tioga] Branch. * * We came to Sheshecanunk that night [September 27th]. Had we had 500 regular troops and 150 light troops, with one or two pieces of artillery, we probably might have destroyed Chemung, which is now the receptacle of all villainous Indians and Tories from the different tribes and States. From this [place] they make their excursions against the frontiers of New York, Pennsylvania, Jersey and Wioming. Niagara and Chemung are the asylums of those Tories who cannot get to New York [City]. On the morning of the 28th we crossed the river and marched towards Wyalusing, where we arrived that night at eleven o'clock—our men much worn down, our whisky and flour gone. On the morning of the 29th we were obliged to stay till eleven o'clock, to kill and cook beef. This necessary stop gave the enemy leisure to approach. Seventy of our men, from real or pretended lameness, went into the canoes; others rode on the empty pack-horses. We had not more than 120 rank and file to fall in the line of march. * * * The rest [omitting the advance and rear guards] of our little army was formed into three divisions—those of my regiment composing the first, Captain Spalding's the second, and Capt. [James] Murray's* the third. In this order we moved from Wyalusing at twelve o'clock."

Having marched about three miles from Wyalusing, the Americans were apprized of the presence of the enemy by having their advance-guard fired upon. The fire being returned, the enemy retired; but about a mile farther on the advance-guard met a sharper attack by a larger force. Hartley at once disposed his men to repel the attack, but the enemy again retired. About two o'clock, the Americans having arrived at the deserted plantation of John De Pui (see note, page 1050), at the mouth of Tuscarora Creek, they were again attacked by the enemy. Referring once more to the "narrative" of Colonel Hartley we find the following:

"About two o'clock a very heavy attack was made upon our rear, which obliged the most of our rear-guard to give way, whilst several Indians appeared on our left flank. By the weight of firing we were soon convinced we had to oppose a large body. Captain Stoddart commanded in front, I was in the center, * * whilst Captain Spalding was despatched to support the rear-guard. We gained the heights almost unnoticed by the barbarians. At the critical moment Captains [Hawkins] Boone and [John] Brady, and Lieut. [Robert] King, with a few brave fellows, landed from the canoes. * * The war-whoop was given by our people below, and communicated round. We advanced on the enemy on all sides, with great shouting and noise. The Indians, after a brave resistance of some minutes, conceived themselves nearly surrounded, and fled with the utmost haste by the only passes that remained, and left ten dead on the ground. * * From every account these were a select body of warriors sent after us, consisting of near 200 men. Their confidence and impetuosity probably gave the victory to us. * * They would have murdered us all had they succeeded, but the great God of Battles protected us in the day of danger. We had four killed and ten wounded. They received such a beating as prevented them from giving us any further trouble during our march to Wyoming, which is more than fifty miles from the place of action. The officers of my regiment behaved well to a man. All the party will acknowledge the greatest merit and bravery of Captain Stoddart.† I cannot say enough in his favor. He deserves the esteem

* Sixty Northumberland County "rangers," enlisted for six months.

† BENJAMIN C. STODDERT, born in Charles County, Maryland, in 1751. January 13, 1777, he was commissioned Captain in Col. Thomas Hartley's regiment of infantry in the First Pennsylvania Brigade, in Gen. Anthony Wayne's division. The regiment took part in the battle of Brandywine in September, 1777, when Captain Stoddert was severely wounded. In April, 1779, Captain Stoddert resigned his commission, and shortly afterwards succeeded Maj. Peter Scull as Secretary to the Board of War. In this office he served till 1781. He was the first Secretary of the Navy in Washington's cabinet—serving from 1798 to 1801. He died in 1813.

of his country. Mr. Carbery, with his Horse, was very active, and rendered important services till his horses were fatigued. Nearly all the other officers acquitted themselves with reputation. Captain Spalding exerted himself as much as possible. * * The men of my regiment were armed with muskets and bayonets. They were no great marksmen, and were awkward at wood fighting. The bullet and three swan shot in each piece made up in some measure for the want of skill.”*

Colonel Hartley arrived at Wilkes-Barré with his command October 1, 1778, and the same day he issued the following orders† :

“It is agreeable to the Articles of War in general, and to the Articles of these States in particular, that the whole of the articles taken upon any excursion or expedition (similar to the one in which we have engaged), called by the name of plunder (except military stores), should be the property of the whole party who took the same; otherwise there would be the highest encouragement to worthless men to quit their duty and go in search of plunder.

“The Colonel commandant orders Captains Stoddert, Spalding and Murray, with the assistance of Lieutenant King, Quartermaster, to examine into the number of articles plundered, and make report to-morrow. All persons who have been engaged in this expedition are ordered to make an exact return, of the articles taken and now in their possession, to those four gentlemen this evening or to-morrow morning. Should any one volunteer or other be hardy enough to conceal any article, he shall be punished [according] to military laws, and his character and punishment published.”

At Wilkes-Barré, under the date of October 2, 1778, Colonel Hartley issued the following orders :

“The Colonel commandant orders the sale of the goods (taken from the enemy by the detachment under his command) to begin—Capt. [George] Bush, Vendue Master and Cashier; Capt. [John] Brady, Clerk; Captains [Benjamin C.] Stoddert, [Simon] Spalding and [James] Murray to superintend the vendue. Any officer of the detachment may bid till £10 without cash, but for anything above that sum one of the above officers or a Captain of one of the Continental companies must be security—to pay in ten days. A non-commissioned officer, or soldier, may bid to any sum not exceeding £5; an officer must be security for anything above. Any other persons not belonging to the detachment may bid for any articles, but must pay cash for the same.

“The money arising from these sales to be disposed of as follows: The Colonel, his Captains and subalterns, Captain Spalding and his subalterns, Captain Murray and his subalterns, Captain [Hawkins] Boone, Captain Brady, Mr. Carbury, Mr. Chatham, Mr. Sims, Mr. Robert King, Mr. William Stewart, Mr. Boyd, Mr. McCoy, Mr. Wiggins, Mr. Allison, Mr. Barkley, and Captains Camplen and [John] Franklin each to draw two shares. The rest of the whole detachment—horse and foot, volunteers and others—each to draw one share.”

* In Cruikshank's “The Story of Butler's Rangers” (frequently mentioned in the preceding chapter), we find (on page 64) the following reference to the Hartley Expedition—based, presumably, on correspondence and reports found by the author among the “Haldimand Papers.”

“Late in August [1778] Capt. Walter N. Butler returned from Quebec. * * As senior Captain, Butler superseded Caldwell [in command of the ‘Rangers’]. [See page 1045, last paragraph.] * * Caldwell was then detached with 200 ‘Rangers’ and 160 Indians against the German Flats, where there were two large forts occupied by a Continental regiment. Advancing swiftly through the woods from Unadilla, he met and captured a party of Oneidas. He had good reason to suspect that these Indians were scouts in the enemy's service, but his own Indians insisted that they should be liberated. * * On his return to Unadilla, Caldwell had the mortification to learn that the Oneidas he had liberated had plundered the Loyalists there and carried off some prisoners, among them two sick ‘Rangers.’ This was followed by a formidable inroad by a body of regulars and militia, estimated at 1,400, under Colonel Hartley, piloted by [Col. Nathan] Denison and others who had surrendered at Wyoming. Another force from Schoharie advanced at the same time upon Oghwaga and Unadilla. They burnt both those villages, with the houses and mills of the Scottish Loyalists in the vicinity. By this raid the Young family, which had already furnished Butler with two active officers, suffered severely in property.

“Hartley ascended the Susquehanna as far as Tioga, desolating the farms of many Loyalists as he advanced, and burnt the Indian village there. He then sent a written message to the chiefs of Chemung, a few miles distant, accusing them of killing women and children and torturing prisoners. He threatened to waste their country with ‘fire and sword’ if they delayed to sue for peace. Capt. [Walter N.] Butler had retired to Kanadesaga, where he was joined by Caldwell with the ‘Rangers.’ The Senecas rapidly assembled 400 men, leaving only their women and children to take care of their villages. Convinced that if the Six Nations ‘were forced to a neutrality, Niagara would be in great danger,’ Colonel Bolton sent a few volunteers from the 8th [Regiment] to join him. Finding himself at the head of 800 men, Butler prepared to attack Hartley, when he retreated with every sign of haste. His [Hartley's] rear-guard was fiercely assailed, and lost fifteen men, but carried off five Indian scalps.”

Among the “Haldimand Papers” (B. M. 21,765, B. 105, p. 53) is a letter from Capt. John Johnston (see page 1033, ante) to Maj. John Butler at Fort Niagara, written at Kanadesaga, September 30, 1778, in which the writer states that he is collecting Indians to assist Captain Butler; that runners have brought word that three parties from Wyoming are coming to demolish the Six Nation country; that one of these parties has been defeated at Tioga by the Indians—most of the party being cut to pieces, and some drowned; that he is doing all he can to meet the main body which is advancing. Capt. Walter Butler and his forces remained at and near Tioga Point until early in November, 1778, when, as related on page 930, they set out for Cherry Valley. Cruikshank says: “Butler saw that the favorable moment for a counterstroke had arrived. While strong parties dogged the steps of the retreating enemy [Hartley's Expedition], he marched with 200 ‘Rangers,’ a small party of the 8th Regiment, and 321 Indians, against Cherry Valley, where they had long been forming magazines and collecting cattle.”

† See “Collections and Proceedings of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society,” VII:120.

In the morning of October 3d four members of Capt. James Murray's Northumberland County Rangers, who had imprudently left Camp Westmoreland to go in search of potatoes on the Kingston flats, were surprised there by a band of Indians who killed three of the men and wounded the fourth. The latter escaped across the river to the camp.* On this same day Colonel Hartley issued the following orders:

"Colonel Hartley takes the opportunity of returning his thanks to the officers and soldiers—volunteers and others—under his command on the late expedition, for their good conduct and perservation (?) during that toilsome and dangerous march midst hunger, wading of rivers at midnight. * * * No complaints were heard—all was submission and resignation in action. Several of the Continental officers distinguished themselves. Captain Boone and Captain Champlane of the volunteers deserve particularly to be named. Capt. [John] Franklin, with his volunteers from Wyoming, were very useful in this expedition. In short, with very few exceptions, the whole detachment have acquitted themselves with the highest reputation; and they have this further satisfaction, to know they have saved the lives of many and served their country. Sergeant Allison and Sergeant Thornbury, for their good conduct on the march and their great bravery in action, are appointed Ensigns in Colonel Hartley's regiment.

"Colonel Hartley's regiment (except those who are ordered to stay with Capt. [James] Kenney), Captain Murray's company, and the volunteers from Northumberland, are to draw and cook three days' provisions—exclusive of the present day—and be ready to march this afternoon at four o'clock."

In pursuance of the foregoing orders Colonel Hartley and his command, excepting the company of Capt. James Kenney (which comprised the Captain, one Lieutenant, four Sergeants, two musicians, and forty-seven rank and file), the company of Capt. Simon Spalding, and the Wyoming militia who had participated in the expedition, set out from Wilkes-Barré about four o'clock in the afternoon of October 3d en route for Sunbury. They marched as far as Shickshinny Creek over the same road which had been traversed by Captain Bush and his detachment about three weeks previously; and from Shickshinny Creek on they followed the continuation of this road to Northumberland. They arrived at Sunbury on the 5th of October, and three days later Colonel Hartley wrote from there to the Supreme Executive Council in part as follows:

"I have wrote to Congress to request that another regiment should be sent to Wyoming. The Indians are numerous, as well as Tories. * * * It is too late for an expedition against Chemung this Fall. We must only secure our posts for the Winter, and early in the Spring a body must march against their towns on this river."

With this letter Colonel Hartley forwarded the previously-mentioned "narrative" of his expedition, the concluding portion of which read as follows:

"From our observations we imagine that the same party who had fought us, after taking care of their dead and wounded had come on to Wioming, and are now in that neighborhood. I would respectfully propose that Congress would be pleased to send a Connecticut regiment to garrison Wyoming as soon as possible. It is but 120 miles from Fishkill [on the Hudson River]. I have done all I can for the good of the whole. I have given all the support in my power to that post, but if troops are not immediately sent, these settlements will be destroyed in detail. I left one-half of my detachment there [Wyoming], with five of my own officers. I arrived here with the remainder of the detachment on the 5th. We have performed a circuit of near 300 miles in about two weeks. We brought near fifty head of cattle and twenty-eight canoes, besides many other articles."†

* Relative to this incident we find the following in a letter written at Easton, Pennsylvania, October 17, 1778, by Robert Levers, Esq., to the Supreme Executive Council at Philadelphia. "I understand by Colonel Denison from Wyoming that a few days ago three persons were killed near Wyoming, and another was sent in with his life, scalped to his eyebrows almost."

† At Fort Augusta, Sunbury, Pennsylvania, under the date of October 7, 1778, Col. Samuel Hunter, Lieutenant of the County of Northumberland, wrote to Vice President Bryan at Philadelphia relative to the Hartley Expedition, in part as follows (see "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, VI: 773): "The 5th inst. Colonel Hartley returned from an expedition he carried on against some of the small Indian towns on the North Branch of the Susquehanna, where he was informed there was a party of Indians and Tories assembled; but they being apprised of Colonel Hartley's march by a party of warriors he met coming to the West Branch, whom our people fired upon, and shot their Captain dead, upon which the Indians fled immediately and alarmed the towns Colonel Hartley was bound for,

Upon the departure of Colonel Hartley from Camp Westmoreland the command of the troops there naturally devolved on Lieut. Col. Zebulon Butler, the ranking Continental officer of the post, and upon assuming command on October 3d he issued an order appointing his son, Lord Butler (then in the seventeenth year of his life), Quartermaster, and Mason Fitch Alden (see note, page 500, Vol. I), Foragemaster, at the post—they "to be obeyed as such in their respective offices."*

By this time quite a number (for the most part, men) of the widely-dispersed refugees from Wyoming had returned to the Valley and were temporarily settled at Wilkes-Barré. Some of these, whose homes had been either damaged or destroyed, were endeavoring to repair or rebuild the same; others were engaged in gathering such crops as were fit to be harvested; others were sowing, or preparing the ground for, Winter grain; while all, or nearly all, who were enrolled members of the 24th

*A List of the Militia Belonging to Col. Nathan Dane's
Regt. in a Detachment Commanded By Zebulon Butler, Col.*

	month	day		
Wm. Mocker Smith Capt.	3	6	John Blackman Jr.	1
Labear Tubb Lt.	3	6	Robert Franklin Lt.	1
John Camsback Jr.	3	6	John Jensen	1
Daniel Sjogren Sergt.	0	6	Jonathan Spencer	1
John Stogler Sergt.	2	33	Walter Spencer	1
Elias Church Sergt.	1	16	William Jensen	1
Samuel Camsback Sergt.	1	16	Justus Galen	1
William Withers Sergt.	3	6	Isaac Bennett	1
David Kelley Corp.	2	4	Calab Spencer	1
Salomon Benet Corp.	3	6	Exel Dur	1
Noah Bolton	2	6	Benjamin Bennett	1
Benjamin Baly	2	6	Justus Picket	1
Joshua Kelley	3	6	Elah Williams	1
Calvin Galen	13	6	Thomas Hancock	1
			Francis Gay	1
			Benjamin Withers	1

Reduced photo-reproduction of a portion of the Muster-roll herein described.

Regiment, Connecticut Militia, did military duty for more or less time as a part of the garrison under the command of Colonel Butler. The present writer has in his possession an original muster-roll of 117 of the officers and men belonging to the 24th, or Westmoreland, Regiment. This roll covers a period extending from June 28, 1778 (when a con-

so that they had time to put their families and chief part of their effects out of the way before he arrived there. And when he came to Tioga, where he took some Tories prisoners, they informed him that there was a town called Chemung—about ten or twelve miles from there—where there was a body of Indians, Tories, and Regulars in garrison—as good as 600 or 700.

"Colonel Hartley, after consulting his officers, thought it most expedient to return back without attempting Chemung; and so, after destroying Tioga and Sheshequin and bringing off fifty or sixty head of horned cattle and some horses they got there, besides several other articles our people brought with them in canoes, they marched towards Wyoming. In the meantime the Indians were collecting a party to intercept Colonel Hartley on his march to Wyoming, which they accomplished, and fired on our people in front, on this side of Wyalusing. * * * The enemy followed all the way to Wyoming, and scalped four of Col. James Murray's men after they arrived there. * * * The expedition was well conducted, considering the number of men that went with Colonel Hartley—not above 250. They brought with them five Indian scalps, besides several more of the enemy killed. Colonel Hartley's loss was seven killed and eight wounded, including those that were killed at Wyoming."

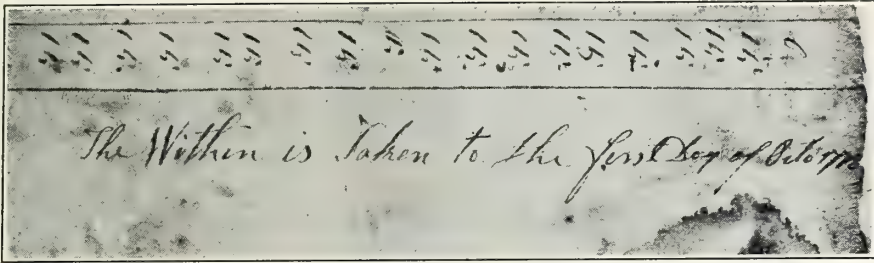
* See "Proceedings and Collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," VII:122.

siderable number of the militia were called into active service), to and including October 1, 1778. It has never heretofore been published, and, so far as now known, is the only muster-roll of Westmoreland militia belonging to the 24th Regiment now in existence. With the very-much-twisted spelling of some of the names straightened out, the roll reads as follows:

"A List of the Militia Belonging to Colo Nathan Deneson's Regt In a Detachment Comm^d By Zebulon Butler, Colo

	Months.	Days.		Months.	Days.
Wm. Hooker Smith, <i>Capt.</i> ,	3,	6.	Samuel Jackson,	2,	22.
Lebbeus Tubbs, <i>Lieut.</i> ,	3,	6.	Peleg Comstock,	2,	5.
John Comstock, <i>Ensign</i> ,	3,	6.	James Hedley,	1,	15.
Daniel Ingersoll, <i>Serg't</i> ,	3,	6.	Samuel Dart,	2,	5.
John Staples, <i>Serg't</i> ,	2,	22.	Asahel Nash,	2,	5.
Elias Church, <i>Serg't</i> ,	1,	15.	Rufus Lawrence,	2,	5.
Samuel Cummings, <i>Serg't</i> ,	1,	15.	Elisha Harvey,	2,	5.
William Hibbard, <i>Serg't</i> ,	2,	5.	Christopher Hurlbut,	2,	5.
Eldad Kellogg, <i>Corp'l</i> ,	3,	6.	Josiah Pell,	2,	5.
Solomon Bennet, <i>Corp'l</i> ,	2,	5.	Joseph Thomas,	2,	5.
Noah Pettebone,	3,	6.	David Inman,	1,	15.
Benjamin Bailey,	2,	5.	Phineas Spafford,	2,	15.
Josiah Kellogg,	3,	6.	Gabriel Ferguson,	1,	15.
Calvin Eaton,	3,	6.	Elisha Blackman, Jr.,	2,	5.
Samuel Dunn,	2,	5.	William Avery,	2,	5.
Joshua Terry,	2,	5.	Jedidiah Cummings,	1,	15.
Jonathan Terry,	2,	5.	Elisha Blackman, <i>Ensign</i> ,	1,	15.
Parshall Terry, Sr.,	3,	6.	Roasel Franklin, <i>Lieut.</i> ,	1,	15.
Andrew Blanchard,	2,	5.	John Jameson,	1,	15.
Ward Williams,	3,	6.	Jonathan Forsythe,	1,	15.
William Reynolds,	2,	5.	Walter Spencer,	1,	15.
Asahel Brown,	2,	5.	William Jameson,	1,	15.
Elijah Bennet,	2,	5.	Justus Gaylord,	1,	15.
Isaac Bennet,	1,	22.	Robert Hopkins,	1,	15.
Caleb Spencer,	1,	15.	Nathan Carey,	2,	5.
Ezekiel Peirce,	1,	15.	Waite Garrett,	2,	5.
Thomas Bennet,	1,	15.	Peter Siff [Skiff?],	1,	15.
Justus Pickett,	1,	15.	Edward Lester,	2,	5.
Elihu Williams,	1,	15.	Giles Slocum,	2,	5.
Thomas Stoddart,	1,	15.	Isaac Tripp,	1,	15.
Francis Garrett,	1,	15.	Thaddeus Williams,	1,	15.
Ebenezer Hebard,	1,	15.	John Hutchins,	1,	15.
John Sutter,	1,	15.	Matthias Hollenback,	1,	15.
Samuel Gardner,	1,	15.	John Franklin, <i>Capt.</i> ,	3,	6.
Uriah Marvin,	1,	15.	James Bidlack, <i>Capt.</i> ,	1,	15.
Joshua Bennet,	1,	15.	Robert Carr, <i>Capt.</i> ,	1,	15.
William Nelson,	1,	15.	Stephen Fuller, <i>Serg't</i> ,	1,	15.
James Lasley,	1,	15.	Jonathan Corey,	1,	15.
John Hyde,	1,	15.	Josiah Smith,	1,	15.
William Ross,	1,	15.	Samuel Ayres,	1,	15.
John White,	1,	15.	Samuel Franklin,	1,	15.
Nathan Bullock,	1,	15.	John Abbott,	1,	15.
Joseph Blanchard,	1,	15.	William Smith,	1,	15.
Joseph Disberry,	2,	5.	Samuel Jackson,	2,	5.
Matthias Van Loon,	1,	15.	John Van Tillbury,	1,	15.
Luke Swetland,	1,	15.	— Kelley,	1,	15.
Benjamin Cole,	1,	15.	James Frisbie,	1,	15.
Jabez Sill,	1,	15.	Zerah Fitch,	1,	15.
Isaac Williams,	1,	15.	Isaac Bennet, Jr.,	1,	15.
Nathaniel Landon,	1,	15.	Thomas Sawyer,	1,	15.
William Hyde,	1,	15.	Benjamin Ashley,	1,	15.
Richard Inman,	1,	15.	Daniel Sherwood,	1,	15.
Isaac Inman,	1,	15.	David Lindsey,	1,	15.
John Perkins,	1,	15.	— Cummings,	1,	15.
Aaron Perkins,	1,	15.	Jonathan Prisket [Prescott?],	1,	15.
James Nesbitt,	1,	15.	Benjamin Stephens,	—	22.
David Marvin,	1,	15.	Joseph Hageman,	1,	15.
Ephraim Mc Coy,	1,	15.	Timothy Keyes, <i>Lieut.</i> ,	1,	15."
Benjamin Harvey,	1,	15.			

Upon the back of this roll, in the well-known handwriting of Col. Zebulon Butler, is the following endorsement: "The Within is Taken to the first Day of Octor 1778." A reduced photo-reproduction of this endorsement is here given.



After a very careful consideration of this roll, as well as of all the authentic information obtainable relative to the military services performed in the Summer of 1778 by the men whose names appear in the roll, but one conclusion can be reached by the writer, and that is: Between June 28 and October 1, inclusive, each man named in the roll served, altogether, in one way or another—consecutively or otherwise—the number of months and days therein duly credited to him.

Eleven of these men served, each, three months and six days—the full period covered by the roll. Therefore they were in service at the time of the battle of Wyoming. Of these men, we know that on July 3d Capt. William Hooker Smith was at Fort Wilkes-Barré; Daniel Ingersoll was a prisoner in the hands of the enemy; Capt. John Franklin was marching with a squad of his company from Huntington to Forty Fort.

Twenty-seven of the men are credited with two months and five days each. Of these, the names of the following appear in the list of "Survivors" on the Wyoming Monument*: Elisha Blackman, Jr., Solomon Bennet, Nathan Carey, William Hibbard, Josiah Pell, Phineas Spafford and Giles Slocum. From various other reliable sources we learn that, in addition to the foregoing, the following-named—credited on the roll in question with having served two months and five days each—were in the battle, and escaped: Wait Garrett, Elisha Harvey, William Reynolds, Sr., and Jonathan Terry.

Seventy-five of the men are credited with one month and fifteen days each, and of these the following-named are enrolled in the list of "Survivors" inscribed on the Monument: John Abbott, Roasel Franklin, Ebenezer Hibbard, Matthias Hollenback, David Inman, Richard Inman, John Jameson and Walter Spencer. Relative to some of the other men who served one month and fifteen days, we know that on July 3d Elisha Blackman, Sr., was on duty at Fort Wilkes-Barré; Thomas Bennet was in Forty Fort; Capt. James Bidlack, Sr., was in command of Shawnee Fort; Capt. Robert Carr was at Forty Fort, and undoubtedly marched out to the battle; Francis Garrett was in the battle; Benjamin Harvey was employed on special military service (see pages 994 and 995); Isaac Inman was in the battle; William Jameson was in the battle; Lieut. Timothy Keyes was with his company in Pittston Fort; David and Uriah Marvin were in the battle; William Ross was at Fort

* See Chapter XXVII.

Wilkes-Barré; Luke Swetland was at Forty Fort, and probably took part in the battle; Elihu Williams, [Sr.], was in the battle.

Upon the whole, we are firmly convinced that, with the exception of Benjamin Harvey (who, as narrated on page 994, was riding express to Fort Jenkins), every man whose name appears in this list *was in Wyoming Valley on July 3, 1778*; and (with the exception of Daniel Ingersoll, who was a prisoner in the hands of the enemy) either took part in the battle of Wyoming, or was engaged in military service at one of the forts, or elsewhere. All, as set forth in the caption of the muster-roll under consideration, were certainly enrolled members of the 24th Regiment, Connecticut Militia.

Immediately upon assuming command of the Wyoming, or Westmoreland, Post on October 3d, Colonel Butler set about the erection of a fortification more capacious and substantial than the stockade on South Main Street which the garrison had been occupying since early in August. The new fort (which subsequently received the name of "Fort Wyoming") was built by laying two rows of logs horizontally, four feet apart, and filling up the space between with earth, well tamped down. The solid wall—six or more feet in thickness—thus formed, was carried up to a height of seven feet, and all around the inside of the square inclosure formed by the wall a platform, or bench, was built, standing upon which the occupants of the fort were able to deliver their fire over the top of the wall. All around the outside of the wall a ditch was dug, and beyond this was placed an abattis, formed by setting firmly in the ground, in a row, the tops of pitch-pine trees, with their boughs—which were trimmed and sharpened—pointing outwards. Embasures were constructed at different points in the wall, through which cannon could be fired, while the four corners of the fort were rounded, so as to flank on all sides. The inclosure contained about half an acre of ground, and cabins, or barracks, were provided therein for the garrison. A gate opened towards the south-west, and access to a copious spring of water at the margin of the river was had by a protected way. After the completion of the fort, in the latter part of October, 1778, two small block-houses were erected on the river bank at a short distance from the upper, or north-easterly, side of the fort. These were intended for the shelter of the inhabitants whose homes had been destroyed, and who could not be accommodated in the fort.

Sheldon Reynolds, Esq., President of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, who wrote the chapter on the forts "within the Wyoming Valley region," which is printed in "Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania," states (see Vol. I, page 458, of the work mentioned) that the *new* Fort Wyoming was built in 1778 "on the site of the old Fort Wyoming, on the river bank, about ten rods below the junction of Northampton and River Streets." Following Mr. Reynolds—as well as some earlier writers—the present writer has made the same statement (see pages 678, 686 and 818, *ante*); and on June 14, 1899, Wyoming Valley Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution marked this site by a very substantial stone monument bearing a suitably-inscribed bronze tablet.

Charles Miner, the author of the "History of Wyoming," came to Wilkes-Barré to reside in the Summer of 1800, and in various newspaper articles written by him a number of years later he declared that

when he came here some of the outlines of Fort Wyoming could still be traced, "on the river bank, in front of the Butler house." In some of his writings Mr. Miner stated that the site of the fort was "in front of" the Butler house, and in other writings that it was "opposite" that house. Some subsequent writers (without doubt drawing their information from Mr. Miner's writings) located the site of the fort at the same place.

The Butler house (see page 637)* stood facing the river, at the south corner of Northampton and River Streets—these streets being located in 1778 and 1779 exactly as they are located now, except that Northampton Street extended across the Common to the margin of the river, where the Wilkes-Barré ferry was located. The words "in front of" and "opposite" have, of course, been assumed as indicating that Fort Wyoming stood on the Common between the Butler house and the edge of the river bank immediately opposite. It is quite possible—in fact it is very probable—that the *old* Fort Wyoming (erected by the Pennamites in 1771) stood at that point; but if it was located there, it is indisputable that the *new* Fort Wyoming (built by Colonel Butler in 1778) *was not erected on that site*.

In the archives of the New York Historical Society is the "DeWitt Collection of Maps"—containing original manuscript maps carefully plotted by certain skilled and experienced geographers, or topographical engineers, of the Continental army, after surveys made by them in the Spring of 1779 preliminary to the construction of what was subsequently known as the "Sullivan Road"—which terminated in Northampton Street, as it then existed, in the old town-plot of Wilkes-Barré. (See Chapter XVIII.) Since page 678, *ante*, was printed, the present writer has had the privilege of carefully examining these maps, and on two of them—one being plotted on a scale of two inches to one mile, and the other on a scale of one inch to two miles—he has found Northampton Street (as it then existed), the Susquehanna River, Fort Wyoming and the two small block-houses adjoining it, the house of Colonel Butler (so designated), and two buildings (not named, but undoubtedly barracks) on River Street a little way north of Northampton Street, all carefully and plainly noted. The lower, or south-western, end of Fort Wyoming (shown on these maps as being located on the River Common) is represented as standing on the line of Northampton Street extended to the river. This would indicate that the gate of the fort (mentioned by all writers who have described the fort as being at the west or south-west end, or side, of the structure) opened on the extension of Northampton Street—in other words, on the road running directly along the south-western wall of the fort to the ferry.

Undoubtedly, then, if we may rely on these maps (and there is no known reason why we should not), Fort Wyoming, erected in October, 1778, stood on the River Common just *north* of the junction of River and Northampton Streets, and extended up the Common to a point opposite the residence of the late Sheldon Reynolds. In common parlance this location was "opposite the Butler house," although it was not "in front of" it. The fact that this was the location of Fort Wyoming is

* The writer has been unable to find any where any evidence to indicate that Col. Zebulon Butler's house (erected in 1773, as noted on page 636) was destroyed when Wilkes-Barré was burnt in July, 1778. If it was, it was rebuilt before June, 1779. It is very probable, however, that the house was one of the few in the town-plot which escaped total, or even partial, destruction at the time mentioned.

further substantiated by the pen and ink sketch made by Lieut. Colonel Hubley at Wilkes-Barré in the Summer of 1779, and reproduced in Chapter XVIII, *post*, with the title, "A Sketch of the Encampment at Wyoming in 1779." While this sketch was not drawn to a scale, yet it plainly indicates that Fort Wyoming was located on the River Common, close to the edge of the bank, and north-east of the extension of Northampton Street—the location of which street, as a part of the "Sullivan Road," is shown in the sketch by a dotted line. In this Hubley sketch a "redoubt" is noted at a point on the Common south-west of Fort Wyoming. This was a substantial work of defense which was erected after the "Sullivan Road" was opened, about which time the block-houses which had stood on the upper side of the fort were demolished.* The "redoubt" stood nearly in front of the Butler house, and, provided Mr. Miner had not in mind the traces of the fort farther up the Common which perhaps were visible when he came to Wilkes-Barré, it may have been the outlines of this latter work which "could still be traced" about the year 1800.

At "Camp Westmoreland," Wilkes-Barré, under the date of October 9, 1778, Colonel Butler issued the following† :

"*Garrison Orders*. That the officers of the guard see that no horses or cattle be suffered to be within the lines of the fort;‡ and to see that there be no cooking in the fort excepting in the houses that have chimneys; and to see that the fort be swept clean every morning before the guard is relieved; and likewise to still all noises within hearing of the fort after tattoo-beating; and to take up all straggling persons in and about the fort after tattoo-beating.

"A garrison court-martial held at Westmoreland October 9, 1778, by order of Colonel Butler, for to try such prisoners as may be brought before them. Captain Kenney, President; Lieutenants Peirce, Gore, Forseman and Tubbs, members. Prisoner Benjamin Clark brought before the Court for disobedience of orders, the prisoner plead guilty, but says the reason was because he had no shoes for to march in. The Court finding the prisoner guilty, are of opinion he shall have seventy-five lashes well laid on his bare back, at retreat-beating. The Colonel approves the sentence, and orders it put in execution accordingly.

"As Benjamin Clark has the character of a good soldier, the commanding officer thinks proper to forgive him for this time, and hopes this will be sufficient warning to him and his brother soldiers not to refuse doing their duty for the future."

On October 14th William Jameson,§ while on his way from the garrison in Wilkes-Barré to the ruined homes of his father and brother in Hanover, in order to ascertain the condition of things there, was shot by Indians near where the bridge crosses Buttonwood Creek, a short distance below the city of Wilkes-Barré. Being wounded, he fell from his horse, and attempted to gain the woods, but was overtaken, tomahawked and scalped by his foes. Although a portion of his brains was dashed out by the blow of the tomahawk, nevertheless he lived for two days in that condition—dying on October 16th.

At "Camp Westmoreland, October 19, 1778," Colonel Butler issued the following :

"Orders that the whole of the Continental soldiers and * * that are off duty, and the militia of Capt. [William Hooker] Smith's company, turn out to-morrow morning

* For a more detailed account of these works of shelter and defense, see Chapter XVIII.

† See "Proceedings and Collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," VII:122.

‡ This was the new Fort Wyoming, in process of construction.

§ WILLIAM JAMESON, born at Voluntown, Windham County, Connecticut, December 19, 1753, was the fourth child of Robert and Agnes (*Dixon*) Jameson, then of Voluntown, but later of Hanover, in Wyoming Valley. He removed to Hanover in 1776, and in 1778 was a private in the 5th Company, 24th Regiment, Connecticut Militia. He was with his company in the battle of Wyoming, was wounded, and had the lock of his gun shot off, but managed to escape from the battle-ground by the aid of his brother John. With the other Jamesons he fled to Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, whence he returned with his brother and joined the detachment of militia under the command of Lieut. Colonel Butler—as noted on page 1096. Near the spot in Hanover Township where William Jameson fell, Stewart Pearce, Esq., a kinsman, erected about 1879 a marble pillar bearing an appropriate inscription commemorative of the event. (For a sketch of the Jameson family, see a subsequent chapter.)

at half after six, with all the tools they can collect; and the inhabitants are desired to lend a hand, with themselves and teams all to work on the fort; and the officers are desired to attend. The commanding officer flatters himself that they will turn out so generally that the fort will be so near done that the next day we can attend to bury the remains of our friends that lost their lives in the late battle at this place; and that for the [present] there be no fatigue rum issued, only to fatigue parties and scouts."

On the next day the following was issued :

"Orders that, as the fort is not so far finished as was expected, all the troops off duty turn out to-morrow morning at half after six o'clock to work at the fort; and the teams be collected for that purpose. The commanding officer expects it will be so far finished that he can afford a sufficient guard the next day for burying the remains of our friends, now lying above ground, that lost their lives in the late battle at Westmoreland."

At "Camp Westmoreland, October 21, 1778," Colonel Butler issued the following orders* :

"A garrison court-martial held at Westmoreland by order of Colonel Butler, for to try such prisoners as may be brought before them. Capt. [Simon] Spalding, President; Lieutenants [Phineas] Peirce, [William] Lemon, Gore and Foreman, members.

"Isaac Benjamin, confined for being drunk when he was to mount guard. The prisoner pleads not guilty. Sergeant Gardner and Mr. Hyde testify that said Benjamin this morning complained that he was sick, and did not drink one drop of liquor this day. Sergeant Eveland says that Benjamin acted as if he had been drunk this morning. The Court is of opinion that said Benjamin is not guilty, and request him to be released from his confinement.

"Garrett Walsh, a soldier of Colonel Hartley's regiment, Captain Kenney's detachment, confined for being drunk on guard. The prisoner pleads guilty. The Court sentence him to receive fifty lashes on his bare back.

"Samuel Ransom, confined for firing off his gun repeatedly, contrary to orders and rules of this garrison. The prisoner says that he did fire, but he did not think it was any harm, as it was such a practice in that place. He says that Sergeant Lawrence told him it was contrary to orders; but he says that Sergeant Lawrence had practiced it himself. It is the opinion of Court that the prisoner should stand five minutes on a sharp picket with his bare foot.

"Phineas Coleman, confined for firing his gun repeatedly, contrary to orders and the rules of this garrison. The prisoner says that he has fired his gun, and had heard that it was contrary to orders to fire; but it was a practice in that place, and [he thought that] he might fire as well as other people. It is the opinion of this Court [that] the prisoner be picketed for five minutes.

"The commanding officer approves of the judgment of the above court-martial on each of the prisoners, and orders that it be put in execution at retreat-beating this evening."

The remains of those Westmorelanders who had lost their lives in the battle and massacre of the previous 3d of July were, at this time, still lying unburied where they had fallen. For various good reasons it had been impossible for the survivors of that fearful day to gather up the remains and inter them; but the time had now come when this could be safely and conveniently done, and so, at Camp Westmoreland, on October 21, 1778, Colonel Butler issued the following† :

"Orders. That there be a party consisting of a subaltern, two Sergeants, two Corporals and twenty-five privates to parade to-morrow morning with their arms, &c., to go as a guard to those that will go to bury the remains of the men killed at the late battle at and near the place called Wintermute Fort; and it is expected that the main inhabitants of this place [will] universally turn out and assist in burying their late friends, that lost their lives in said battle."

Early in the morning of the next day (October 22d) the burial party, under the command of Lieut. John Jenkins, Jr., set out from Camp Westmoreland for Abraham's Plains. They took with them two carts and a number of spades, mattocks and wooden pitchforks, and, arriving at a point about half way between Forty Fort and the battle-ground, they began to gather up the remains of the dead with their pitchforks. They found that, owing to the intense heat of the weather, and probably the dryness of the air, the bodies were dry, shriveled up, and inof-

* See "Proceedings and Collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," VII:124.

† See *ibid.*

fensive ; and, with a single exception, that their features could not be recognized. By the time the party had gone but a short distance their carts were filled up ; whereupon they stopped, dug a big hole in a field near the highway, and deposited the contents of the carts therein. After putting in what bodies they had, they found that the hole would hold more ; therefore they proceeded on their way to the battle-field, whence they brought to this common burial-place all the remains they could find. The hole was then filled in with earth, heaped up into a mound of some size.

Gen. William Ross of Wilkes-Barré, who, as a young man of eighteen years, was a member of the burial party, declared in 1838* that the scene on the battle-field when the party went there was shocking ; that there were two rings where prisoners had been massacred, there being, according to his recollection, nine bodies in one ring and fourteen in the other ; that from one of these rings Lebbeus Hammond had sprung and escaped, and from the other, Joseph Elliott had got away in a manner very similar ; that he (Ross) understood that his brother Jeremiah was in the ring from which Elliott escaped ; that the bodies of Darius Spafford and Captain Durkee were the only ones recognized—the latter being identified because, at some time in his life, Durkee had lost a portion of one of his fingers ; which fact was known to some of the burial party. The body of Lieut. Peren Ross was identified by means of a ring on one of the fingers.

That the remains of all the dead lying on and near the Wyoming battle-field were not buried in the Autumn of 1778, we learn from the following paragraphs extracted from journals of officers in the Sullivan Expedition. Under the date of July 2, 1779, Lieut. Col. Henry Dearborn wrote :

"I went with General Poor and several other gentlemen to-day to view the field of action where the battle between the two Butlers was fought. We found a great number of bones at and near the field of battle. Among a number of skull bones that we found, none was without the mark of the tomahawk. I saw one grave where seventy-five of our men were buried, and was shown a place where seventeen of our men, after being taken, were made to sit down in a ring—sixteen of whom they immediately tomahawked ; the other leaped over the ring and made his escape."

Under the date of July 8, 1779, the Rev. William Rogers, D. D., Chaplain of Hand's Brigade, in the Sullivan Expedition, wrote :

"The place where the battle [of Wyoming] was fought may with propriety be called 'a place of skulls,' as the bodies of the slain were not all buried. Their bones were scattered in every direction all around—a great number of which for a few days past having been picked up, were decently interred by our people. We passed a grave where seventy-five skeletons were buried ; also a spot where fourteen wretched creatures who, having surrendered upon being promised mercy, were nevertheless made immediately to sit down in a ring ; and after the savages had worked themselves up to the extreme of fury in their usual manner, by dancing, singing, halloaing, etc., they proceeded deliberately to tomahawk the poor fellows one after another. Fifteen surrendered, and composed the ring. Upon the Indians beginning their work of cruelty, one of them providentially escaped, who reported the matter to Colonel Butler, who, upon his return to Wyoming, went to the spot and found the bones of the fourteen lying as human bodies in an exact circle. It is remarkable that on this spot grows a kind of grass different from all other grass around it. The bones of seven or eight other persons were found nearly consumed, they having been burned to death."

Under the date of July 8, 1779, Lieut. Samuel M. Shute wrote :

"Went to the field where the two Butlers fought last Summer. There are a great many men's skulls to be picked up on the field—some with part of their hair on, the other part taken off with the scalps ; others with bullet holes in, or with the skull split with the tomahawk, which was a very affecting scene."

* See Hayden's "The Massacre of Wyoming," page 63.

At Camp Westmoreland, October 25, 1778, Colonel Butler issued the following :

"*Orders.* That for the future no man belonging to the Continental troops or militia, doing duty at this post, sleep out of camp or stay out of camp any night on any pretence whatever, without special orders or liberty. And it is once more ordered that no one belonging to the Continental troops or militia, doing duty at this post, absent themselves by night or by day without liberty from the commanding officers of their company; and the officers not to allow more to be absent at one time than Captain Kenney, two, Captain Spalding, three, Lieutenant Gore, one, and Captain Smith, one. The commanding officer expects this order will be strictly attended to without repeating—and that there be a return of the joiners, carpenters and masons belonging to the troops, and that there be a return of those that are best skilled as artillerymen."

About this time Fort Wyoming, being fully completed, was occupied by the garrison. Under the date of October 30, 1778, Colonel Butler wrote to the Board of War as follows* :

"As my orders are immediately from the Board of War, I must trouble the Board with my returns of different kinds. Inclosed I send you the state of this post. As Colonel Hartley has likely given a state of affairs in this quarter till the time he returned from his expedition, I shall only mention what happened since. About two weeks ago a single man,† as he was traveling about two miles from the fort, was shot off his horse and scalped. The last accounts we got from our enemy in this quarter was by two men that made their escape from them. [They] say they were frequently talking that they designed another attempt on us this Fall; but I think if they should come we have such a fortification that, with some more ammunition, we can defend against large bodies. By the inclosed returns the Honorable Board will be made acquainted with what we have, and of course will know what further is necessary. Should be very glad that there might be an order for them to be forwarded as soon as possible; and as there is some expense for forage for horses, for iron work, and the transporting of provisions, should be glad to be furnished with money for that purpose by Captain Spalding. Should be glad that Captain Spalding might have liberty to purchase some necessary clothing for myself, and the other officers, in the Continental Store; and that he might be furnished with sufficient orders for clothing for the troops, as there is not any to be had here. If there should be any further directions and orders for me, should be glad to receive them by Captain Spalding."

About the first of November the foregoing letter was carried to Philadelphia by Captain Spalding, who also took with him the returns referred to in the letter. The original duplicates of those returns (retained by Colonel Butler) are now in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.‡ They are dated October 28, 1778, and show that the garrison at Wilkes-Barré at that time comprised the following: Lieut. Col. Zebulon Butler, Lieut. Obadiah Gore, Jr., and two enlisted men of the 3d Regiment, Connecticut Line; the Westmoreland Independent Company, in the Continental service, commanded by Capt. Simon Spalding and numbering seventy-seven officers and men; a detachment from Colonel Hartley's regiment, in command of Capt. James Kenney, numbering fifty-five officers and men; a company of Westmoreland militia, commanded by Lieut. Daniel Gore, numbering twenty-one officers and men (the 2d Lieutenant being absent on leave of absence); a squad of Westmoreland militia, commanded by Capt. William Hooker Smith, numbering twelve officers and men. This made a total force—including the sick and those absent on furlough—of 169 officers and men. These soldiers were all well armed, and furthermore, Fort Wyoming was equipped with two iron 4-pounder cannon and one swivel-gun (carrying either a 3-lb. ball or case-shot, as desired), together with a fair supply of ammunition.

In addition to the garrison, a considerable number of the inhabitants of Westmoreland (including some women and children) made their

* See "Proceedings and Collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," VII:142.

† William Jameson, mentioned on page 1100.

‡ See Vol. VII, pages 129 and 130, of the Society's printed "Collections."

headquarters in Wilkes-Barré at that period, occupying the few houses and barracks in the town-plot which were not needed for the uses of the garrison. Early in October a town-meeting of the inhabitants of Westmoreland was held at Wilkes-Barré, and Col. Nathan Denison and Lieut. Asahel Buck (see page 977) were chosen to represent Westmoreland in the General Assembly of Connecticut at its coming session. Colonel Denison soon set out for Hartford, but Lieutenant Buck, for some reason or another, failed to go. The Assembly convened on October 21st, and on the 27th the following memorial, signed by Colonel Denison and by John Jenkins, Sr., of Westmoreland (the latter being in Hartford at the time), was presented to the Assembly, and read. (This memorial has never heretofore been printed.)*

"To the Hon'ble General Assembly of the State of Connecticut, now setting at Hartford within sd State:

"The Representation of us the subscribers of Westmoreland, in the County of Westmoreland on the Susquehannah River, is as follows, viz: that on or about the last day of June last the Inhabitants of sd county were much alarmed by Intelligence from a scouting Party of them then returned, that a large Body of the enemy, consisting mostly of Indians and Torys, were then advancing down the River towards the settlement, at the distance of about thirty miles. On the next [day] after which the enemy fell upon a small party of sd Inhabitants (returning from labour), kill'd four and captivated two or three; the next morning said Inhabitants obtained Intelligence where the enemy had encamped the night before, and thereupon as soon as possible the militia were collected to the Number of about four hundred, and marched on to the ground where the enemy had so encamped, finding that the enemy had retired and gone back of the mountains, so as to place themselves West of and opposite the settlement.

"The militia now fearing lest the enemy should hastily march in, attack, murder and destroy the defenceless familys, marched directly back to the Place of their assembling, viz: in the Town of Kingston; that Night most of the militia were obliged to retire, and each to take care and secure his family, so well as the then distressing circumstances would admit. On the morning next after, viz: on the 2d day of July, the enemy (in their whole body) marched in (or rather were guided in by false & treacherous Brethren) and took Possession of one of our Forts (in the District of Exeter) without opposition; the able bodied men and militia were then as speedily and universally assembled as possible at Kingston Fort, three miles distant from the then situation of the main Body of the Enemy; the whole Number thus collected was between three & four hundred.

"The best means of Defence were now consulted, and concluded that if we should not be able to stand a Battle with them in the woods, it was not probable that we could long hold the Forts, as Provisions could not be at that time collected sufficient to hold out a long seige; Thereupon about three hundred of the best able & furnished marched out of the Fort and advanced within one mile of the enemy's then encampment, and formed in order for Battle, and in that Form advanced near to the line which the enemy had formed—when the Fire instantly began upon our Right Wing, and soon became general. The enemy had little or no advantage of us in the Beginning of the action, but being much superior to us in Numbers, they soon surrounded our Left; the Fire being now very severe in Front and Flank we were compell'd to retreat with the loss of about 200 of our Party—the loss of the enemy by the best acc^{ts} was between seventy and eighty.

"On the morning of the 4th July a Flag was sent from the Enemy, demanding Possession of the Fort, and proposing Terms of Settlement, upon which it was concluded that the Fort should be demolished—the Inhabitants not to bear arms during the American Contest—the Continental stores to be delivered to the enemy—and the Inhabitants to improve their Farms, and enjoy their possessions and property unmolested. Nevertheless the enemy (being powerful) proceeded, plundered, burnt & destroyed almost every thing that was valuable—murdered several of the remaining Inhabitants and compell'd most of the remainder to leave their settlements nearly destitute of cloathing, Provisions, and the necessaries of life.

"After which horrid transactions, viz: on the 4th of Augt last, the surviving able bodied and effective men to the Number of about one hundred and ten, including some Continental troops, assembled in Northampton County in the State of Pensilvania; there form'd themselves into proper companys &c. and march'd to sd Westmoreland, where to this time they have remained in possession of sd lands, tho frequently disturbed & fired upon by Partys of the enemy, who are still distressing the Inhabitants of sd county, and threatening total Destruction.

"We further beg leave to Represent that there are already collected and Dwelling in sd county, viz: on that Part thereof commonly known by the Name of Wyoming,

* The original document is now in the collection of MSS. entitled "Susquehannah Settlers"—described on page 29, Vol. I.

about fifty familys, and many more desirous to return in safety, and some returning. That very considerable quantitys of grain have been and are preserved, and a valuable stock of cattle, and that the military Force of said settlement including Continental Troops, at the present time, doth not exceed two hundred. Whereupon we humbly pray your Hon^{rs} to still extend your compassions to the needy and distressed familys, widows and orphans now wandering in many Parts of this state, and grant them such Comfort as is reasonable—and also your further Protection to the above mentioned settlements, and grant them such further Force for their defence as may be judged needfull for their safety, and as in duty bound we shall ever pray. [Signed] "NATHAN DENISON,"

"Dated Hartford, 27th October, 1778.

"JOHN JENKINS."

A joint-committee to consider, and report upon, this memorial was immediately appointed, composed of General Wolcott, General Ward, Captain Perkins, Colonel Porter, Mr. Burr and Mr. Wales of the Lower House, and Jabez Huntington of the Upper House. This committee subsequently reported, recommending that the Governor be desired to write to Congress, representing the distressed situation at Westmoreland, and requesting Congress to afford the inhabitants thereof such further aid and protection as should appear proper to prevent any further ravages of the enemy upon them. This report was promptly and unanimously adopted by both Houses.

At this same session the General Assembly "granted" a rate, or tax, of two shillings on the pound, to be levied and collected on all the polls and rateable estates of the State, according to the various lists reported to the Assembly in October, 1777, and in January, 1778. The Westmoreland list of 1777 aggregated £20,322 17s., and two shillings on the pound would produce a tax of £2,032, 5s. 8d.—a sum which it would be quite impossible for the Westmorelanders to pay, because of the disasters which had befallen them. Nevertheless, early in November, in pursuance of the foregoing action of the Assembly, the Treasurer of the State issued a warrant to John Dorrance, Constable of Westmoreland, and Collector of the State Tax for the town, authorizing and requiring him to collect the above stated tax and make return thereof before February, 1779.

Under the date of October 29, 1778, at Wallingford, Connecticut, the Rev. Jacob Johnson, who was living there with his family (he and they being among the refugees from Wyoming), addressed to Governor Trumbull the following communication*—which was received by the Governor at Hartford on October 31st.

"Sr.—When I was In Hartford Tuesday last I purposed to have waited on your Excellency, before I went out of Town, but being suddenly call'd away, I had no convenient opportunity, without transgressing order—I therefore use this way of writing, to communicate my mind to you, Sir, with respect to the Present Distressing state of the People, at Westmoreland, on the Susquehanna; both as to the Defence of the Present Inhabitants there; and the sufferers (of whom I am one of the chief) driven from thence—I have had some talk with Colonel [Eliphalet] Dyer, and some other Gent^l on the subject. Colonel Denison, Representative and, I suppose, Agent for the Town and County of Westmoreland, not being then in the Assembly, or Town, I do, therefore, as a sufferer and one Interested, and concerned both in the common cause of the State of Connecticut and more especially so to the former Inhabitants (so many of whom are drove off, and have no certain dwelling-place), and those in Particular that are on the Ground, with but one single Company for their defence—besides a number of the Inhabitants—all of whom amount to but about 150. And that Company, which is there, were raised out of the Inhabitants there, with two more [companies] that have been in the Continental service until and after our suffering.

"The amount of one of those Companys raised on the Susquehanna are extinguished by sword & sickness; the other what remains are in the Continental service. Wherefore we think it but Reasonable & Equitable that at least Two Companys more should be ordered to Westmoreland—That a good & sufficient Fort & Garrison be Placed there and the

* The original is among the "Trumbull Papers," mentioned on page 29, Vol. I.

sufferers in some way be provided for—That the Inhabitants there may not fall a prey to the sword, nor be Dispersed Sufferers to Famine & Nakedness, and final death.

"From your Excellency's most Obed't Hum^b Servt.,

[Signed] "JACOB JOHNSON,
Late Minister of Christ at Wilkesbarre on Susq^{ha} On behalfe of his Fellow Sufferers.

"To his Excellency the Governor, and Company of the State of Connecticut—To be deliberated upon and something done (if it may be) according as the Nature & Necessity of the Cause requires and Calls for—and the Calamity of the Present distressing war with Great Britain will admit of.

"N. B. I presume Col. N. Denison (as agent) will present a Memorial to the Gen^l Assembly of the State of Connecticut, now sitting, relative to the distressing State of the Inhabitants of Westmoreland. But in case of failure, I hope your Excellency and the Gen^l Assembly of this State of Connecticut will not forget, or neglect, the suffering, bleeding cause of so many Widdows, Fatherless children and mourners—and especially that cry of the Blood! of so many slain! that calls for Justice to be done on the murtherers."

Some days later Mr. Johnson wrote from Wallingford to Col. Zebulon Butler (who, it will be remembered, was the former's son-in-law) at Wilkes-Barré, relative to the condition of affairs in Wyoming. An extract from this letter is printed on page 746, *ante*.

During the presence of "Butler's Rangers" and their Indian allies at Chemung and Tioga Point subsequently to the Hartley Expedition—while making preparations for the projected incursion into Cherry Valley, New York—various small bands of Indians came down the river to Wyoming and committed depredations and murders; and after the expedition against Cherry Valley had set out from Tioga Point, the Indians who remained behind were emboldened to sneak down to Wilkes-Barré, and beyond, and prey on the scattered inhabitants. Particular mention has been made of some of these irruptions, which occurred in the month of October, 1778. On November 2d, at the village of Wilkes-Barré, Nathan Kingsley was killed, and Frances Slocum and a brother of young Kingsley were carried into captivity. (A detailed account of this event is given in the ensuing chapter.) On November 5th, at the grist-mill (referred to on page 1085) near Nanticoke Falls, William Jackson, an old gentleman named Hageman, his wife, and daughter Leonora, Edward Lester, and his wife and four children, were captured and marched about three miles up the river in the direction of Wilkes-Barré. There the company halted, and Jackson and Lester and the latter's eldest son were killed and scalped by the Indians. Miner states that Hageman "escaped with six wounds, and survived, although the food he took oozed from a spear wound in his side." Mrs. Hageman,* Leonora Hageman, and Mrs. Lester† and her three surviving children, were carried

* The two Hageman women were detained as prisoners among the Indians until the close of the war. Their names—together with those of Capt. Zebulon Parrish, Stephen Parrish, Jasper Parrish and Stephen Kimball, of Lackaway District, Westmoreland, who were captured July 5, 1778 (see page 1020), and Capt. James Bidlack, Sr. (see page 999)—appear in a report made by Colonels Fisher and Harper, at Johnstown, New York, under the date of March 2, 1780, relative to certain American prisoners who were to be sent to Canada. (See Meginness' "Biography of Frances Slocum," page 23.)

† At Wilkes-Barré, December 29, 1778, Dr. William Hooker Smith was granted by Nathan Denison, Judge of Probate, letters of administration on the estate of Edward Lester, deceased. Mrs. Lester and her children were conveyed by their captors to the Seneca country, where two of the children, girls, were separated from the mother and each other and sent to Indian villages widely removed from the village where Mrs. Lester and her youngest child—a boy less than two years of age—were detained. When, on September 15, 1779, the Sullivan Expedition reached Genesee Castle (mentioned in note "4" on page 1042) Mrs. Lester, who, with her child, had managed to elude the Indians when they and "Butler's Rangers" left the town two or three days before, came to the camp of the army. She and her child were in a half-starved condition, having been wandering in the woods without food since their escape from captivity. They were taken to General Sullivan's quarters and well provided for. Mrs. Lester informed the General that "Butler and Brant, with the Indians and Tories," had left Genesee Castle on September 13th and gone to Fort Niagara, distant eighty miles. She said that the Indians were "very uneasy with Butler and their other leaders," and were in great distress. In the journal of Lieut. Col. Adam Hubley, under the date of September 15, 1779 (see Miner's "Wyoming," Appendix, page 100), we find the following relative to Mrs. Lester: "She, with her bantling, was almost starved for want of food. She informs us that the Indians have been in great want all last Spring; that they subsisted entirely on green corn this Summer; that their squaws were fretting prodigiously, and continually teasing their warriors to make peace."

When, on September 16th, the army set out from Genesee Castle on its homeward march, Mrs. Lester and her child were furnished with a horse. On the third day of the march the child was taken

off by the Indians to New York State. On November 7th John Perkins* of Kingston District was killed by Indians in Plymouth. On November 9th Capt. Robert Carr and Philip Goss were surprised by Indians near Wapwallopen. While attempting to escape in their canoe, both men were killed. About the same time Robert Alexander and Amos Parker were found murdered in the lower part of Wyoming Valley.

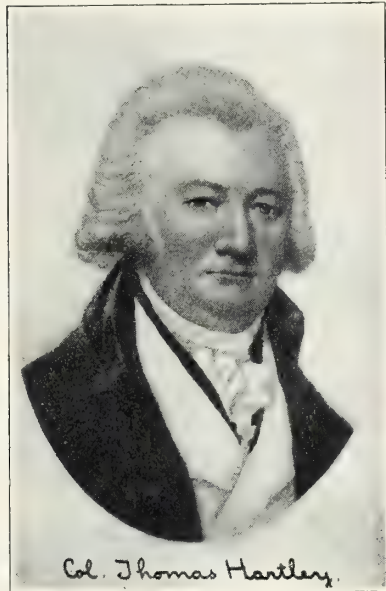
At Sunbury, Pennsylvania, under the date of November 9, 1778, Colonel Hartley wrote† to the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania informing them that within ten days the enemy had been "down in force and invested Wyoming." "Had one or two regiments been sent to Wyoming as I requested," Colonel Hartley declared, "these calamities would now not have happened." Continuing, he wrote:

"Wyoming, I make no doubt, will make a good defense, but the garrison is rather small. Should the enemy take that post, New York, Pennsylvania and Jersey will then too late think of its importance. * * * About seventy Indians were seen twenty-two miles from here yesterday, advancing towards the forks of the Chillisquaque; they took some prisoners. With the small force we have we are endeavoring to make a stand. I am drawing some little force together, and to-morrow will endeavor to attack the Indians on the Chillisquaque, and make a movement towards Fishing Creek, which will probably be of use to the people of Wyoming."

At "Fort Jenkins, near Nescopeck, November 14, 1778," Colonel Hartley wrote to the Supreme Executive Council in part as follows: "The enemy are in force between here and Wyoming. *

* They expected the frontiers to give way. I am now advancing towards Wyoming. I am weak, but hope for success." On the same day, and from the same place, Colonel Hartley wrote to Colonel Butler§ at Wilkes-Barré as follows|| :

"I understand our friends from Chemung have paid you a visit. The West Branch is strong and safe. The troops from the main army are certainly on their march. I presume you have heard of their approach. I am advancing with horse, foot, provisions and artillery. I shall move early to-morrow, and if there are any of the gentry on the way, we shall make them know us. My men are in the highest spirits. Let me know of your situation by



(After an old portrait.) ‡

sick, and shortly after died. The dead body was wrapped in an old blanket and hastily buried. Mrs. Lester returned with the army to Wilkes-Barré, where, June 12, 1783, she was married, as his second wife, to Lieut. Roasel Franklin of Hanover—a sketch of whose life will be found in a subsequent chapter. At the close of the War of the Revolution one of the daughters of Edward Lester, who had been separated from her mother, as previously narrated, was released from captivity, and made her way to Wyoming. The other daughter was supposed to be at Fort Niagara, and thither Roasel Franklin and his wife journeyed; but the girl was not there. After considerable inquiry it was learned that she was with a band or tribe of Indians on the Grand River, in what is now Michigan. "An Indian was sent to pilot Franklin to the tribe she was with," states Mrs. Hannah (Gore) Durkee, in a story of "thrilling incidents" recounted by her many years ago, and later printed in Heverly's "History of Sheshequin." "They found her" (the daughter), states Mrs. Durkee, "and as soon as they made their business known the squaws began to make great lamentations, tore their hair, and she utterly refused to leave the Indians. When they compelled her to come, the squaws tore her clothing all off and left her naked. Franklin wrapped his horse blanket around her, and then mounted his horse, and an Indian handed her up to him, and he carried her off by force. They joined her mother at Niagara, then returned home. They stopped at father's for dinner. She [the daughter] was then fourteen years old, and a squaw in every respect except color. * * * She married Mr. Cole, who was one of the first settlers of Scipio, Cayuga County, New York."

* JOHN PERKINS came to Wyoming—from Plainfield, Windham County, Connecticut, it is said—in the Spring of 1769, with the company of settlers led by Maj. John Durkee, as previously related. He ultimately located in Kingston, where he acquired two "rights" of land. He was joined by his family in 1772. He had three sons who grew to maturity—John (born about 1754), Aaron (born

to-morrow night; we shall probably be about Wapwallopen. I move slow, and if any of the lads show their noses, they will be hurted. I have the best marksmen and the best powder I ever saw."

Three days later (to wit, November 17, 1778), at Fort Jenkins, Colonel Hartley wrote—at three o'clock in the morning—to Colonel Butler at Wilkes-Barré, as follows¶:

"I just now received yours of the 16th inst. I am happy to find the savages have returned, and that the communication is once more open between us. Your accounts are pleasing concerning the strength of your garrison. Hearing of your distress I collected all the force I could, and was determined to relieve you if it was in my power. We have made much parade; our advanced body was at Wapwallopen, our main body, with the flour and ammunition, at Nescopeck. Still firing our field-piece, swivel, etc., as we

about 1756) and *David* (born January 1, 1769). Upon the organization of Captain Durkee's Westmoreland Independent Company, John Perkins, Jr., enlisted therein as a private, and served until his death at Morristown, New Jersey, July 6, 1777. John Perkins, Sr., and Aaron Perkins were both private soldiers in the 24th Regiment, Connecticut Militia, and were in service at Wyoming in the Autumn of 1778. (See page 1096.) Letters of administration upon the estate of John Perkins, Sr., were granted at Wilkes-Barré August 6, 1782, by the Probate Court of Westmoreland to Samuel Cummins—Capt. Stephen Fuller being his surety on a bond of £400.

Aaron and David Perkins resided in Kingston Township until their respective deaths—David holding for a number of years the office of Justice of the Peace. Aaron died subsequently to 1838, and David died January 8, 1854. The latter's wife was Sarah Ferrier, who died January 1, 1845, aged seventy-seven years and five months. She was the daughter of Thomas and Hester (*Lucky*) Ferrier of Orange County, New York. David and Sarah (*Ferrier*) Perkins were the parents of several children, among them being: (i) *Zibia*, born in 1790; became the first wife of Elisha Atherton (born May 7, 1736; died April 2, 1853) of Kingston. She died August 3, 1825. (ii) *John*, born July 11, 1792; died April 23, 1838. (See below.) (iii) *Thomas*, died September 24, 1810, aged eighteen years. (iv) *David*. (v) *Mary*, who was married at Kingston, February 22, 1827, by the Rev. Dr. George Peck, to James Hancock, then of Wilkes-Barré, but later of the borough of Wyoming. (See a sketch of the Hancock family in a subsequent chapter.) (vi) *Elizabeth*, who became the wife of John C. Grier of Peoria, Illinois, and had David Perkins Grier, born in 1837 and died April 21, 1891.

(ii) *John Perkins* became a Major in the United States Army. His wife, who was Eunice Miller, was born September 3, 1804, and died January 2, 1880. John and Eunice (*Miller*) Perkins were the parents of six children, as follows: (1) *Sarah E.*, born October 19, 1823; married in 1841 to Thomas F. (born December 8, 1816; died April 27, 1870), son of Elisha and Zibia (*Perkins*) Atherton, mentioned above. Mrs. Sarah E. (*Perkins*) Atherton died at Wilkes-Barré November 30, 1886. (2) *David*, born February 23, 1829; died December 10, 1893. (3) A daughter who became the wife of Reuben Henry of Jersey City, New Jersey. (4) A daughter who became the wife of Elisha Atherton Coray (born April 30, 1822) of Exeter Township, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania. (5) A daughter who became the wife of Robert Black of Scranton, Pennsylvania. (6) *Zibia*, born July 19, 1834; died August 30, 1878.

† See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, VII : 81.

‡ THOMAS HARTLEY was born near Reading, Berks County, Pennsylvania, September 7, 1748, and consequently was in the thirty-first year of his life when he planned and commanded the expedition against the Indians at Tioga Point. At the age of eighteen years he removed to York, Pennsylvania, where he studied law, and was admitted to the bar July 25, 1769. He was commissioned January 10, 1776, Lieutenant Colonel of the 6th Pennsylvania Battalion, commanded by Col. William Irvine. This battalion, in company with others, was ordered by Washington, April 26th, 1776, to embark for Canada. On June 3d the "6th" was at the mouth of the Sorel, forming a part of the forces commanded by General Sullivan. On June 5th the "6th" was included in the detachment ordered by General Sullivan to proceed to Three Rivers, on the St. Lawrence, to attack the enemy. The attack on Three Rivers occurred on June 8th, the Americans were defeated, and Colonel Irvine was taken prisoner by the British—whereby the command of the "6th" devolved on Lieut. Colonel Hartley, and he continued in command until the expiration of the battalion's term of service, in December, 1776. However, the battalion was immediately re-enlisted in the service as the "7th Pennsylvania Regiment," with Irvine (still a prisoner in the hands of the enemy) as Colonel, and Hartley as Lieut. Colonel.

Just about that time (to wit, on December 27, 1776) Congress passed a resolution authorizing General Washington to "raise and collect together, in the most speedy and effectual manner, from any and all of these United States, sixteen battalions of infantry, in addition to those already voted by Congress, and to appoint the officers for said battalions." Washington, on January 11, 1777, issued to Lieut. Col. Thos. Hartley a commission as Colonel, and authority to raise one of these sixteen battalions. In a short time thereafter the battalion was raised, became known as "Hartley's Regiment," and was attached to the 1st Pennsylvania Brigade, in the division commanded by Gen. Anthony Wayne. In the battles of the Brandywine and Germantown (see page 906) Colonel Hartley commanded the abovementioned brigade. "Hartley's Regiment" was ordered to Sunbury, Pennsylvania, about July 14, 1778. It is stated in "Pennsylvania in the Revolution," I : 778, that, but for the letters of Colonel Hartley to be found in "Pennsylvania Archives," "very little would be known of the military operations on the West Branch [of the Susquehanna] in 1778-79." Congress resolved January 13, 1779, that "Hartley's Regiment" and certain other organizations should be incorporated together, "to form a complete battalion upon the new establishment, and to be added to the Pennsylvania Line as the Eleventh Regiment of that State." In pursuance of this resolution the "New 11th Regiment" was immediately organized, with Hartley as Colonel and Adam Hubley, Jr., as Lieut. Colonel; but Colonel Hartley resigned his commission February 13, 1779, and was succeeded in command by Lieut. Colonel Hubley, who, June 8, 1779, was commissioned "Lieut. Colonel Commandant" of the regiment, to rank from February 13.

Upon Colonel Hartley's retirement from the army, after a little more than three years of service, he returned to York and resumed the practise of law. Thereafter, until his death at York, December 21, 1800, his life was a busy one, and it is only necessary to refer to Carter's and Glossenbrenner's "History of York County," to the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, XXV : 303, and the records of our State and National legislatures, for "evidences of his brilliant career as a soldier, lawyer, and statesman."

§ The day following the writing of this letter Zebulon Butler was promoted from Lieut. Colonel of the 3d Connecticut Regiment to Colonel of the 2d Regiment of that State.

¶ See "Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania," I : 459.

¶ See *ibid.*, 460.

moved forward, the Tories thought us numerous. I adopted this mode of advancing because my letter to you, which I sent you by [Capt. Robert] Carr* fell into the enemy's hands. In this, among other things, I informed you that Congress had directed General Washington to send on a body to break up the settlements at Chemung and protect the frontiers of Pennsylvania, New York, etc., and that I was ordered to hold myself in readiness to co-operate with those troops, and was preparing for the same; and also gave you notice to do the like.

"You will receive fifteen axes, a number of carpenter's-tools, ammunition, etc.; forty-two barrels of flour, three barrels of whisky, two barrels of biscuit. You shall have more as soon as I can send the same. Captain Bush, with a party, conveys these stores as far as Wapwallopen—or the whole way, if necessary. Some men of Major Eichelberger's company and one of Captain Thornbury's company goes, and is to be stationed at Wyoming. * * You will send the remainder of my men by Captain Bush, unless there should be some new alarm. I have wrote pressingly to Congress and the Board of War for a regiment to be sent to garrison Wyoming, and that my regiment should be stationed here and at the West Branch, and I have no doubt but this will be complied with. You may keep the swivel which is on the big boat. You will please to let Mr. Lemon come down; Mr. Ensign Thornbury relieves him. * * If you are reinforced with the regiment, and would make a movement toward Tanckanock with 200 men, I should imagine the enemy would be almost intimidated enough to leave Chemung, as they believe an expedition will be carried against them."

Miner records, in the following words, an account of a most distressing tragedy enacted on November 19, 1778, by a band of Indians in what is now Nescopeck Township, some twenty-two miles down the river from Wilkes-Barré. "A whole family were butchered. John Utley, Elisha Utley and Diah Utley were attacked. The two first were shot down and soon despatched. Diah, the youngest, fled to the river and swam over to the west side (near Beach Grove), but an Indian had crossed before him in a canoe, and struck him with a tomahawk as he reached the shore. He plead for his life, but there was no mercy shown. The savages then entered the house, and, having murdered and scalped the aged mother, placed her as in sport in a chair and so left her. The Utley family were from the east side of the Connecticut River, in Hartford County."

At Sunbury, under the date of November 23, 1778, Colonel Hartley wrote to Colonel Butler at Wilkes-Barré as follows†:

"I received yours of the 20th *inst.* I am glad to understand that your place is in so defenceable a situation. By the boats we send you forty barrels of flour and — barrels of biscuit, 1 barrel of salt and one of whisky; also the keg of spirits. There are at present but a very few barrels of flour for the whole troops—besides those sent you. I have wrote more pressingly to Congress and the other public bodies for another regiment to be sent to Wyoming. I understand there is one at the Minisinks which will most probably join you. I am about going to Philadelphia, and shall not be present for some time again on these frontiers. I desire the following dispositions may be carried into execution:

"That if you be not reinforced at Wyoming, Captain Kenney's and Mr. Eichelberger's companies to remain at your post in garrison. Should another regiment join you—in that case those two companies are immediately to march to Fort Muncy by the way of Northumberland-town; and two companies of the regiment which is to join you are immediately to be detached to Fort Jenkins, where they are to remain in garrison to preserve the communication, instead of Captains Bush's and Forrester's companies who will then be withdrawn to strengthen the posts next the Allegheny. Should the enemy after this attempt an invasion, the troops at Wyoming and Muncy might fall in the rear. The Board of War have intrusted me with arranging the troops, and I expect these instructions will be punctually attended to. I am exceedingly happy to think I have been of some use to the frontiers, and when I go away I shall always be ready to give them any assistance in my power.

"You must send a guard to Wapwallopen on Friday, which must remain there till the boat and convoys meet them. I wish you may enjoy peace and plenty during the Winter season. Captain Stoddert will command the troops that may be here, or on the West Branch, or at Fort Jenkins; the garrison at Wyoming to command above Nescopeck. * * * Present my compliments to Mrs. Butler and the gentlemen officers of the

* See page 1107, *ante*.

† See "Proceedings and Collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," VII:144.

garrison. * * * A boat with eighty barrels of flour sunk in the [Nescopeck] Falls. You must not issue above a pound of flour per man per day."

Late in November, or early in December, 1778, Isaac Inman*, who, as a private in the 5th, or Hanover, Company of the 24th Regiment, had taken part in the battle of Wyoming, and later had served in the detachment commanded by Lieut. Colonel Butler (see page 1096), was murdered by Indians near his father's home in Hanover Township. Late one afternoon he heard what he believed to be the gobbling of wild turkeys, so, taking his gun, he went out in search of the birds. Soon thereafter the report of a gun was heard, but young Inman did not return home. That night there was a fall of snow, and the next day a search was made for the missing man; but as no traces of him could be found it was believed that he had been captured by Indians and carried away. Early the next Spring, however, his body, shockingly

* ELIJAH INMAN, SR., was born in either Connecticut or Rhode Island in 1718, and in 1775 he came with his wife, Susannah, and children to Wyoming Valley, and settled in Hanover Township. His name appears in the tax-lists for 1776, '77, '78, '80 and '81. After the battle of Wyoming he fled from the Valley with his wife and younger children, but returned a few months later to find his house and barn burnt, his cattle missing, and the most of his crops destroyed. Elijah Inman, Sr., died in Hanover Township February 7, 1804, and his wife Susannah died in Wilkes-Barre August 21, 1809, aged eighty-eight years. They were the parents of the following-named children, at least: (i) *Elijah*, mentioned hereinafter. (ii) *Richard*, born about 1751. (See below.) (iii) *Israel*, killed at the battle of Wyoming. (iv) *David*, who was in the battle of Wyoming, and subsequently served in the detachment of Westmoreland militia commanded by Lieut. Col. Zebulon Butler, as explained on page 1096. He died within a short time thereafter. (v) *John*, born about 1758; died in 1814, leaving sons Hiram and Richard. (vi) *Isaac*, born in 1760; murdered by Indians in November, 1778, as mentioned above. (vii) *Edward*, born in 1763; died in 1848. (See below.)

(i) *Elijah Inman, Jr.*, came to Wyoming with the other members of his father's family and settled in Hanover. His name appears in the tax-lists for 1777 and 1778. He was a private in the 5th Company, 24th Regiment, Connecticut Militia, and with that company took part in the battle of Wyoming, and was slain. Letters of administration upon his estate were granted by the Probate Court of Westmoreland June 23, 1779, to his widow Sarah Inman—Capt. Stephen Fuller being her surety on a bond for £1000. The original inventory of the decedent's estate, filed a few months later, is now in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, and reads as follows: "Westmoreland, November 17, A. D. 1779. an Enventory of the Estate of Elijah Enmon, Desest. we the subscribers being chosen and sworn as the Law direcks do prise 200 acres of Land at £300; 1 mair at £10; 2 sowes and peggs [sows and pigs], £3; 1 pair plow iorns, 18s.; 1 grubing how [hoe], 6s.; 1 pair ring and wegges, 9s.; old iorn, 5s.; 1 woman's saddle, £1; 1 pair plow iorns and plow, £1, 5s.; 1 iorn cittle [kettle], 9s.; 1 dito, 6s.; 1 pot, 8s.; 1 how [hoe], 4s.; 1 mans saddle, 18s.; 1 shave, 4s.; 1 jaket, 8s.; 1 pr. of shoe buckels, £1, 4s.; 1 pr. of nee buckels, 12s. Total, £321 16s. "the above articles are prised at hard money prise. [Signed] JABEZ SILLS } "CALEB SPENCER } prisers."

(ii) *Richard Inman* was born in 1751, and came to Wyoming with the other members of his father's family. His name appears in the Hanover tax-lists for 1776, 1777, 1778, 1780, and 1781. He was a private in the 5th Company of the 24th Regiment, and started for the battle-field of July 3, 1778, but did not get there—as is explained on page 1018. Later he served in the detachment of Westmoreland militia commanded by Lieut. Col. Zebulon Butler, as noted on page 1096. Between the years 1790 and 1800 the Town Committee of Hanover leased to Richard Inman part of public lots Nos. 30 and 31 in Hanover Township—"to hold on lease simple as long as wood grows and water runs." The rental to be "one bushel of wheat to be paid every twenty-fifth of December into the town treasury." Prior to 1809 Richard and Israel Inman built a very substantial grist-mill at the foot of Solomon's Falls, in Hanover Township. In 1812 Richard Inman became the sole proprietor of the mill, and operated it from about 1817 till his death in 1831. Richard Inman was married to Hannah Spencer, and they were the parents of Israel, Isaac, Caleb (married to Elizabeth Hartzell), Richard, Walter (married to ——— Alden), John, Perry, Mary, Susan, and Margaret (married to Robert Valentine).

(vii) *Edward Inman* was born in 1763, and came to Wyoming with the other members of his father's family. He fled from the Valley with his parents after the battle of Wyoming, but, returning a few months later, spent the remainder of his life in Hanover Township—living, in his later years, on what was known as Inman's Hill, where he died in 1848. During the Second Pennamite-Yankee War he took a very active part in opposing the Pennsylvania land claimants, and once was imprisoned, with other Wyoming Valley men, in the jail at Easton—as is more fully related hereinafter. In November, 1787, he was elected and commissioned Lieutenant of the militia company in the Upper District of Hanover, forming a part of the battalion commanded by Lieut. Col. Matthias Hollenback. He was commissioned March 20, 1789, Captain of the 2d Company in the "1st Regiment of Militia in Luzerne County"—commanded by Lieut. Colonel Hollenback. Prior to 1804 he was promoted Major of this regiment, and prior to 1837 he became a Colonel in the Pennsylvania militia. Charles Miner, the historian of Wyoming, writing in 1838, said: "A few miles below Wilkesbarre lives Col. Edward Inman, one of our most respectable and wealthy citizens. He owns one of the noblest farms in the county—part of it the same where his father dwelt, and part added by his own industry—consisting of several hundred acres, embracing a large body of the most productive flats. Plenty crowns his board, and independence cheers the evening of his days."

Edward Inman was married in 1785 or '86 to Jerusha Dilley of Hanover Township, and they became the parents of the following-named children: (1) *Lovina*, born in 1787; married April 5, 1809, to John (born July 26, 1776; died February 3, 1843), son of George Espy; died February 19, 1874. (See sketch of the Espy family.) (2) *Jemima*, born in 1789; married in 1814 to John (born in Plymouth, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, July 13, 1787; died there July 3, 1871), son of John and Catharine Turner, originally of New Jersey, but after 1784, of Plymouth Township. Mrs. Jemima (Inman) Turner died August 1, 1864. (3) *Susan*, married (as his second wife) to Dr. Asa Clark Whitney of Kingston Township, who was born May 5, 1785, and died December 10, 1824. (4) *Jerusha*, married to William Jackson. (5) *John E.*, married to Mary Hannis. (6) *Elizabeth*, born in 1801; married to ——— Stiles; died in 1851. (7) *Nathan*, born in 1803; died November 2, 1835.

mangled, was found in a creek not far from his home. He had been shot, beaten with a war-club, and scalped, and by his side lay the club with which he had been beaten.

Early in December, 1778, Colonel Butler sent Matthias Hollenback from the Wyoming Post, at Wilkes-Barré, to Col. William Cook,* Deputy Quartermaster General at Northumberland, for a supply of food and money for the post. Mr. Hollenback returned shortly before Christmas-day, 1778, bringing £1,155 to be used at the post in a manner "most conducive to the public welfare."

The following copies of original documents now in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society will give the reader some idea of what was going on at the Wyoming Post in November and December, 1778.

(1) "Wyoming, November 21, 1778. Received of Colonel Butler eighteen dollars for work as a Joyner on a House at the Fort at Wyoming.

[Signed] "PHINEHAS SPAFFORD."

(2) "Westmoreland Dec. ye 1st, 1778. Then we the subscribers apraised one frame belonging to Capt. William Gallup, for the use of the Contanent for a store house, at the sum of twenty pounds in money of Connecticut. Also one frame for Barracks, belonging to jonathan fitch, at the sum of twelve pounds Lawf. money.

"By us —

[Signed] "SIMON SPALDING, Capt.,

"BENJAMIN HARVEY,

"STEPHEN FULLER."

(3)

"Wyoming, December 1, 1778.

"The United States of America to Lt. Col. Zebⁿ Butler, Dr.

"To paying Isaac Baldwin as Express from Wyoming to Board of War, 3d July, £38 15s.; to paying Lt. Gore as Express from Fort to headquarters, for expenses, in July, £7 10s.; to paying Mr. Jenkins as Express from Fort Penn to Harris' Ferry, in July, £7, 17s. 6d.; to paying Mr. John Hageman as Express from Wyoming to Philadelphia, in August, £22, 6s. 3d.; to paying Captain Spalding for his expenses to Philadelphia in November, to get clothing, money, arms & ammunition at this Post, £41, 13s. 6d.; to 168 lbs. nails @ 7/6, for building stores, barracks, &c., £63; to blacksmith's bill for shoeing horses, and other iron work, £74, 1s. 3d.; to 1,000 brick for chimnies, bake-ovens, &c., £5, 12s. 6d.; to 14,572 feet of boards for building barracks, store-houses, &c., @ 7/6 per hundred, £241, 2s. 6d.; to one drum for the use of the troops, £3 15s.; one frame, as per appraisal, for store, £13 15s.; one do., £25; one do., for store and barrack, £15; 1,000 long shingles, at two dollars per 100, £7 10s."

After the capture of Frances Slocum by Indians on November 2d (as mentioned on page 1106, and fully narrated in the ensuing chapter), the remaining members of the Slocum family removed from their home at the north-east corner of the town-plot to Fort Wyoming, for safety. Mr. Slocum left his few head of live-stock on his premises, together with the hay and fodder which had been harvested and stacked by him in the early Autumn, and each day he or some member of his family, accompanied by a file of soldiers detailed by Colonel Butler, would go forth from the fort to feed the cattle. On December 16, 1778, Jonathan Slocum, his son William, and his father-in-law, Isaac Tripp (see page 467, Vol. I), left the fort for Mr. Slocum's premises, unarmed, and unaccompanied by the usual guard of soldiers—inasmuch as neither Indians nor their traces had been seen in the vicinity for some time. The three men had scarcely arrived at their destination, however, when a cry of "Indians! Indians!" was raised by one of them, and at the same moment several savages, who had been lying under cover at the corner of Main and North Streets, were discovered making for the hapless party from the fort. The latter immediately separated and ran in different directions, but Mr. Tripp, being an old man, was soon overtaken, speared nine times, and scalped. Jonathan Slocum ran in the

* See note on page 818.

direction of the fort, while William Slocum made his way towards the public burial-ground, at the corner of Market and Washington Streets. Jonathan was soon shot, killed, and scalped, but William, although wounded in the fleshy part of one of his legs by a rifle ball, managed to get safely to the fort. A detachment of soldiers was immediately sent out, but the alert and wily foe had disappeared, leaving behind them no traces save the mangled remains of Isaac Tripp and Jonathan Slocum, which were gathered up and interred in the burial-ground.

Just two weeks later (being Wednesday, December 30, 1778) a day of public thanksgiving was observed at Wilkes-Barré by the inhabitants of Westmoreland gathered here, and by the Continental soldiers composing the Wyoming Garrison. This was agreeably to a resolution adopted by the Congress, and in conformity with a proclamation issued by Governor Trumbull of Connecticut.





CHAPTER XVII.

THE STORY OF FRANCES SLOCUM, A CAPTIVE TO THE INDIANS.

"Accurs'd, unhappy, wretched, hateful day!
Most miserable hour that e'er Time saw
In lasting labor of his pilgrimage!
But one, poor one, one poor and loving child,
But one thing to rejoice and solace in,
And cruel Death hath catch'd it from my sight."
—Shakspeare, in "*Romeo and Juliet*."

"Among a savage people, still
She kept from savage moods apart,
And thought of crime and dream of ill
Had never swayed her maiden heart."
—W. G. Simms, in "*Pocahontas*."

To the general mind the most striking and dramatic incident in Wyoming history is that of the carrying away into Indian captivity of little Frances Slocum. The story of her abduction and her long and unwonted life among the Indians is one with which every reader of the annals of Wyoming is familiar, and this story will always continue to be as interesting and affecting as it is now and as it has been in the past.

In the Autumn of 1777 Jonathan Slocum,* a member of the Society of Friends, or Quakers, immigrated to Wilkes-Barré from the township of Warwick, Kent County, Rhode Island, accompanied by his wife, six

* JONATHAN SLOCUM was born in East Greenwich Township, Kent County, Rhode Island, May 1, 1733, son of Joseph Slocum, and sixth in descent from Anthony Slocum. The last named was presumably of Somersetshire, England, where he was married about 1610 to ——— Harvey (born about 1590), daughter of Thomas Harvey of Somersetshire. (See "*The Harvey Book*," page 27.) Anthony Slocum and his wife and one child, at least, came to America about 1636, and it is believed that they settled at Dorchester, Massachusetts. Anthony was one of the forty-six "first and ancient purchasers" in 1637 of Taunton, Massachusetts, where he resided from 1638 till 1662, when, having united with the Society of Friends, or Quakers, he disposed of his rights in Taunton and removed with his family to that part of New Plymouth incorporated later under the name of Dartmouth Township. He and one Ralph Russell were the first settlers there. A fragment of a letter written by Anthony Slocum at Dartmouth—probably about 1670—to his "brother-in-law William Harvey in Taunton," has been preserved. In it is this paragraph: "Myself, wife and sons and daughter Gilbert who hath four sons, remember our respects and loves, and my sons are all married."

It has been said that Giles Slocum (born about 1618), the eldest child of Anthony and ——— (Harvey) Slocum, "was the common ancestor of all the Slocums whose American lineage has been found to date from the 17th century." Giles Slocum settled in what is now the township of Portsmouth, Newport County, Rhode Island, and September 4, 1648, was granted, and had laid out to him, thirty acres of land. For a number of years prior to his death he owned considerable land in Portsmouth, also in Shrewsbury Township, New Jersey, and elsewhere. He and his wife Joan were early

members of the Society of Friends. She died at Portsmouth August 31, 1679, and he died there early in 1682. Giles and Joan Slocum were the parents of nine children. Samuel, the seventh child, was born about the year 1657. He married and became the father of Giles Slocum, Jr., who was born in or near Newport, Rhode Island, and was married there November 23, 1704, to Mary Paine, daughter of Ralph and Dorothy Paine of Freetown, Massachusetts. Giles Slocum was admitted a freeman at Newport in May, 1707, and died there prior to 1724. He was survived by four sons and one daughter, the eldest of whom was Joseph, born January 30, 1706, at Newport.

Joseph Slocum was married (1st) at Newport September 27, 1724, by Jonathan Nichols, "Assistant," to Patience, daughter of Caleb Carr of Jamestown. In 1730 or '31 they removed from Newport to the township of East Greenwich, Kent County, Rhode Island, where Joseph was admitted a freeman in the year 1732, and where he became a farmer, and a dealer in land. In 1743 he was married (2d) to Hannah ———. In the years 1741, '42 and '44 he was chosen Deputy to the General Assembly of Rhode Island from the newly-erected township of West Greenwich. In the Spring of 1769 he came to Wyoming Valley in the company of settlers led by Maj. John Durkee, and was here at Wilkes-Barré in June of that year. (See page 498, Vol. I.)

Some writer of Wyoming history stated a good many years ago that "a lot surveyed to Col. Lodwick Ojodirk, in ye township called ye Capouse Meadows, passed into the hands of Jonathan Slocum in 1771, on account of Slocum's doing ye duty of a settler for Ojodirk." This statement has been repeated in Munsell's "History of Luzerne, Lackawanna and Wyoming Counties," in "The Slocums of America," in Kulp's "Families of Wyoming Valley," and in other books. Original authentic records show, however, that it was not Jonathan, but Joseph, Slocum who did the "duty of a settler," for Ludwig Updike, or Opdyke, of Rhode Island, in the township mentioned. ("Ludwig Opdyke" and "Lodwick Ojodirk" were, in reality, one and the same person. See Munsell's "History of Luzerne, Lackawanna and Wyoming Counties," page 385.) That Joseph Slocum was in Wyoming in 1772 is shown by a reference to the list of settlers printed on pages 736 and 752, *ante*. When, in March, 1773, the township of New Providence was organized and allotted to its proprietors (see page 770), "Ludwig Updike," represented on the ground by Joseph Slocum, was named as one of the "original proprietors of the township," and was assigned "Lot No. 6." (See "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, XVIII : 772.) Mr. Slocum took up his residence there and lived there until his death in the early part of 1777. His name appears in the tax-list for 1776, but not in that for 1777. (See pages 878 and 946.)

Joseph and Patience (Carr) Slocum were the parents of five daughters and one son—the latter being Jonathan, previously mentioned, who was the fourth child, and was born in East Greenwich Township, Kent County, Rhode Island, May 1, 1733. He was reared by his parents according to the principles and practices of the Society of Friends, and from youth up was an exemplary member of that Society. For a few years, after becoming of age, he resided, and worked at his trade of blacksmith, in Portsmouth, Newport County, Rhode Island. February 23, 1757, he was married at Warwick, Kent County, Rhode Island, to Ruth (born March 21, 1736), daughter of Isaac Tripp of Warwick. (See page 467, Vol. I.) After his marriage Jonathan Slocum located in Warwick—where he purchased land of his father-in-law—and there he resided until his removal to Wilkes-Barré in the Autumn of 1777, as previously mentioned. As related on page 1111, he was slain by Indians December 16, 1778, on his premises in the town-plot of Wilkes-Barré. His remains were buried in the old grave-yard on East Market Street, but many years later were removed to Hollenback Cemetery, where they now lie. For a number of years after the death of her husband Mrs. Ruth (Tripp) Slocum continued to reside at their old home, but prior to 1790 she removed with some of her children to a small frame house, owned by one of her sons, which stood at the corner of Main and North Streets, Wilkes-Barré. In 1801 and 1802 certain of the sons of Jonathan and Ruth (Tripp) Slocum owned all the land in the town-plot of Wilkes-Barré bounded by the present Main, Union, Canal (Pennsylvania Avenue) and North Streets—excepting a small part of Lot No. 36, at the corner of Union and Main Streets. They also owned other lots in the town-plot, and in the other divisions of the township of Wilkes-Barré at that time. Mrs. Ruth Slocum died May 6, 1807, at her home on North Main Street. Her remains now lie in Hollenback Cemetery.

Jonathan and Ruth (Tripp) Slocum were the parents of the following-named children who grew to maturity. All, excepting the last child, were born in Warwick, Kent County, Rhode Island. (i) Giles, born January 5, 1759; died November 14, 1826. (ii) Judith, born in October, 1760; died March 11, 1814. (iii) William, born January 6, 1762; died October 20, 1810. (iv) Ebenezer, born January 10, 1766; died July 25, 1832. (v) Mary, born December 22, 1768; died April 5, 1848. (vi) Benjamin, born December 7, 1770; died July 5, 1832. (vii) Frances, born March 4, 1773; died March 9, 1847. (viii) Isaac, born March 4, 1775; died August 26, 1858. (ix) Joseph, born April 9, 1777; died September 27, 1855. (x) Jonathan, born September 12, 1778; died in September, 1842.

(i) Giles Slocum was in the nineteenth year of his life when he accompanied the other members of his father's family to Wilkes-Barré. In 1778 he was a private in the 6th Company, 24th Regiment, Connecticut Militia, and with his company took part in the battle of Wyoming. (See pages 1021 and 1023.) In the Autumn of 1778 he was at Wilkes-Barré serving in the detachment of militia commanded by Lieut. Colonel Butler. (See page 1096.) During the Second Pennamite-Yankee War he took an active part with the Yankees, as is shown hereinafter. In 1779 he was married to Sarah, daughter of Jeremiah and Ann (Paine) Ross, of Wilkes-Barré (see a subsequent chapter for a sketch of the Ross family), and from about 1780 until they removed from Wilkes-Barré they lived on River Street just north of South Street. In 1785 or '86 Giles Slocum and his wife and three children removed to Dutchess County, New York. Some time later—probably within a year or two—they removed to Saratoga Township, Saratoga County, New York, and thence, about the year 1806, to Claverack, Columbia County, New York. About 1815 they returned to Saratoga County and settled three miles west of Schuylerville, near Saratoga Springs, where Mrs. Sarah (Ross) Slocum died November 22, 1820, aged seventy-one years, and Giles Slocum died November 14, 1826. (See the *Susquehanna Democrat*, Wilkes-Barré, December 1, 1826, for his obituary.) Giles and Sarah (Ross) Slocum were the parents of three children: Jeremiah, born in 1780; Sarah, born November 4, 1782; Giles, born in 1784.

(ii) Judith Slocum, born in October, 1760, was married at Wilkes-Barré Sunday, February 24, 1782, to Hugh Foreman. The latter was, according to Charles Miner, a native of Ireland. He settled in Plymouth Township, Wyoming Valley, in 1776 (see his name in the tax-lists for 1777, '78 and '81), and upon the organization of Captain Hewitt's Continental company in the Spring of 1778 (see page 957) he became a non-commissioned officer therein. With his company he took part in the battle of Wyoming, and it is said that, of the small number of men of that company who made their escape from the field after the battle, Hugh Foreman was "perhaps the only man who brought in his gun." (See Hayden's "The Massacre of Wyoming," page 57.) He returned to the Valley in the Autumn of 1778, and joined the troops at Wilkes-Barré under the command of Colonel Butler. Shortly afterwards he was appointed clerk, or deputy, to William Stewart, "Commissary of Purchases and Issues for the Wyoming Garrison." In the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society is an original document in the handwriting of Lord Butler, Acting Deputy Quartermaster General at the Wyoming Post in 1780, reading as follows: "These are to certify that there is due to Hugh Foreman from the United States the sum of 531 dollars—for writing on public business.

"Wyoming, February 24, 1780.

[Signed] "LORD BUTLER, A. D. Q. M. G."

September 20, 1780, by and with the advice and approval of Col. Ephraim Blaine, Commissary General of Purchases of the Continental army, Colonel Butler appointed Hugh Forseman "Purchasing Commissary for the Wyoming Post," to succeed William Stewart, who was transferred by Colonel Blaine to duties elsewhere in the Commissary Department. The duties of his new office were satisfactorily performed by Mr. Forseman until May, 1781, when the work was again taken up by William Stewart, under an appointment made by the General Assembly of Connecticut—as noted on page 871. At the same time Mr. Forseman was appointed by the General Assembly, and commissioned by Governor Trumbull, a Justice of the Peace in and for the county of Westmoreland. In the Autumn of 1783 the Yankee settlers of Westmoreland appointed Mr. Forseman their agent to present to the Legislature of Pennsylvania a memorial relative to the grievances of the settlers against the Pennsylvania land-claimers. In May, 1783, Mr. Forseman and his family had removed from Wilkes-Barré to Sheshequin, as related in the note on page 980, and there, according to Heverly's "History of Sheshequin" (1902), they lived until 1804, at least. It is probable that soon thereafter they removed to Ohio, inasmuch as Mrs. Judith (*Slocum*) Forseman died in Ohio—probably in Cincinnati—March 11, 1814. Charles Miner makes the following statement in his "Wyoming" (page 304) relative to Hugh Forseman: "A man of business and probity, few shared more highly the general confidence. As Clerk of the Town [presumably Westmoreland], his writing is singularly, neat and accurate. To his care we are indebted that the old Westmoreland records were preserved."

(iii) *William Slocum*, born January 6, 1762, came to Wilkes-Barré in 1777 with the other members of his father's family. It was he who was wounded, but who escaped with his life, at the time his father and grandfather were killed by Indians, as narrated on page 1111. The rifle ball with which he was wounded was never extracted from his leg. During the Second Pennamite-Yankee War he was a very active member of the Yankee party. He was married January 4, 1786, to Sarah Sawyer (born May 12, 1764), and shortly afterwards they took up their residence in the house on River Street above South which had been vacated a little while before by Giles Slocum and his family. There they made their home until they removed from Wilkes-Barré. From 1796 till 1799 William Slocum was Sheriff of Luzerne County—which then comprehended the territory now included within the bounds of the counties of Luzerne, Lackawanna, Wyoming and Susquehanna, and part of Bradford. In March, 1799, William Slocum bought of Nathan Baldwin a farm in Pittston Township, and thither he removed with his family. In 1806 he was elected a Justice of the Peace in and for Pittston Township.

William Slocum died in Pittston October 20, 1810, and his wife died there March 16, 1832. Their children were as follows: (1) *Lemuel*, born March 24, 1787; married to Nancy Collins December 20, 1812; died August 24, 1830. (2) *Elizabeth*, born October 3, 1788; married (1st) to William Jenkins in 1809, and (2d) to Zenas Barnum in 1815; died August 22, 1869. (3) *Frances*, born August 26, 1790; married August 30, 1812, to Eleazar Carey (see page 1026); died April 7, 1822. (4) *Laton*, born August 16, 1792; married February 1, 1819, to Gratey (born December 24, 1796; died September 5, 1829), daughter of James and Thankful (*Nash*) Scovell of Exeter Township, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania. Laton Slocum died January 16, 1833, survived by the following-named children: (a) Frances Carey, (b) James Scovell and (c) William. (5) *Sarah*, born August 12, 1794; died March 17, 1829, unmarried. (6) *Rhoda*, born July 17, 1796; married May 27, 1829, to James Wright. (7) *Merritt*, born July 12, 1798; was Register of Wills and Recorder of Deeds in Luzerne County from 1836 until his death, July 11, 1838. He was unmarried. (8) *Giles*, born May 4, 1801; married (1st) March 9, 1826, to Sarah Perkins; married (2d) February 9, 1847, to Sarah Reese; died May 7, 1878. (9) *William*, born May 4, 1803; married September 15, 1828, to Ann Levington Stewart of Pittston; died at Hyde Park, Pennsylvania, May 27, 1856.

(iv) *Ebenezer Slocum*, born January 10, 1766, was in the thirteenth year of his life when the battle of Wyoming was fought and when, a few months later, his sister Frances was carried into captivity. As early as May, 1788, he was a private in the 3d Company (William Ross, Captain) of the 1st Battalion of Militia in Luzerne County, commanded by Lieut. Col. M. Hollenback; and in October, 1790, he was still a member of this company—as is shown by original "returns" in the possession of the present writer. As early, at least, as 1798, Ebenezer Slocum became Captain of the "Wyoming Blues" of Wilkes-Barré, in the Pennsylvania militia. He was married at Wilkes-Barré December 3, 1790, to Sarah (born August 31, 1771), daughter of Dr. Joseph and Obedience (*Sperry*) Davis. In 1798 Ebenezer Slocum and James Duane purchased certain lands and a grist-mill situated alongside Roaring Brook near its junction with the Lackawanna River, in the township of Providence—or, as it was still sometimes called, Capouse. The particular locality referred to was known as "Deep Hollow." Slocum and Duane enlarged the grist-mill and added a distillery to it, and in 1799 built a saw-mill and a blacksmith shop near by. Duane withdrew from the partnership and was succeeded by Benjamin Slocum (younger brother of Ebenezer) in the latter part of 1799, and a year later Ebenezer Slocum and his family and Benjamin Slocum removed from Wilkes-Barré to Deep Hollow. In the year 1800 the Slocum brothers built in the "Hollow" a forge having two fires and one trip-hammer. All kinds of useful agricultural implements were made at this forge and sold to the farmers of Wyoming and Lackawanna Valleys. The aforementioned plants, a small cooper shop, and three or four rude dwelling-houses composed the settlement at Deep Hollow in the year 1801 and for several years thereafter. To this settlement the Slocums gave the name "Unionville," and by this name it was generally known; although as late as 1804 it was commonly referred to as Capouse. (In the *Luzerne Federalist*, Wilkes-Barré, of September 1, 1804, there is an interesting account of Capt. Ebenezer Slocum's escape from death by drowning in the Slocum mill-race at Capouse.)

In 1805 Ebenezer Slocum built the first frame house at Unionville (there is a picture of it in Pearce's "Annals of Luzerne County," page 222), and it was a landmark for many years. It was torn down in 1875, at which time it was the oldest house in Scranton, and had been known for some years as the "old Slocum red house." In 1811 the Slocums built a second grist-mill and distillery at Unionville, and about that time whiskey, flour, feed, lumber and iron began to be manufactured in such quantities as to advance the little settlement to a position of some importance in the Wyoming-Lackawanna region. Then, by the people of this region, Unionville began to be commonly called "Slocum Hollow." Forty or fifty men were employed at the various works in the "Hollow," and the Slocums had several teams on the road carrying their products to neighboring localities. After a few years the iron ore began to fail, and the Slocums made their last iron June 10, 1822. Two or three years later they closed up their distillery, and in 1826 they dissolved their general partnership. Both brothers were at that time possessed of a considerable amount of property.

Slocum Hollow was a quiet, sleepy place from about 1828 until 1840, when, iron-ore and anthracite coal having been discovered on the Slocum and adjoining lands, the "Hollow" entered upon a new life. In the year last mentioned a blast-furnace was built at the village in the "Hollow," which then had a population of 100. Five years later, when its population numbered 500, the village was renamed "Harrison;" but the old name, "Slocum Hollow," still clung to the locality, even after it had attained a population of over 2,700, and been rechristened "Scranton." In 1851 the name of the town was shortened to "Scranton"—which name it has since borne.

Ebenezer Slocum died suddenly of apoplexy on the street in Wilkes-Barré, while here on a visit, July 25, 1832. An obituary of him and his brother Benjamin (who had died twenty days previously), written by Charles Miner, was published in the *Village Record* (West Chester, Pennsylvania) August 10, 1832, and republished in the *Wyoming Republican* (Kingston, Pennsylvania) August 22, 1832. Mrs. Sarah (*Davis*) Slocum died November 1, 1842.

The children of Ebenezer and Sarah (*Davis*) Slocum were as follows: (1) *Ruth*, born in Wilkes-Barré September 13, 1791; married at "Slocum Hollow," July 24, 1811, by Cornelius Courtright, Esq., of Wilkes-Barré, to Elisha Hitchcock, who was born in Clermont, New Hampshire, January 21, 1778, and died at Scranton October 16, 1858. (For his obituary, see the *Record of the Times*, Wilkes-Barré, December 8, 1858.) Mrs. *Ruth (Slocum) Hitchcock* died at Scranton about 1882. (2) *Sidney*, born March 17, 1794; married July 1, 1813, to Jane La France; died January 20, 1825. (3) *Ebenezer*, born June 6, 1796; married to Sarah Mills. (4) *Benjamin*, born July 19, 1798; married August 1, 1819, to Matilda Griffin; died at Tunkhannock, Pennsylvania, October 19, 1832. (5) *Joseph*, born in Wilkes-Barré July 15, 1800; married December 22, 1830, to Edilla Bingham; elected the first Burgess of Scranton in 1856; died in June, 1890. (6) *Samuel*, born May 13, 1802; married May 13, 1830, to Mary Dings; died August 18, 1851. (7) *Thomas*, born May 21, 1804; married December 14, 1837, to Sarah S. Jenkins; died in Marion, Iowa, December 26, 1879. (8) *Sarah*, born December 24, 1806; married September 5, 1832, to Alva Heermans; died November 28, 1878. (9) *Charles Miner*, born December 24, 1808; died August 27, 1877, unmarried. (10) *William*, born December 20, 1810; married March 30, 1843, to Jane Lockwood; died subsequently to 1881. (11) *Mary*, born December 3, 1812; died January 2, 1875, unmarried. (12) *Esther*, born March 20, 1816; married September 23, 1841, to Lester Bristol; died subsequently to 1881. (13) *Giles*, born December 11, 1820; married to Sarah Decker; died subsequently to 1881.

(v) *Mary Slocum*, born December 22, 1768, was nearly ten years old at the time her sister Frances was carried into captivity, and it was she who, when that event occurred, ran from her home towards Fort Wyoming with her young brother in her arms. She was married at Wilkes-Barré about 1790 to Joseph C. Towne, who was a carpenter by trade, and is said to have come to Wyoming from Connecticut. As early as 1793 he was located at Wyalusing, and in 1798 he erected a grist-mill on Wyalusing Creek. Some years later the Townes removed to Ohio and located near Circleville. Mrs. *Mary (Slocum) Towne* died at Wilkes-Barré April 5, 1848. See *The Wilkes-Barré Advocate* of April 12, 1848, for her obituary.

(vi) *Benjamin Slocum*, born December 7, 1770, came to Wilkes-Barré from Rhode Island with the other members of his father's family. In 1790 he was a private in the Light Infantry company (commanded by Lieut. Elisha Blackman) attached to the 1st Regiment of Militia in Luzerne County. Later in life he attained the rank of Major in the Pennsylvania militia. As previously related he became a business partner of his brother Ebenezer, and removed from Wilkes-Barré to Deep Hollow, or Unionville, in 1800. The first postoffice in Lackawanna Valley was established at Unionville January 10, 1811, under the name of "Providence," and Benjamin Slocum was appointed postmaster. He held the office continuously until 1829. About 1830 he removed to the township of Tunkhannock (which comprehended a part, or the whole, of the old township of Putnam), in what is now Wyoming County, Pennsylvania, where he took up his residence on the farm which had formerly been in the possession of his brother Isaac. When the borough of Tunkhannock was erected in 1841 a large part of the Benjamin Slocum farm was included within its limits; and in May, 1842, Thomas Truxton Slocum, son and heir of Benjamin Slocum, donated two acres of the farm as a site for the Wyoming County court-house. Benjamin Slocum was married about 1805 to Phebe La France of Providence Township. He died at Tunkhannock July 5, 1832. Benjamin and Phebe (*La France*) Slocum were the parents of the following-named children: (1) *Maria*, who became the wife of Dr. Silas B. Robinson of Providence Township. (2) *Ruth*, who became the wife of Henry Stark of Tunkhannock. (3) *Frances*, married October 2, 1834, to Samuel T. Nicholson of Wilkes-Barré. (4) *Thomas Truxton*, born in 1813; married to Ann, daughter of Col. Jacob J. and Abi K. (*Fell*) Dennis of Wilkes-Barré; died at Platte Canon, Colorado, May 29, 1887.

(viii) *Isaac Slocum*, born March 4, 1775, came with his parents in 1777 to Wilkes-Barré. Here he spent the following twenty-three years of his life, and here he was married (1st) January 11, 1799, to Elizabeth (born at Norwalk, Connecticut, April 26, 1780), daughter of Abel and Elizabeth (*Hurlbut*) Patrick, originally of Norwalk, but then of Kingston, Wyoming Valley. About 1800 Isaac Slocum and his wife removed to the township of Tunkhannock, and settled on land which had been owned by his father, Jonathan Slocum, deceased, as one of the original proprietors of The Susquehanna Company's township of Putnam. Isaac Slocum cleared up and farmed this land, and also erected an inn, which he successfully conducted for a number of years. In 1814 he built a more substantial and pretentious hotel in what is now the borough of Tunkhannock. The first postoffice at Tunkhannock was established April 1, 1801, and Isaac Slocum was appointed postmaster. He held the office until July, 1811. At this period he was very active as an officer of the Pennsylvania militia, and in Munsell's "History of Luzerne, Lackawanna and Wyoming Counties" we read the following: "Just after the close of the War of 1812 we find Major Slocum, one of the earliest hotel-keepers of Tunkhannock, clearing and 'grubbing' a parade-ground of forty acres for his regiment." In 1824 Major Slocum, his wife and ten children removed from Tunkhannock to York Township, Sandusky County, Ohio, locating near the village of Bellevue in Huron County. There Mrs. Elizabeth (*Patrick*) Slocum died September 16, 1839, from injuries received in an accident. Major Slocum was married (2d) at Clyde, Ohio, December 24, 1839, to Mrs. Lydia (*Chase*) Norton. He died at his home near Bellevue August 26, 1858. In a sketch of his life printed in *The Witness* at Indianapolis, Indiana, occurred the following paragraph: "Mr. Slocum was a prominent and active citizen, and held successively several military commissions, * * * and was several years postmaster. He was a man of great energy and enterprise, and * * * accumulated a handsome fortune. He outlived all his father's family."

The children of Maj. Isaac Slocum (all by his first wife) were: (1) *Jonathan*, born July 25, 1800; died May 4, 1802. (2) *Mary*, born March 13, 1802; married (1st) August 30, 1818, to John Harding, (2d) to L. H. Reed; died April 1, 1859. (3) *John Foreman*, born December 13, 1803; married April 14, 1830, to Minerva Kellogg; died June 27, 1879. (4) *Charles*, born March 18, 1806; died January 13, 1832, unmarried. (5) *Ruth Ann*, born May 13, 1808; married June 4, 1826, to James Stevens; died in September, 1847. (6) *Isaac*, born September 30, 1810; married (1st) April 5, 1836, to Juliette Hubbell, (2d) to Mary Ann Barker; died subsequently to 1881. (7) *Elizabeth*, born June 14, 1812; married September 12, 1833, to Mason Kinney; died subsequently to 1881. (8) *Hannah*, born March 21, 1814; married November 18, 1835, to Samuel E. Walter; died May 6, 1880. (9) *William Sawyer*, born March 13, 1816; married September 20, 1837, to Mary A. Knapp; died subsequently to 1881. (10) *Abel Patrick*, born December 13, 1817; married October 1, 1840, to Mary C. Haskins; died subsequently to 1881. (11) *Giles*, born January 18, 1820; married in April, 1842, to Lucinda Booth; died subsequently to 1881.

(ix) *Joseph Slocum* was born in Warwick Township, Rhode Island, April 9, 1777, and consequently was only an infant in arms when he came to Wilkes-Barré with his parents in the Autumn of the same year. It was he who, when his sister Frances was captured by the Indians, was snatched up by his sister Mary and carried away to a place of safety. He early learned the trade of a blacksmith, and before the year 1800 had opened a shop of his own on the west side of North Main Street near the present Jackson Street. In addition to carrying on this trade in an energetic and a successful manner, he engaged to some extent in farming. In the year 1800 he was married at Wilkes-Barré to Sarah (born July 25, 1781), third child of Judge Jesse and Hannah (*Welding*) Fell (see a subsequent chapter for a sketch of the Fell family), and they took up their residence in a house owned by Mr. Slocum at the north-east corner of Union and Main Streets. Early in 1803 Joseph Slocum was elected Captain of the "Wyoming Blues," and served in that capacity until 1808, at least.

In 1807, the year following the erection of the borough of Wilkes-Barré, Joseph Slocum was elected one of the two Assessors of the borough. In this same year he became one of the incorporators of the Wilkes-Barré Academy, and subsequently served as a member of its Board of Trustees from 1807 till 1838—for twenty-five years of this time holding the office of Treasurer of the Academy. He was a member of the Town Council of the borough of Wilkes-Barré in 1818, 1819, 1829 and 1830.

Early in 1807 Mr. Slocum began the erection on the south side of Public Square of a brick residence three and a-half stories high, which was not only the first building of such a height, but was the first brick building, to be erected in north-eastern Pennsylvania. This building was completed in March or April, 1808, and to it Mr. Slocum and his family immediately removed from their North Main Street home. At the same time Mr. Slocum removed his blacksmithing business from North Main Street to a shop either in the rear, or at a short distance to the west, of his new residence. In *The Luzerne Federalist* (Wilkes-Barré) of May 6, 1808, he published the following advertisement: "To RENT—Two DWELLING HOUSES in the borough of Wilkes-Barré. One situate on the corner of Main and Union Streets, about 100 rods easterly from the Court House. The house is large, and appertaining to it are a good garden, well of water, smoke-house, stables, hog-house and corn-house. The other house is situate in Union Street, and is a convenient building for a small family. A well of excellent water, a good garden and a barn are on the premises. Possession will be given immediately. The subscriber respectfully informs the Public that he has removed from his old place to a new stand on the Public Square, within a few rods of the Court House, where he continues the BLACKSMITHING BUSINESS. His customers may depend upon having their work done with usual punctuality. A healthy, active lad, of fourteen or fifteen years of age, will be taken as an apprentice to the above business.

"May 6, 1808.

"JOSEPH SLOCUM."

Mr. Slocum occupied his brick residence on Public Square till his death; then, for a number of years, it was occupied as a residence by his son-in-law, Lord Butler, and his family, after which the building was given over to business uses. Later it was remodeled, and continued to be used for shop and office purposes until its demolition in April, 1906, to make way for the erection of the present First National Bank building.

Joseph Slocum was appointed and commissioned by the Governor of Pennsylvania, April 28, 1851, one of the two Associate Judges of the Courts of Luzerne County. Some years prior to this he had given up his blacksmithing business, and was devoting his time to his farming and general business interests. In 1854 a new township was erected out of Newport Township, Luzerne County, and was named Slocum Township in honor of Judge Joseph Slocum. Mrs. Sarah (Fell) Slocum died suddenly at her home in Wilkes-Barré February 25, 1823, and Judge Slocum died here September 27, 1855.

The children of Joseph and Sarah (Fell) Slocum were as follows: (1) *Hannah Fell*, born April 16, 1802; married by the Rev. George Peck, D. D., November 25, 1824, to Ziba Bennett, formerly of Newtown, New York, but then of Wilkes-Barré; died February 5, 1855. (See sketch of Ziba Bennett in a subsequent chapter.) (2) *Ruth Tripp*, born December 5, 1804; married December 1, 1825, to William Sterling Ross of Wilkes-Barré; died June 23, 1882. (See sketch of the Ross family in a subsequent chapter.) (3) *Deborah*, born August 6, 1806; married (1st) January 17, 1827, to Anning O. Chahoon, (2d) September 28, 1851, to Sharp D. Lewis; died January 19, 1878. (See sketch of Sharp D. Lewis in a subsequent chapter.) (4) *Abi Welding*, born June 22, 1808; married February 2, 1832, to Lord Butler, Jr.; died March 11, 1887. (See sketch of Lord Butler in a subsequent chapter.) (5) *George Fell*, born August 10, 1812; died March 19, 1856. (See below.) (6) *Jonathan Joseph*, born January 27, 1815; died February 25, 1860. (See page 1118.) (7) *Mary*, died in youth. (8) *Harriet Elizabeth*, born June 26, 1819; married (1st) October 6, 1841, to Charles B. Drake, and (2d) April 28, 1868, to Henry Lewis; died December 29, 1898. (See sketch of Charles B. Drake in a subsequent chapter.)

(x) *Jonathan Slocum*, youngest child of Jonathan and Ruth (Tripp) Slocum, was born in Wilkes-Barré September 12, 1778, and was less than two months old when his sister Frances was carried into captivity. He was a farmer and a tax-payer in Wilkes-Barré in 1799, and in 1800 was married to Martha Underwood, probably of Kingston Township. Some years later they left Wilkes-Barré, and for a time resided near Havana, New York. He died in September, 1842. His children (perhaps not born in the order here given) were: (1) *Zebulon Butler*, (2) *Isaac*, (3) *Joseph Beach*, (4) *Benjamin Franklin*, (5) *John F.*, (6) *Ebenezer Phineas*, (7) *Anna Maria*, (8) *Phebe P.*, (9) *William H.*, (10) *Laton*, (11) *Joe*.

(5) *George Fell Slocum*, born in Wilkes-Barré August 10, 1812, younger son of Joseph and Sarah (Fell) Slocum, spent his whole life here. In November, 1838, in partnership with Elijah W. Reynolds, he engaged in mercantile business—opening "a new stock of dry goods, groceries, hardware, glassware, etc., at the stand lately occupied by Charles B. Drake, next door to Butler's steam-mill, on the east side of Public Square." At Clinton, Hunterdon County, New Jersey, January 19, 1842, Mr. Slocum was married to Mary N. (born in 1820), daughter of John Grandin of that place. She died at Wilkes-Barré August 8, 1845, being survived by her husband and one son. At that time Mr. Slocum was still engaged in mercantile business in Wilkes-Barré, and was also a Major in the Pennsylvania militia. In 1847 he began the erection, on the south side of the Public Square, of a three and a-half story brick building for hotel purposes. The building was not completed until the Spring of 1851, when it was named the "American House." It was separated from the residence of Joseph



RESIDENCE OF JOSEPH SLOCUM,
south side of Public Square.
The first brick building erected in Wilkes-Barré.
(From a photograph taken in 1858.)

sons and three daughters—the eldest child being nearly nineteen years of age, and the age of the youngest being one and a-half years. Mr. Slocum had been in Wyoming Valley previously; first, in 1762, when he and his brother-in-law, Job Tripp, came here as part of the body of original settlers under the auspices of The Susquehanna Company—as noted on page 404, Vol. I. It is quite probable that both these men were here also in October, 1763, at the time of the massacre of some of the New England settlers and the dispersal of the others, as related on page 430, Vol. I.

It is doubtful if Jonathan Slocum visited Wyoming again until the Autumn of 1775, when he was here for a short time. In October of that year he became one of the original proprietors of the township of Putnam, the agent for which was his father-in-law, Isaac Tripp, as related on page 467, Vol. I. In the subsequent allotment of the lands of that township Jonathan Slocum received Lot No. 17. At Wilkes-Barré, November 6, 1775, Jonathan Fitch conveyed to "Jonathan Slocum, blacksmith, of Warwick, Kent County, Rhode Island," Lot No. 50 in the town-plot of Wilkes-Barré. Subsequently Mr. Slocum acquired Lot No. 38 (adjoining No. 50) in the town-plot, as well as lands in the other "divisions" of the township of Wilkes-Barré. Referring to page 655, *ante*, it will be seen that Lot No. 50 was at the east corner of the town-plot, or at the west corner of the present Pennsylvania Avenue (originally Back Street, and later Canal Street) and North Street. The lot contained three acres and 136 perches, and extended along North Street from Pennsylvania Avenue to the middle of the present Washington Street.

Whether or not there were any buildings on this lot when it came into the possession of Jonathan Slocum cannot now be stated with cer-

Slocum by an alley, and the east end of the building is shown in the picture on page 1117. In May, 1855, Major Slocum was appointed by Governor Pollock of Pennsylvania an aide on his staff, with the rank of Lieut. Colonel. Colonel Slocum died at the home of his brother-in-law, Charles B. Drake, on South Main Street, Wilkes-Barré, March 19, 1856, and was buried in Hollenback Cemetery—his remains being the first to be interred "in this City of the Dead," as the inscription on his tombstone states.

(6) *Jonathan Joseph Slocum*, born in Wilkes-Barré January 27, 1815, younger son of Joseph and Sarah (*Fell*) Slocum, was educated at Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and at Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio. He then read law with Ebenezer W. Sturdevant, Wilkes-Barré, and was admitted to the Bar of Luzerne County August 12, 1837—being then in the twenty-third year of his life. In 1838 he was Clerk of the Town Council of the borough of Wilkes-Barré. He was married at Wilkes-Barré, September 12, 1840, by the Rev. Bethell Claxton, to Elizabeth Cutter (born September 7, 1821), daughter of Joseph Philip and Rachel Manning (*Cutter*) Le Clerc of Wilkes-Barré.

Joseph Philip Le Clerc, who was of French descent, was married about 1817 to Rachel Manning (born in New York City August 24, 1794), daughter of Ford Cutter. They took up their residence in Philadelphia, whence, in 1830, they removed to Wilkes-Barré. Their home here was in a large frame house, painted white, located at the north-east corner of Union and Franklin Streets, and which stood there until its demolition in 1887. Joseph P. Le Clerc was Burgess of the borough of Wilkes-Barré from May, 1839, to May, 1841, and then for several years was a member of the Town Council—being President of the body in 1846 and '47. From 1843 to 1845 he was postmaster of Wilkes-Barré. Mrs. Rachel M. (*Cutter*) Le Clerc died in Wilkes-Barré September 11, 1856, and the next day her remains were conveyed to Philadelphia for burial in Laurel Hill Cemetery. Shortly afterwards Joseph P. Le Clerc removed from Wilkes-Barré to Philadelphia, and, at a meeting of the surviving soldiers of the War of 1812 held in the Philadelphia Court House December 22, 1856, he was one of the Vice Presidents. Edward Emilius Le Clerc (born in Philadelphia August 19, 1819, and died there August 12, 1849) was a son of Joseph P. and Rachel M. (*Cutter*) Le Clerc. He was graduated at Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, July 19, 1838, and, after studying law with Jonathan J. Slocum, was admitted to the Bar of Luzerne County November 3, 1840. About that period he wrote many pleasing poems of considerable merit, which were published then and later. He served as a Lieutenant of the "Columbia Guards" (Danville, Pennsylvania) in the Mexican War, and, shortly after his return home, his death resulted from the hardships which he had endured in the service. He was unmarried.

After his marriage Jonathan J. Slocum resided on North Main Street below Union until about 1851, when, having erected a handsome residence on South River Street (where the residence of John N. Conyngham now stands), he moved there and lived there until the latter part of 1859, when he removed to Philadelphia, where he died February 25, 1860. Subsequently his widow and children returned to Wilkes-Barré, and lived here for the next seven or eight years. Later his widow was married to ——— Nye. She died December 7, 1890. The children of Jonathan J. and Elizabeth C. (*Le Clerc*) Slocum were: (1) *Sarah L.*, born May 8, 1842; married January 21, 1869, to John B. Love of Philadelphia. (2) *Edward Le Clerc*, born August 19, 1853; married to Emily Carpenter.

tainty, but it is quite probable that there was a dwelling-house standing there, and perhaps certain outbuildings; for when Mr. Slocum and his family removed to Wilkes-Barré they established themselves on Lot No. 50. In 1778 the house which they occupied there was a two-story frame or log structure facing North Street, and near by was the blacksmith shop of Mr. Slocum. On the east and north sides, and probably also on the remaining sides, of Lot No. 50 was a log fence. Back (later Canal) Street—which bounded the lot on the east—extended no farther north than North Street, and the latter street ended at Back Street. There was no road or path leading from that locality either northwardly or eastwardly; and there was no use for one, inasmuch as there were not any cultivated or cleared fields adjoining the town-plot at that point, nor were there any dwelling-houses in the township east or north-east of the town-plot. Above North Street there was a long stretch of woods, extending towards the hills east of the town-plot, while for some distance along Back Street lay a swamp, or morass, through which ran the little brook described on page 59, Vol. I.

Jonathan Slocum was a conscientious believer in the doctrines of the Society of Friends, and therefore, as an opposer of strife and bloodshed, he did not take part in the battle of Wyoming. However, his eldest son, Giles, fought in the ranks of the Americans, escaped in safety from the battle-field when the rout began, and afterwards made his way out of the Valley—only to return a month later in the detachment of militia under the command of Lieut. Colonel Butler. It is doubtful if Jonathan Slocum removed his family to the shelter of Fort Wilkes-Barré when it was announced, on the first of July, 1778, that the Indians and "Rangers" were on the march towards Wyoming; and it is certain that, in the general exodus of the inhabitants from the Valley on the 3d, 4th and 5th days of July, the Slocums (with the exception of Giles) remained at their home in the town-plot.

Various writers have stated that "Mr. Slocum, on account of his non-combative principles and the many acts of kindness he had bestowed on the Indians, considered himself and family comparatively free from danger," and therefore did not hesitate to remain in Wilkes-Barré when nearly all his neighbors were fleeing therefrom. This would be interesting if true; but the fact is that Jonathan Slocum came to Wilkes-Barré from a State where there were no Indians in his day, and after his settlement here (considerably less than a year before the battle of Wyoming) there were no Indians in Wyoming Valley, and none nearer than at Sheshequin and Tioga Point. Now and then some of these Indians of the upper Susquehanna came down to Wyoming to trade with the white people, or to spy upon their doings, but it is not at all probable that Jonathan Slocum came in contact with them or had any opportunity to do them "acts of kindness." The real reasons for the Slocums remaining at their home after the capitulation of Forty Fort were simply these: Mrs. Ruth (*Tripp*) Slocum was soon to become a mother,* and in the meantime her husband desired, if possible, to save her from unnecessary hardships. Moreover, being a man of peace and not familiar with the ways of savage warfare, Mr. Slocum believed that under the terms of the capitulation signed at Forty Fort the inhabitants

* JONATHAN SLOCUM, youngest child of Jonathan and Ruth (*Tripp*) Slocum, was born at Wilkes-Barré September 12, 1778—two months and nine days subsequently to the battle of Wyoming.

of Wyoming—particularly those who had not taken up arms—would be safe and secure as to their persons and property. Within two or three weeks, however, he found that this was a delusion, and therefore he and his family departed from the Valley (as related on page 1056), probably going to Fort Penn. About the middle, or the latter part, of August, 1778, they returned to their home on North Street, which had not been disturbed by prowling Tories and Indians during their absence.

On Monday, November 2, 1778, Jonathan Slocum and his sons William and Benjamin were at work on the Wilkes-Barré flats completing their corn harvest; Giles Slocum was either aiding them in this work, or was on duty as a militia-man at Fort Wyoming. At the Slocum home were the other members of the family, together with Mrs. Nathan Kingsley* and her two sons—the elder, Nathan, Jr., aged about fifteen years. About midday the Kingsley boys were engaged in sharpening a knife on a grindstone in the front yard of the Slocum house, while Mrs. Slocum and the other members of the household who were at home were within doors. Suddenly the sharp crack of a rifle was heard outside the house, and almost immediately Mrs. Slocum hastened to the front door. Flinging it open she was horrified at seeing on the ground before her the lifeless body of young Nathan Kingsley. He had just been shot down by a lurking savage, who had quickly run to the spot from his place of hiding, and, as Mrs. Slocum appeared on the scene, was preparing to scalp his victim with the very knife which the two boys had been grinding but a few moments before.

With a cry of terror Mrs. Slocum slammed to and barred the door, snatched from his cradle her seven-weeks'-old infant, Jonathan, called to the other inmates of the house to run for their lives, fled out of the back door and across the lot to the log fence beyond which lay the swamp previously mentioned, and there hid herself and baby. Meanwhile the younger Kingsley boy had made his way from the yard into the house, and he and Frances Slocum (then five years and seven months old) ran and hid under the staircase. Judith Slocum, with her three-year-old brother, Isaac, fled towards the swamp, while little Mary Slocum (not quite ten years of age) started on a run in the direction of Fort Wyoming, carrying in her arms her year-and-a-half-old brother, Joseph. Ebenezer Slocum, then in the thirteenth year of his life, was lame—having been wounded in one of his feet—and consequently was unable to get away with the others.

While the Slocums were fleeing from their home the Indian in their door-yard was joined by two other Indians, who came hurrying

* NATHAN KINGSLEY, the husband of Mrs. Kingsley and the father of the boys above mentioned, had been captured by a band of Indians and "Rangers" at his house in Wyalusing in October, 1777, and shortly after that, their home being broken up, Mrs. Kingsley and her boys were given a home in the family of Jonathan Slocum. Nathan Kingsley came to Westmoreland from Connecticut in 1774 or '75, and settled at Wyalusing, in what is now Bradford County. His name appears in the Westmoreland tax-lists for 1776 and 1777, but not in the list for 1778. In May, 1776, he was commissioned Lieutenant of the 9th Company, 24th Regiment, as mentioned on page 874. At Saratoga, New York, under the date of July 24, 1779, Maj. Gen. Philip Schuyler wrote (see "Journals of the Sullivan Expedition," page 349) as follows: "Yesterday a certain Nathan Kingsley, who was made a prisoner in October, 1777, near Wyoming, returned from captivity in Canada. He appears a sensible & intelligent man, and has given me a good account of Niagara and Buck Island." Shortly after this Lieutenant Kingsley rejoined his wife at Westmoreland. His name appears in the tax-list of the town for the year 1781. After the close of the Revolutionary War—probably about 1783 or 1784—he and his wife returned to their old home at Wyalusing.

Upon the erection of Luzerne County, Nathan Kingsley was elected one of the two Justices of the Peace in and for the 3d District of the County, and was duly commissioned May 11, 1787. The same day he was appointed and commissioned one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas of Luzerne County. This latter office he resigned January 14, 1790. In 1788 he was elected and commissioned Major of the "Upper Battalion of Militia in Luzerne County." About 1798 or '99 Major Kingsley removed to Ohio, where he died a couple of years later.

from the woods above North Street. They arrived in time to see Mary Slocum scurrying across the fields towards the fort, but they made no effort to pursue her. Instead, they shouted loudly after her, and laughed to see the speed with which she ran and the tenacity with which she held on to her infant brother. The three Indians now made their way into the house, which they quickly ransacked, upstairs and down. Frances Slocum and young Kingsley were discovered in their hiding-place and were quickly dragged forth, while Ebenezer Slocum was seized in another part of the house. Then, with their plunder and three young captives, the Indians went out of doors and began to make hurried preparations for their departure.

Breathless and full of fear, Mrs. Slocum had watched from her place of concealment on the edge of the swamp for the Indians to come out of the house, and when she saw them lead forth the three children her heart almost ceased beating. However, her motherly instincts soon overcame all fear, and, leaving her baby behind, she rushed from her hiding-place into the presence of the Indians and their captives. With tears streaming from her eyes she implored the savages to release the children. Believing that Ebenezer, on account of his lame foot, would be unable to travel with his captors, and in consequence would suffer cruelties or death, Mrs. Slocum pointed at the feet of the boy and exclaimed: "The child is lame; he can do thee no good!" This seemed to appeal to the Indian who had Ebenezer in charge, and with a horrid grin he released the boy to his mother. The latter then begged piteously for her little daughter, but in vain. The chief Indian of the three slung Frances athwart his shoulder, one of the other Indians did likewise with young Kingsley, while the third one of the party shouldered the bundle of plunder which had been taken from the house. They then dashed across the road into the woods, and that was the last Mrs. Slocum ever saw of her daughter Frances. Overwhelmed with grief the mother slowly made her way back to the thicket where she had left her infant.

When Nathan Kingsley, Jr., was shot down, as narrated, the report of his slayer's gun was heard at Fort Wyoming;* and as the indiscriminate and unnecessary firing of guns within and near the fort was prohibited (see page 1089), this shot alarmed the garrison. As soon as possible Colonel Butler ordered out a squad of soldiers, directing them to march to the upper end of the town-plot and discover, if they could, why a gun had been fired. The men had marched but a short distance when they met little Mary Slocum (well nigh exhausted from her efforts to get to a place of safety with her young brother, whom she still bore in her arms), and having learned from her that there was trouble at the Slocum house, they hurried thither. Just as they arrived there Mrs. Slocum was preparing to return to the house from the swamp, with her baby. Seeing something moving in the bushes, one of the soldiers drew up his gun to fire, but fortunately Mrs. Slocum was recognized in time, and was assisted to the house instead of being shot down. She pointed out the direction the savages had taken on their retreat, and the soldiers

* Miner states (in his "History of Wyoming," page 247) that the Slocum house was "within an hundred rods of the Wilkesbarre fort;" and others following him, who have written about the capture of Frances Slocum, have made the same statement—presuming, undoubtedly, that the Wilkes-Barre fort of that period stood on the Public Square. On the contrary, it was located on the River Common just above Northampton Street (as fully explained on page 1099), and the distance from that point to the Slocum house, in a bee-line, was upwards of half a mile.

endeavored to follow in pursuit; but after spending some time in fruitless efforts to find even a single trace of the savages, they returned to the fort.

Years later it was learned from Frances Slocum herself that she and young Kingsley, on the day of their capture, were carried some distance through the woods—"over a mountain, and a long way down on the other side"—to a cave, where the Indians had left their blankets and some other articles. There the party stopped while it was yet light, and there they staid all night. Early the following morning they set out, and traveled all day; and the next day, and then the next, they did the same. "When we stopped at night," said Frances, "the Indians would cut down a few boughs of hemlock on which to sleep, and then make up a great fire of logs at their feet, which lasted all night. When they cooked anything they stuck a stick in it and held it to the fire as long as they chose. They drank at the brooks and springs," and for Frances and Kingsley they made a little cup of white-birch bark, out of which they drank.

After many days of this sort of traveling the party arrived at an Indian village—the first one they had struck in the course of their journey. Where it was located and what its name was Frances could not recollect. Undoubtedly it was Chémung, in southern New York (see page 972), the Indian settlements at Sheshequin and Tioga Point having been destroyed by the Hartley Expedition five weeks previously. "I can only remember that we staid several days at this first village," stated Frances in 1837.* "After we had been there some days, very early one morning two of the same Indians took a horse and placed the boy [Kingsley] and me upon it and again set out on our journey. One went before on foot, and the other behind, driving the horse. In this way we traveled a long way, till we came to a village where these Indians belonged. I now found that one of them was a Delaware† chief by the name of 'Tuck Horse.' This is a great Delaware name, but I do not know its meaning. We were kept here some days, when they

* See "The Lost Sister of Wyoming," by the Rev. John Todd of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. A story written for children, from authentic data furnished the writer by Joseph Slocum in 1841. Published in 1842. See also Stone's "Poetry and History of Wyoming," Third Edition, pages 309-317.

† As stated in the note on pages 423 and 424, Volume I, there were no Delaware Indians east of the Alleghenies at the beginning of the Revolution. The Delawares were then occupying a large part of the present area of Ohio, having emigrated thither from Pennsylvania and southern New York a dozen or more years previously, with embittered feelings against the English colonists generally. Nevertheless, twice in the year 1764 they accepted the terms of peace offered them by Colonel Bradstreet and Colonel Bouquet, as narrated in the second paragraph of note "+" on page 423. For some time after the opening of the Revolutionary War the Delawares were influenced by "White Eyes," one of their most prominent chiefs, not to take up the hatchet against the Americans; but an opposite influence being exercised by another prominent chief, "Captain Pipe," the nation became divided.

Early in the Spring of 1778 three noted Loyalists fled from Fort Pitt, in Pennsylvania, to the Delawares in the Ohio region, where they used their utmost efforts against the American cause. "Captain Pipe" was so much influenced by their counsel that, in a large assemblage of warriors, he concluded a harangue by declaring "every one an enemy who refused to fight the Americans, and that all such ought to be put to death." Finally the Delawares, as a nation, decided to "raise the hatchet" against the struggling States. But the successful operations of the American troops in the neighborhood of Fort Pitt, during the next six months, had such an effect on the Delawares as to promote the conclusion of a treaty of peace, which was signed September 17, 1778, by the chiefs "White Eyes," "Captain Pipe," and "Killbuck." This was the first of a long list of treaties concluded between the United States and the various Indian tribes—as noted on page 156, Volume I.

During the whole of the Revolutionary War a considerable number of Delaware warriors lived among the Senecas in New York, and, as noted on page 424, there were still some Delawares among the Senecas as late as the year 1809. It is quite probable that the Delawares who made the irruption into Wilkes-Barré, and carried away Frances Slocum and young Kingsley, belonged to the clan which, some sixteen years earlier, under the kingship of *Teedyuncung*, had dwelt within the bounds of Wilkes-Barré Township. It is also probable that these three braves were of the number of Delawares who were then (in 1778) living among the Senecas; although it is not impossible that they had come all the way from the Ohio region to Wyoming at that time, to work out some indefinite scheme of evil against the pale-face dwellers in the valley which certain clans of the Delaware tribe had once occupied. Reference is made on page 424 to the fact that it was a common thing for small parties of Delaware braves to go long distances from their villages, through a country inhabited by their enemies, to wreak vengeance on some one.

came and took away the boy [Kingsley], and I never saw him again, and do not know what became of him.

"Early one morning this 'Tuck Horse' came and took me and dressed my hair in the Indian way, and then painted my face and skin. He then dressed me in beautiful wampum beads, and made me look, as I thought, very fine. I was much pleased with the beautiful wampum. We then lived on a hill, and I remember he took me by the hand and led me down to the river side to a house where lived an old man and woman [of the Delaware nation]. They had once several children, but now they were all gone—either killed in battle, or having died very young. I was brought to these old people to have them adopt me, if they would. They seemed unwilling at first, but after 'Tuck Horse' had talked with them awhile, they agreed to it, and this was my home. They gave me the name of *We-let-a-wash*, which was the name of their youngest child, whom they had lately buried. The Indians were very numerous here,* and here we remained all the following Winter [1778-'79]. The Indians were in the service of the British, and were furnished by them with provisions. They seemed to be the gathered remnants of several nations of Indians. I remember that there was a fort here.

"In the Spring [of 1779] I went with the parents who had adopted me to Sandusky [in what is now Ohio], where we spent the next Summer; but in the Fall we returned again to the fort [Niagara]—the place where I was made an Indian child—and there we spent the second Winter [1779-'80]. In the next Spring we went down to a large river, which is Detroit River, where we stopped and built a great number of bark canoes. When our canoes were all done we went up Detroit River, where we remained about three years [at Brownsville, Ontario]. Peace had now been made between the British and Americans, and so we lived by hunting, fishing, and raising corn. The reason why we staid here so long was, we heard that the Americans had destroyed all our villages and corn-fields. After these years my family and another Delaware family removed to *Ke-ki-ong-a*. I don't know where the other Indians went. This was now our home, and we lived here many years."

Ke-ki-ong-a, the home of Frances and her foster-parents at that time, was located at the point where the rivers St. Joseph and St. Mary's flow together to form the Maumee River. The site of the old village lies within the limits of the city of Fort Wayne. Frances stated that she was there long after she was "full grown," and that she was there "at the time of Harmar's defeat." That was in October, 1790, Brigadier General Harmar having set out from Fort Washington (Cincinnati) for the Miami country with a force numbering less than 1,500 men, chiefly militia. Successful at first, the campaign ended in a disastrous defeat on the banks of the Maumee River, a few miles from *Ke-ki-ong-a*. The remnant of his army which Harmar led back to Fort Washington had the unsubdued savages almost continually at their heels. "As a rebuke to the hostile tribes the expedition was an utter failure, a fact which was soon made manifest. Indian attacks on the settlers immediately became bolder." Frances said in 1837 that at the time the battle with Harmar was fought [on the Maumee] "the Indian women and children

* This was, undoubtedly, Fort Niagara, previously mentioned in these pages. It was there that Frances Slocum was seen by her cousin, Isaac Tripp, 2d, as narrated on page 1088.

were all made to run north ; and after the battle the Indians [Delawares, Pottawatamies, Shawanese and Miamis, who had taken part in the battle] scattered to their various homes, as was their custom." Frances said that she returned to her home at *Ke-ki-ong-a*. At that time the Delawares and Miamis were living together, and about 1790 or '91 Frances was married to a young Delaware brave named "Little Turtle."

In the Spring of 1791 Brig. Gen. Charles Scott organized a brigade of mounted riflemen in Kentucky, crossed the Ohio River, and surprised and destroyed several Indian villages on the Wabash and Eel Rivers, in what is now Indiana, laid waste their corn-fields, and returned in June with fifty-eight prisoners. In the following August a similar raid was made by Col. James Wilkinson against the villages on the northern tributaries of the Wabash. In the Autumn of 1791 another expedition was sent against the Indians of the North-west, this time under the command of Brig. Gen. Arthur St. Clair, who marched from Fort Washington (Cincinnati) on October 3d in command of 2,900 men. A month later, on one of the branches of the Wabash, this army was terribly defeated—600 men being killed and wounded. During the fight British officers in full uniform were seen on the field, they having come from Detroit (where there was a British garrison) to witness the exploits of their savage friends.

Before making another use of force, various efforts were made by the United States Government to win over the Indians ; but those Indians who were willing to listen to the peace-messengers of the Government would hear of no terms of peace that did not promise the removal of the whites from the northern side of the Ohio River. The British urged the tribes to make this extreme demand. Spain also sent mischief-makers into the camps of the exultant red men, while Simon Girty, a noted renegade from Pennsylvania, who had great influence with the savages, declared that he would "raise all hell to prevent a peace." The only remedy for all this was vigorous war, and, in the judgment of those in authority, the most vigorous man to prosecute it was Anthony Wayne of Pennsylvania—"Mad Anthony", the dashing soldier of the Revolution. Accordingly, in 1792, he was commissioned Major General and appointed to the supreme command in the West.

In October, 1793, General Wayne led his army forth from Fort Washington, marched eighty miles, built Fort Greenville (the present Greenville, Ohio), and went into Winter quarters. August 20, 1794, Wayne's army came upon the united tribes of Indians encamped on the north bank of the Maumee, and there, near the rapids of the Maumee, the Indians were forced to face the most alert and vigorous enemy they had yet encountered. Encouraging and marshaling the Indians were painted Canadian white men, bearing British arms. Many of these men fell on the field, and others were captured. Wayne's victory was complete, the slaughter of the Indians being very great. After destroying the Indian crops and possessions in sight of the British Fort Maumee, Wayne fell back to Fort Defiance, laying waste the country as he went. Then he continued his march to the Miami village, *Ke-ki-ong-a* (previously mentioned), where he erected Fort Wayne—the beginning of the present city bearing this name. This campaign ended the Indian reign of terror in the North-west, and rendered the name of Wayne a *bête noire* to the savages. Later, Wayne fell back to Fort Greenville, and there,

in August, 1795, made the celebrated treaty by which the Indians ceded a large tract of land (two-thirds of the present State of Ohio) to the United States, and at the same time came to a permanent peace with the white inhabitants of the country.

In 1837 Frances Slocum stated that she well remembered "a battle and a defeat of the Americans at Fort Washington." This was the defeat of St. Clair, previously mentioned. She also said: "I remember how Wayne drove the Indians away and built the fort at *Ke-ki-ong-a*. The Indians then scattered all over the country, and lived upon game, which was very abundant. After this they encamped all along on Eel River. After peace was made [in August, 1795] we all returned to Fort Wayne and received provisions from the Americans; and there I lived a long time."

Throughout the troublous times which prevailed during the years 1790-'94 in the territory now lying within the bounds of the States of Ohio and Indiana, and of which we have just given a brief account, Frances Slocum and her foster-parents, and perhaps her husband, "Little Turtle," were almost constantly on the move. Her foster-father made chairs, which he sold; he also played on the violin, and frequently went to the frontiers and played, for which he was paid. The old squaw made baskets and brooms, which they sold. Frances said her foster-father could speak English; and so could she, until he died, when she lost her mother-tongue because she never heard it spoken. About 1793 or '94 her husband "Little Turtle" left her and went west of the Mississippi. It was a tradition among the Miamis, years later, that the foster-parents of Frances drove "Little Turtle" off because he did not treat his wife well. She said, however, that he went west when the Delawares removed thither, and she refused to accompany him, preferring to remain with the old man and woman who had adopted and reared her. She was now about twenty-one years of age.

Some time in the latter part of 1794, or early in 1795, while the foster-parents of Frances were floating in a canoe on a river in north-western Ohio, and she was riding a horse along the bank, she discovered an Indian lying in the path, suffering from wounds which he had probably received in some skirmish with the whites. She dismounted and dressed his wounds, and when her parents came up they took him into their canoe and carried him to the point of their destination, where they cared for him until his wounds were healed. He remained with them some time and kept them well supplied with game, as he was a good hunter. At last he purposed to leave them and pass on, but they would not hear to his departure. The old people insisted on his remaining with them, proposing, as an inducement, that they would give him their adopted daughter in marriage. This plan seemed to be satisfactory to all concerned, and so Frances became the wife of this brave, who was *She-po-con-ah*, a chief of the Miami* tribe. He was very much older than she, and is reputed to have been a great warrior until he lost his hearing. As a hunter, too, he is said to have been very successful.

* The Miami tribe of Indians belonged to the Algonkin family, described on page 100, Volume I. It was the oldest and at one time the most powerful tribe in the North-west, and originally occupied the country lying along the Wabash River and its branches. At an early day the Miamis were known as the "Twightwees" and as the "Naked Indians." (See pages 205, 390 and 400, Vol. I.) Though never subjugated, as were the Lenni Lenâpes, yet the Miamis were reduced to the last extremity by the repeated attacks of the Five Nations, and the members of the tribe were dispersed over a wide extent of territory. In the first quarter of the eighteenth century there was quite a large number of them located at the western end of Lake Erie. The first treaty ever held by the English with the

Soon after the marriage of Frances her foster-parents died in Ohio, and then Frances and her husband made their way to Fort Wayne—the treaty of peace of August, 1795, having been consummated a short time previously. About 1801 or 1802 Frances and her husband and their children (two boys and a girl) removed from Fort Wayne to what was known as the Osage village, on the Mississineva River, about one mile from its confluence with the Wabash. This village, located in the present county of Miami, Indiana, was inhabited by Miami Indians, and *She-po-con-ah* was chosen their war-chief. About the same time his wife, Frances, was formally admitted to membership in the Miami tribe, and received the name *Mac-on-a-quah*, signifying “A Young Bear.”*

At the Osage village *She-po-con-ah* and *Mac-on-a-quah* remained until the former, owing to his deafness and other infirmities, became unable to perform his duties as war-chief. He then resigned his office (being succeeded therein by Francis Godfroy, who served until 1840) and, in 1815, removed with his family four miles farther up the Mississineva River, to a location in what is now Wabash County, just across the Miami County line. There the former chief built a log house, and the settlement that grew up around it became known as “Deaf Man’s Village,” while *She-po-con-ah* himself was commonly called “The Deaf Man.” At that time his family consisted of his wife and two daughters—*Ke-ke-nok-esh-wah* (“Cut Finger”), born in 1800, and *O-zah-shin-quah* (“Yellow Leaf”), born in 1815. His two sons had died in early youth. *She-po-con-ah* died in 1832 or ’33 at “Deaf Man’s Village.” His wife and daughters continued to reside there—and there we will leave them, while we set forth certain incidents which occurred in Pennsylvania and New York within a period of thirty years following the seizing and carrying away of Frances Slocum.

An account is given elsewhere (see page 1111) of the murder of Jonathan Slocum and the wounding of William Slocum (father and

Miamis was at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, July 23, 1748, when three of the noted Miami chiefs from the Wabash country were present. Previous to this the Miamis had concentrated on their ancient hunting-grounds, and had united with certain small neighboring tribes in a defensive league known as the “Great Miami Confederacy,” with headquarters at *Ke-ki-ong-a*, previously mentioned.

By a treaty between the United States and the Miamis, held at St. Mary’s, Ohio, October 6, 1818, a reservation was erected for the Miamis, consisting of about 930,000 acres of land on the Wabash and Eel Rivers, in Indiana. This was commonly known as the “Thirty Mile Reservation.” By a treaty held at Paradise Springs in October, 1826, the Miamis ceded to the United States all their claim to lands in the State of Indiana north and west of the Wabash and Miami Rivers; and in addition, in 1834, the Government purchased of the Miamis 177,000 acres of their reservation. Finally the chiefs of the tribe accepted a proposition to hold a treaty for the purpose of disposing of the balance of their reservation. This treaty was held at the Forks of the Wabash, November 6, 1838, and, with the exception of some sixty small reservations, or sections, of land granted to some of the Miami chiefs and to the descendants of others, the tribe ceded to the United States nearly all its lands in Indiana. In return for this the Government agreed to pay the Miamis \$335,680., and to deliver into their possession, and guarantee to them forever, “a country west of the Mississippi River, to remove to and settle on, when the said tribe may be disposed to emigrate from their present country.” At that time the Miamis numbered only about 1,100 souls. The last treaty with the Miamis was held November 28, 1840, at which time the tribe ceded to the United States all that tract of land on the south side of the Wabash not theretofore ceded, and commonly known as the residue of the “Big Reserve.” It was also agreed that the time for removing the Indians to the West should be extended five years from that date, in order to give them time to select a location.

In 1845 and 1846, in pursuance of the foregoing treaties, a large number of the Miamis removed from their old homes in Indiana to Johnson County, Kansas. In 1867 their number had dwindled to 127. The remnant of this number removed in 1875 to Indian Territory, where they were settled with the Peoria Indians on the Peoria Reservation. In 1890 there were only thirty men and thirty-seven women of the Miamis on this reservation. They held their lands by allotment—200 acres to each Indian—and in the year mentioned they cultivated 5,000 acres. Some of the farms were large, and in a good state of cultivation. The members of the tribe received an annuity, which they used for improving their farms and stock. They had entirely dropped all the traditions of their ancestors. They still had their chiefs—not hereditary, but elected by the people each year. Polygamy had been abandoned, divorces were unknown, and the tribe had no dances. Fifty of the sixty-seven of these Indians spoke good English. A few spoke Indian in their families, and seemed loath to give up the language of their forefathers. In the year 1900 the Miamis on the Peoria Reservation numbered 110 souls, while the Miamis in the State of Indiana numbered 243 souls—all civilized and self supporting.

* In the language of the Chippewas, and also in the languages, or dialects, of other tribes of the Algonkin family (see pages 100 and 101, Vol. I), the word “bear” was expressed by *mack-quah*. In the Mohegan tongue it was represented by *m’quoh*, and in the Shawanese, by *mauquah*.

brother of Frances) by Indians some six weeks subsequently to the capture of Frances. After that occurrence—particularly during the progress of the Sullivan Expedition—efforts were made by various interested persons living in Wyoming to get clues as to the whereabouts of Frances Slocum, but without success. Finally, peace having been concluded with Great Britain, efforts were at once made by the United States Government to conciliate the Indian tribes of the North and North-west; and to this end agents were despatched to various localities to negotiate treaties and to restore confidence. While these negotiations were going on Giles and William Slocum conceived the idea of making a journey north to search for their lost sister. Accordingly, in 1784, they journeyed as far as Fort Niagara, which, as explained in previous pages, had been an important point during the Revolutionary War. Arriving there the brothers offered a reward of one hundred guineas for the recovery of their sister, or intelligence regarding her whereabouts; but they were unable to gain a single item of satisfactory information.

As years passed by, and the country became more settled and quiet, Giles and William Slocum, agreeably to the desire of their mother (who had never ceased to yearn for her lost child), again visited the Indian country. This time they traveled westward, and penetrated the wilderness of Ohio. They were absent for several months, and enlisted the sympathy and interest of Indian agents and traders, who aided them to the best of their abilities. The brothers offered a reward of \$500. for any information with regard to their sister's whereabouts, but to no purpose. Some time in the year 1789, in pursuance of arrangements made by representatives of the Government, a large number of Indians assembled at Tioga Point (previously mentioned in these pages), bringing with them a considerable number of white children who had been captured by them during the Revolutionary War. This gathering was planned for the purpose of giving the relatives and friends of children who had been captured an opportunity to identify and reclaim them. Mrs. Ruth (*Tripp*) Slocum, accompanied by some of her sons, journeyed from Wilkes-Barré to Tioga Point; but after days of careful search among the captives she could find no one who bore any resemblance to her lost Frances. Nevertheless she still clung to the belief that her daughter was yet alive, and would ultimately be found. (At that time Frances was with her foster-parents at *Ke-ki-ong-a*—later Fort Wayne.)

In the year 1790 Indian affairs in the United States were in a very unsatisfactory condition. A savage war was raging along the frontier settlements of Pennsylvania and Virginia, while the confederated tribes (including the Miamis) of the North-west were determined that the Ohio River should form the boundary between the United States and the Indian country, and, to enforce that determination, had gone on the war-path—as narrated on page 1123. The sympathies of nearly all the chief men of the Senecas—who had never been quite satisfied with the provisions of the Fort Stanwix treaty of October, 1784 (see page 164)—were with their brethren of the West; although "Cornplanter" (see page 164, Vol. I), then the principal chief of the nation, remained unshaken in his friendship for the United States. Just at this crisis the Senecas found fresh cause of exasperation in the murder of two of their nation by some of the white border-men of Pennsylvania; but the Federal

Government lost not a moment in disavowing the act, and in adopting measures to bring the murderer's to punishment.

About the same time President Washington commissioned Col. Timothy Pickering of Wilkes-Barré (see a subsequent chapter for his portrait and a sketch of his life) to hold a conference, or treaty, at Tioga Point with the Senecas. The council-fire was kindled November 16, 1790, and kept burning until the 23d. A large number of the chiefs, sachems and warriors of the Seneca nation were present—"Red Jacket" (see a subsequent chapter for his portrait and a sketch of his life), "Big Tree", and "Farmer's Brother" being the principal representatives of the nation. "Cornplanter" was not in attendance. A considerable number of the chiefs and warriors of other nations were present, including "Good Peter," "Little Billy," "Fish Carrier" (a very old and distinguished warrior of the Cayugas) and "Captain Hendrick," chief of the Stockbridge Indians (see page 193, Vol. I), and a faithful friend of the United States. Representatives of the Oneida, Onondaga and Chippewa nations completed the Indian assemblage. The Mohawks and Tuscaroras of the Six Nations were not represented at the conference.

This was the first time that any of the Six Nations were met in council by the General Government after the adoption of the Federal



COLONEL PICKERING AT TIOGA POINT,
November, 1790.

Constitution. Colonel Pickering informed the Indians that the "Thirteen Fires" were now but "One Fire"; that they (the Indians) were now all under the care of the great chief, General Washington, who would redress their wrongs. By the prudent policy pursued by Colonel Pickering the black cloud that hung over the deliberations of the council for days was finally driven away.

William Slocum went up to Tioga Point from Wilkes-Barré during the holding of this conference, in the hope that he might learn something from the Indians concerning his lost sister; and after careful inquiry he became satisfied that she was living among the Mohawks. Thereupon he laid the matter before Colonel Pickering, who prepared the following document—the original draft of which, in the handwriting of Colonel Pickering, is now to be found among the "Pickering Papers" (LXI:104),

mentioned on page 29, Vol. I. This paper, endorsed "Power to Joseph Smith, Interpreter, to demand of the Six Nations the release of Frances Slocum," is now printed for the first time. It reads as follows:

"WHEREAS, in the treaty of Peace made at Fort Stanwix between the United States of America of one part, and the Six Nations of Indians of the other part, it was stipulated by the said Six Nations that all citizens of the United States prisoners among them should be given up; *And Whereas* the President of the United States authorized me to hold the present conference at this place with the sachems, chiefs and warriors of the Seneca nation—a part of the Six Nations—on a matter of difference between them and the United States, which has now been amicably settled; *And Whereas* WILLIAM SLOCUM of Wyoming, in the State of Pennsylvania, has represented to me, as Commissioner on behalf of the United States, that he had a sister, by the name of FRANCES, who was made a prisoner at Wyoming and carried away by some of the said Six Nations, in the year 1778—his said sister being then near six years old; that afterwards he frequently heard of her continuing a prisoner among the said Six Nations, and has *satisfactory information* that she is still living among them (the Mohawks), and has therefore requested me to take the steps necessary to obtain her release; and his request appearing to me reasonable and just, I do now, in the name and by the authority of the said United States, require that the said FRANCES be delivered up to Joseph Smith, Indian Interpreter at the present conference, or to such person as he shall depute to enquire for, demand and receive her—pursuant to the aforesaid treaty of peace.

"Given under my hand and seal at the Council Fire at Tioga, in the State of Pennsylvania, the 23d day of November, 1790, and in the 15th year of the Sovereignty and Independence of the United States of America.

"In Behalf of the United States—

[Signed] "TIMOTHY PICKERING, Commissioner."

Of course nothing came of this order, for Frances Slocum was not, and had not been at any time, in the custody of Six Nation Indians. Neither the Slocums nor their friends in Wyoming, however, had any means of knowing this at that time.

Early in 1791 Secretary of War Knox commissioned Col. Thomas Procter* to visit the several Indian tribes inhabiting the country bordering on the southern shore of Lake Erie, and also the Miamis of the Wabash, for the purpose of making peace and establishing friendly relations. This was only a few months subsequently to the defeat of General Harmar's expedition, mentioned on page 1123. According to the journal† of Colonel Procter he started from Philadelphia March 12, 1791, and journeyed by way of Catawissa and Berwick to Wilkes-Barré, where he arrived on March 19th. Here he met and consulted with Colonels Zebulon Butler and Timothy Pickering—particularly with the latter, who, only a few weeks later, was commissioned by the Secretary of War to hold a treaty with the Six Nations in June, 1791, at Painted Post, in what is now Steuben County, New York. Continuing his journey up the river Colonel Procter arrived at Tioga Point March 26th. On the 27th he reached Newtown (now Elmira), New York. On the 28th he entered in his journal:

"We proceeded to the Painted Post, or *Cohocton*, in the Indian language; dined and refreshed our horses, it being the last house we should meet with ere we should reach the Genesee River. Here I was joined by a Mr. George Slocum, who followed us from Wyoming, to place himself under our protection and assistance, until we should reach 'Cornplanter's' settlement on the head-waters of the Allegheny, to the redeeming of his sister from an unpleasing captivity of twelve years, to which end he begged our immediate interposition."

The "George Slocum" mentioned by Colonel Procter was Giles Slocum, formerly of Wilkes-Barré, and he accompanied Colonel Procter's party to the then village of "Cornplanter" in Catteraugus County, New York. There, in accordance with arrangements which had previ-

* See Chapter XVIII for a sketch of his life.

† See "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, IV : 555, 560.

ously been made with him, "Cornplanter" joined Colonel Procter's party and proceeded with it to the Seneca villages at Buffalo Creek, where the city of Buffalo is now located. It is doubtful if Giles Slocum accompanied Procter any farther than to the village of "Cornplanter." In the latter part of April Procter was at Buffalo Creek, and under the date of April 22d he made this entry in his journal: "To cash paid Francis Slocum, a white prisoner, 7s. 6d." Meginness, in his "Biography of Frances Slocum" (Williamsport, Pennsylvania, 1891), takes the ground that this "white prisoner" was Frances Slocum, the "Lost Sister of Wyoming." He says: "It is passing strange that Colonel Procter should, in a few brief words, name the girl[?] and the amount he paid her, and at once enter into details about another prisoner. * * The simple error in the spelling of her first name amounts to nothing. She was beyond peradventure the lost child of Wyoming, for whom the family had so persistently searched for over thirteen years! * * Was it indifference or stupidity that caused Colonel Procter to treat her case so lightly? He must have known who she was when he named her, after paying her a small sum of money."

It is not at all probable that the "Francis Slocum" to whom Colonel Procter paid money at Buffalo Creek in April, 1791, was Frances Slocum the Wyoming captive. According to the statement of the latter, made in 1837, her home was at Fort Wayne at the time of Harmar's defeat (October, 1790), and when the battle was fought "the Indian women and children were all made to run north." Buffalo Creek is north-east of Fort Wayne, and, by the shortest route, is distant some 340 miles. It is hardly probable that the Miami women and children found it necessary to "run" so far from their villages. To Mr. Meginness' suggestion that Colonel Procter was either indifferent or stupid because he treated so lightly the incident of his meeting a "Francis Slocum" at Buffalo Creek, we would reply: Colonel Procter was an intelligent, warm-hearted Irishman, who had seen very considerable service as an artillery officer during the Revolutionary War—in 1779 taking part in the Sullivan Expedition. He was stationed at Wilkes-Barré for some time prior to the setting out of that Expedition, and, in common with all the officers here, was familiar with the story of the disasters which had befallen the Slocum family only a few months previously. With his recollection refreshed in March, 1791, by his association and talk with Giles Slocum while journeying to "Cornplanter's" village, it cannot be believed that the name Francis, or Frances, Slocum failed to excite more than passing comment on his part when the bearer of the name applied to him for pecuniary aid. It may be confidently stated that, if the applicant was a young woman (as suggested by Meginness), Colonel Procter made careful inquiry as to her antecedents.

In July, 1791, under the commission previously referred to, Colonel Pickering proceeded from Wilkes-Barré to Newtown (now Elmira), New York, where he held a treaty with upwards of 1,000 Six Nation Indians. The treaty was held at Newtown instead of at Painted Post, as originally intended, on account of the low water in the Chemung River, and the consequent inability of the boatmen to get the canoes laden with goods for the treaty up the river to Painted Post. One of the Slocums from Wilkes-Barré—William probably—attended this treaty, where he met Joseph Smith, the Interpreter, mentioned on page

1129. Mr. Smith, in the course of his travels among the Six Nation and other Indians during the previous six or eight months, had made careful inquiries relative to Frances Slocum, but he had no information to impart to her brother.

In 1797 Isaac Slocum and three of his brothers started from Wilkes-Barré on another search, taking with them a drove of cattle and a quantity of dry-goods. When they arrived at Seneca Lake, New York, three of the brothers put the goods in an open boat and set out for Queenston, while Isaac drove the cattle thither. Meeting there they proceeded together to Chippewa, where they again parted—Isaac driving the cattle through Canada to Detroit, while the others went by water. In order to appreciate the trials and sufferings of these brothers in search of their sister, it must be recollected that the Canadas and the north-western part of the United States were, in 1797, little else than an unbroken wilderness, inhabited by wild beasts and savage tribes, with here and there a trading-post or a fort. On this trip through the Canadas the Slocums made a diligent search through the different tribes, and finally called together five Indian traders, to whom they offered a reward of \$300. if they would find their lost sister and bring her to Detroit. But they met with no success, and were compelled to return to Wilkes-Barré disheartened and discouraged.

This was the last effort made by the Slocums to find their sister during the life of their mother. About ten years later the latter died—in her last hours impressing upon the minds of her sons her desire that they should not give up the search for Frances so long as there remained a possible chance of recovering her, or learning the story of her fate. During the years following the death of Mrs. Slocum the surviving children of the family did not forget the dying request of their mother. They were constantly on the alert, and letters of inquiry were written to, and information sought from, persons dwelling in the West and Canada. But still no clue could be obtained. Finally, when the mission among the Wyandot Indians became a matter of public interest, and the report came to the ears of the Slocums that one of the principal chiefs of this nation had a white woman for his wife, the possibility of this wife being Frances Slocum induced Joseph Slocum, of Wilkes-Barré, attended by one of his nephews, to make a visit to the mission in the year 1826. The two men made a weary and expensive journey to the Upper Sandusky, where they found the white wife of the Wyandot chief; but they soon became convinced that she was not the woman they were seeking.

Early in January, 1835, Col. George W. Ewing (who, since 1830, had conducted an Indian trading-post at Logansport, Indiana, where he carried on an extensive business) went on a trading trip up the Mississineva River. Being belated, and darkness coming on about the time he reached "Deaf Man's Village," he applied at the house of *Mac-on-a-quah* (Frances Slocum)—whom he had known well for several years—for accommodation for the night. The old lady was then in the sixty-second year of her life, but, owing to the rigors and hardships which she had experienced, she appeared to be seventy or eighty years of age. "She provided me with a good supper," stated Colonel Ewing subsequently, in giving an account of his visit, "and ordered wood to be piled on the big hearth, which surprised me, as our supper was over,

and the Indian bed-time had arrived. After sitting a half hour or so, and talking over ordinary matters about her family, her crops and her cattle, I told her that I would retire to my bed. [Colonel Ewing was very familiar with the Miami language, and could converse in it fluently.] She said, 'No, I have something on my mind. I am old and weak. I shan't live long, and I must tell it. I can't die in peace if I don't.' She then, after a long pause and with much hesitancy, related the story of her life as well as she could remember it. When she had completed the narrative she exclaimed: "There, now, I can die! Oh! you don't know how this has troubled me."

The recital of *Mac-on-a-quah's* story greatly interested Colonel Ewing, and the more he thought over it the more he became impressed with its mystery. In the morning he mounted his horse and prepared to set out on his journey for Logansport, distant some twenty-five miles. In accordance with Indian custom his hostess and her family refused to receive any compensation for his entertainment. He bade them farewell with much feeling, and as he rode homeward he determined to make some effort to discover the white relatives of *Mac-on-a-quah*. After much reflection he concluded to write to some one in the interior of Pennsylvania, but as he knew no one there he was forced to abandon that idea. He then wrote a letter and addressed it to the postmaster at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, thinking that as it was an old and important town, near the Susquehanna River, the postmaster might know if any child had been captured and carried away by Indians in earlier days. This letter reached its destination and was read by the postmaster, Mrs. Mary Dickson, who was also the owner of *The Intelligencer* of Lancaster. Strange as it may seem, she took no interest in the letter, and, having thrown it aside, it lay for two years among a lot of old letters and papers which were deemed worthless. It was then discovered by a person connected with the post-office, who at once recognized its importance.

At that time *The Intelligencer* had been sold by Mrs. Dickson, and in March, 1837, John W. Forney* had become one of its editors and publishers. To him the letter was handed by its finder, and Forney at once published it in *The Intelligencer*. This was in July, 1837. The Rev. Samuel Bowman† (later Assistant Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Pennsylvania) had then been for a number of years Rector of St. James' Church, Lancaster. He was a native of Wilkes-Barré, having been born here in 1800, within a stone's throw of the home of Mrs. Ruth (*Tripp*) Slocum. He had spent the first twenty-two years of his life in Wilkes-Barré, and he knew several of the members of the Slocum family, and was familiar with the story of the capture of Frances Slocum and the fruitless efforts of her brothers to find her. Immediately upon the publication of Colonel Ewing's letter the Rev. Mr. Bowman mailed a copy of *The Intelligencer* containing it to Joseph Slocum, at Wilkes-Barré. It may be readily imagined how greatly the members of the Slocum family were stirred up by this letter. It was republished in the *Wyoming Republican and Farmer's Herald* (Kingston) and the *Republican*

* JOHN W. FORNEY was a native of Lancaster. About 1850 he became prominent in the newspaper world and as a politician. For twenty years he was editor of *The Philadelphia Press*, for several years he was Clerk of the National House of Representatives, and then Secretary of the Senate. In his "Anecdotes" (I: 208)—published twenty-five or thirty years ago—he makes mention of the discovery of Frances Slocum.

† See a subsequent chapter for his portrait and a sketch of his life.

Farmer and Democratic Journal (Wilkes-Barré) of August 16, 1837, and was read and discussed with great interest in every household in the valleys of Wyoming and Lackawanna. The letter—prefaced with the editorial comments of Mr. Forney—as originally published in *The Intelligencer* and as republished in the Wyoming Valley newspapers, reads as follows:

"IMPORTANT DISCLOSURE.—The following letter, handed to us by a citizen of this place [Lancaster], was received two years since, but by some means has never before found its way to the public eye. The developments made are worthy of serious attention, even at this late day—although the subject of the epistle may be no more. The satisfaction which may be afforded to her descendants [*sic*] will undoubtedly be very great, and we hope such of our brethren as may feel any interest in the affair will give publicity to the letter; and those who are aware of the existence of such a family as the SLOKUMS (a name quite familiar with us), and the place of their residence, will please signify the same by addressing a line to the editors of this paper. We have only to repeat our regret that the recipient of the letter did not, immediately after its arrival, give the whole to the public. A better opportunity would then have been afforded to the descendants [*sic*] then living (as possibly some of them may have died since) of discovering the object of the philanthropic writer's solicitude.

"LOGANSPOUT, INDIANA, January 20, 1835.

"*Dear Sir:* In the hope that some good may result from it, I have taken this means of giving to your fellow-citizens—say the descendants of the early settlers of the Susquehanna—the following information; and if there be any now living whose name is SLOKUM, to them I hope the following may be communicated through the public prints of your place.

"There is now living near this place, among the Miami tribe of Indians, an aged white woman, who, a few days ago, told me that she was taken away from her father's house, on or near the Susquehanna River, when she was very young—say from five to eight years old, as she thinks—by the Delaware Indians, who were then hostile towards the whites. She says her father's name was SLOKUM; that he was a Quaker, rather small in stature, and wore a large brimmed hat; was of sandy hair and light complexion, and much freckled; that he lived about half a mile from a town where there was a fort,* that they lived in a wooden house of two stories high, and had a spring near the house.

"She says three Delawares came to the house in the day-time, when all were absent but herself and, perhaps, two smaller children; her father and brothers were absent making hay. The Indians carried her off, and she was adopted into a family of Delawares, who raised her and treated her as their own child. They died about forty years ago, somewhere in Ohio. She then was married to a Miami, by whom she had four children; two only of them are now living; they are both daughters, and she lives with them. Her husband is dead; she is old and feeble, and thinks she will not live long. These considerations induced her to give the present history of herself, which she never would [give] before, fearing her kindred would come and force her away. She has lived long and happy as an Indian, and but for her color would not be suspected for being anything else than such. She is very respectable and wealthy, sober and honest. Her name is without reproach.

"She says her father had a large family—say eight children in all; six older than herself, one younger, as well as she can recollect. She doubts not there are yet living many of their descendants; but seems to think that all her brothers and sisters must be dead, as she is very old herself—not far from eighty years old. She thinks she was taken prisoner before the two last wars, which must mean the Revolutionary War, as Wayne's War and the late war have been since that one. She has entirely lost her mother-tongue, and she speaks only in Indian, which I also understand, and she gave me a full history of herself. Her own Christian name she has forgotten. Her father's name was SLOKUM, and he was a Quaker. She also recollects that it was upon the Susquehanna River that they lived, but doesn't recollect the name of the town near which they lived. I have thought that from this letter you might cause something to be inserted in the newspapers of your country, that might possibly catch the eye of some of the descendants of the SLOKUM family who have a knowledge of a girl having been carried off by the Indians some seventy years ago. This they might know from family tradition. If so, and they will come here, I will carry them where they will see the subject of my letter, alive and happy, though old and far advanced in life.

"I can form no idea whereabouts upon the Susquehanna River this family could have lived at that early period, namely, about the time of the Revolutionary War; but perhaps you can ascertain more about it. If so, I hope you will interest yourself and, if possible, let her brothers and sisters, if any be alive (and if not, their children), know

* In 1777 and 1778 when Frances Slocum lived in Wilkes-Barré there were very few houses in the upper end of the town-plot. The majority of the houses were below the present Market Street. As shown on page 1121, the Slocum house was upwards of half a mile from Fort Wyoming.

where they may once more see a relative whose fate has been wrapped in mystery for seventy years, and for whom her bereaved and afflicted parents doubtless shed many a bitter tear. They have long since found their graves, though their lost child they never found. I have been much affected with this disclosure, and hope the surviving friends may obtain, through your goodness, the information I desire for them. If I can be of any service to them, they may command me. In the mean time I hope you will excuse me for the freedom I have taken with you, a total stranger; and believe me to be, Sir, with much respect,

"Your most obedient Servant,

[Signed] "GEORGE W. EWING."

Jonathan J. Slocum of Wilkes-Barré, son of Joseph Slocum, immediately wrote to Colonel Ewing relative to his two-year old letter which had just been brought to the attention of the Slocums, and informed him that steps would be taken immediately to investigate the matter. Under the date of August 26, 1837, Colonel Ewing wrote from Logansport to Jonathan J. Slocum in part as follows:

"The female I spoke of in January, 1835, is still alive; nor can I for a moment doubt but that she is the identical relative that has been so long lost to your family. I feel much gratified to think that I have been thus instrumental in disclosing to yourself and friends such facts in relation to her as will enable you to visit her and satisfy yourselves more fully. She recovered from the temporary illness by which she was afflicted about the time I spent the night with her in January, 1835, and which was, no doubt, the cause that induced her to speak so freely of her early captivity. Although she is now, by long habit, an Indian, and her manners and customs precisely theirs, yet she will doubtless be happy to see any of you, and I, myself, will take great pleasure in accompanying you to the house. Should you come out for that purpose, I advise you to repair directly to this place; and should it so happen that I should be absent at the time, you will find others who can take you to her. Bring with you this letter; show it to James T. Miller of Peru, Indiana—a small town not far from this place. He knows her well. He speaks the Miami tongue, and will accompany you if I should not be at home."

As speedily as possible it was arranged that Joseph Slocum, accompanied by one of his nephews, should proceed from Wilkes-Barré to Ohio and join his sister, Mrs. Mary Towne, who lived in the central part of the State, and then proceed with her, by private conveyance, to Indiana. Isaac Slocum, who, as mentioned on page 1116, was living in Sandusky County, Ohio, was to meet his brother and sister somewhere near the home of their supposed sister in Indiana. This was in September, 1837. Isaac Slocum, who lived less than 200 miles from Peru, Indiana, proceeded to that place, where he arrived in advance of his brother and sister. Becoming impatient at the delay caused by their non-arrival, he hunted up James T. Miller, and with him proceeded to "Deaf Man's Village." By that time the story of *Mac-on-a-quah*, or Frances Slocum, had become well known in Peru, and it excited almost as much interest and comment there as in Wyoming Valley. The following account of the visit of Messrs. Slocum and Miller to "Deaf Man's Village" was printed in the *Peru Forester*, of about the 20th of September, 1837, but has never heretofore been reprinted in any of the books which have been published about Frances Slocum.

"A few evenings ago Mr. Isaac Slocum, a younger brother of Frances, arrived in town from his residence in Sandusky County, Ohio, and in company with James T. Miller of this place, interpreter, proceeded to the place of her residence, known by the appellation of 'Deaf Man's Village,' about nine miles above Peru, on the Mississinevea River. Mr. Slocum, on the way, remarked to his guide that if the woman (Frances) was really his sister he would recognize her by a scar upon the forefinger of her left hand, caused by a blow from a hammer upon an anvil, while at play with her brother before she was taken captive; but he knew not in what other way he should be able to convince either her or himself of the relationship which subsisted between them.

"Mr. Miller proceeded to the house alone, in order to prepare the old lady for the reception of her brother; but found her unwilling to believe that such a thing could be. She recalled many of the circumstances which attended her capture—that she had a father, mother, brothers and sisters, but supposed that they were all long since dead. The brother at length entered the house, and, gazing upon the changed appearance of

Frances, involuntarily exclaimed, 'Good God! is this my sister?' Then grasping her hand he drew it toward the light and beheld the scar—the identical scar which he had described! He was then satisfied, but Frances was still unwilling to believe Mr. Slocum to be her brother. Mr. Miller, at the request of Mr. Slocum, interrogated her in the Indian language (as she speaks or understands no other) concerning the scar upon her finger, and she related the same story which her brother had told him on their way; and finally, before they separated, Frances was satisfied to acknowledge Isaac to be her own brother, but expressed no inclination to leave her wigwam to partake of the comforts of his hospitable mansion.

"Mr. Slocum is exceedingly anxious to prevail upon her to accompany him to Ohio, where he now resides, and to Pennsylvania, the land of their fathers, but he informs us that his efforts to do so will prove abortive. * * * Mr. Slocum informs us that while in Canada forty years ago with his brothers they offered some traders the sum of \$300, if they would only give intelligence of Frances. He also states that his brother Joseph, and sister, Mrs. Mary Towne, will be here in a few days, and that he will await their arrival. Mr. Slocum bears the appearance of a gentleman of the first respectability, and in conversation often alludes to the horrible scenes which transpired on the banks of the Susquehanna during the days of his boyhood. He is now sixty-two years old, in apparent good health."

Messrs. Slocum and Miller returned to Peru, where, after several days' waiting on their part, they were joined on September 21st by Joseph Slocum, his nephew, and Mrs. Towne. Preparations were almost immediately made to proceed to "Deaf Man's Village." Miller, the interpreter, a young man from Pennsylvania named Fulwiler, who had recently settled in Peru, and an Indian half-breed, named Hunt, who had been educated in Kentucky, accompanied the Slocums thither. Mrs. Towne, being in ill health, remained behind at Peru. Taking the Indian path the party soon came to the first Indian village on the Mississineva, a short distance above its junction with the Wabash. Here a remnant of the Miami tribe lived in small cabins. At this point the path turned to the left from the river, and proceeded to the residence of Francis Godfroy, who had succeeded *She-po-con-ah*, the husband of Frances Slocum, as war-chief of the Miamis. His settlement consisted of five or six two-story log houses within an enclosure of about half an acre, situated on a rising piece of ground not far from the Wabash River. Here Godfroy's great store, or trading-post, was located. A gateway admitted the travelers to the buildings of the establishment, and on entering the main building the interpreter introduced the several members of the party to the Chief and informed him of their errand. He received them with great dignity and politeness, and proffered them every assistance in his power to facilitate the success of their mission.

After a pleasant visit the Slocums and their companions took leave of Chief Godfroy, and then hastened on about four miles. Having forded the Mississineva again, they entered "Deaf Man's Village." On the outskirts they met the Indian husband of the younger daughter of *Mac-on-a-quah*, who mounted his pony and conducted the party to his mother-in-law's dwelling. This was a large story-and-a-half log house, or, rather, two houses joined together by a shed, and it stood on the brink of the river. When the Slocum party entered the dwelling they found *Mac-on-a-quah* quietly sitting in a chair, with her two daughters and the husband—"Capt." Jean Baptiste Brouillette—of the elder daughter in the room with her. The visitors were received formally, if not coldly, and after the ceremony of introduction by the interpreter, *Mac-on-a-quah* did not seem disposed to converse freely. In a short time, however, she relaxed somewhat, and gave a brief account of her family and the circumstances of her capture; but seemed utterly unmoved, and not free from suspicion that there was some plan in opera-

tion to take her away or rob her of what she possessed. During the interview Isaac and Joseph Slocum paced the floor in great agitation. Their Indian sister, however, did not change a feature of her countenance, shed a tear, or show any emotion whatever.

As mentioned by Colonel Ewing in his first letter, *Mac-on-a-quah* had forgotten her Christian name. Her brothers had not been with her long when one of them asked her if she could remember it if she would hear it mentioned. Her answer was, "It is a long time; I do not know." "Was it Frances?" she was asked. Something like emotion immediately agitated her impassive features, and it was evident that an idea was struggling through the dark recesses of her mind. Then a smile lit up her countenance, and she answered, "*Mi, França, França!*" The painful situation changed a little, but very slowly. When the conversation was concluded Frances went about her work, apparently with as much indifference as though nothing of interest had happened. Returning from a stroll about the premises a little later, the visitors found her seated on the floor scraping and manipulating a deer-skin, in order to prepare it for use. Finally it was time for the visitors to depart, and they proposed to Frances that she and her family should accompany them to Peru. She declined to give them a positive answer until she had ridden over to the house of Chief Godfroy and consulted him about the matter. He advised her to comply with the request, assuring her that she would be in no danger from the respectable strangers. The advice of the Chief gave her confidence, and shortly afterwards the whole party set out for Peru, where Mrs. Towne awaited them. Before returning home that night Frances promised that on the next day she would visit her brothers and sister again.

True to her promise Frances came to Peru early on the following day, accompanied by her two daughters and "Captain" Brouillette, and they spent the greater part of the day with their Slocum relatives. Upon this occasion Frances gave a more complete and detailed account of her capture and wanderings than she had previously given. This was translated by Messrs. Miller and Hunt, and was committed to writing by Joseph Slocum's nephew. At the conclusion of her story she was asked if she would not accompany her brother Joseph back to her old home in Wilkes-Barré. "No, I cannot," was the firm reply. "I have always lived with the Indians; they have always used me very kindly; I am used to them. The Great Spirit has always allowed me to live with them, and I wish to live and die with them. * * I should have died sooner if I had left them. My husband and my two boys are buried here, and I cannot leave them. On his dying day my husband charged me not to leave the Indians. I have a house and large lands, two daughters, three grand-children, and everything to make me comfortable; why should I go, and be like a fish out of water?"

When Frances had given her reasons for not desiring to leave her home, "Captain" Brouillette spoke up and said: "The people about here, at Logansport and at Miamisport [Peru], have known me ever since the country was settled by the whites. They know me to be industrious, to manage well, and to maintain my family respectably. My mother-in-law's sons are dead, and I stand in their place to her. I mean to maintain her well as long as she lives—for the truth of which you may depend on the word of 'Captain' Brouillette." "What

'Captain' Brouillette says," quickly added the old lady, "is true. He has always treated me kindly, and I hope my connections will not feel any uneasiness about me. 'The Indians are my people. I do no work. I sit in the house with these my two daughters, who do the work, and I sit with them.'" "But won't you at least go and make a visit to your early home, and when you have seen us, return again to your children?" asked Joseph Slocum. "I cannot, I cannot! I am an old tree. I cannot move about. I was a sapling when they took me away. * * I should not be happy with my white relatives. I am glad enough to see them, but I cannot go, I cannot go. I have done."

"When the whites take a squaw," said Brouillette, with much animation—as if delighted with the decision of the old lady—"they make her work like a slave. It was never so with this woman." * * * Frances' elder daughter, the wife of Brouillette, then assented to all that had been said, and added that "the deer cannot live out of the forest." *O-zah-shin-quah*, the younger daughter, then confirmed what her sister had stated, and said that she thought her mother could not go even on a visit, because "the fish dies quickly out of the water." This remarkable and pathetic interview now came to a close. Frances bade her white relatives adieu, and, mounting her pony, galloped away, followed by her daughters and "Captain" Brouillette.

Dr. George Peck says* "Frances looked like an Indian, talked like an Indian, lived like an Indian, seated herself like an Indian, ate like an Indian, lay down to sleep like an Indian, thought, felt and reasoned like an Indian; she had no longings for her original home, or the society of her kindred; she eschewed the trammels of civilized life and could only breathe freely in the great, unfenced out-doors which God gave to the red man. There was, however, this to comfort the Slocums—their sister was not degraded in her habits or her character; * * her Anglo-Saxon blood had not been tainted by savage touch, but bore itself gloriously amid the long series of trials through which it had passed."

A day or two after Frances' visit to Peru the Slocums set out for their respective homes, and in due time Joseph Slocum reached Wilkes-Barré, very much gratified at what he had seen and learned. The wonderful story he had to tell was listened to with the most intense interest by his family and friends.

Nearly two years later Joseph Slocum completed preparations for a second visit to his sister Frances, and set out from Wilkes-Barré September 10, 1839, accompanied by his eldest child, Hannah Fell (Mrs. Ziba Bennett), by his youngest, Harriet Elizabeth, and by Charles Saylor. Eighteen days later they arrived at Peru, Indiana, having traveled by means of stage-coaches, lake steamers, canal-boats and railroads, via Tunkhannock, Montrose, Owego, Ithaca, Rochester, Lockport, Niagara Falls, Buffalo, Sandusky City, Maumee City and Fort Wayne. Peru was reached at three o'clock on Saturday morning, September 28th, and on the following Monday morning, a two-horse wagon and a driver having been hired, Mr. Slocum, his two daughters, Charles Saylor, James T. Miller (the interpreter) and James B. Fulwiler, previously mentioned, set out for "Deaf Man's Village."

Mrs. Hannah Fell (*Slocum*) Bennett kept a diary of the incidents of the journey from Wilkes-Barré to Peru and back. This diary has

* In his sketch of Frances Slocum, in "Wyoming; its History, Romantic Adventures, etc."

been published wholly, or in part, at different times, in three or four books hereinafter mentioned, and from it we learn that "Captain" Brouillette, having received intelligence of the approach of the Slocum party, came riding through the woods to meet them. He dismounted, shook hands with them all, and bade them welcome. Then he remounted his horse and galloped off with great speed to apprise his mother-in-law of the approach of the visitors. On reaching the house the latter found Frances seated in a chair, with her two daughters standing by her. The coldness and reserve of the former visit were now entirely gone, and Frances expressed great joy at again seeing her brother, and pleased that he had brought his daughters so far to see her. From the diary of Mrs. Bennett we learn further :

"The whole family appeared glad to see us, and made us as welcome as they knew how. The 'Captain' speaks broken English. They are much more cleanly about their housekeeping and cookery than I expected to find them. We staid with them till Tuesday noon. * * She [Frances] is of small stature, not very much bent; her hair is somewhat gray; her eyes a bright chestnut, clear and sprightly for one of her age; her face is very much wrinkled and weatherbeaten. * * * The interior of her hut seemed well supplied with all the necessities, if not with luxuries. They had six beds, principally composed of blankets and other goods folded together. One room contained the cooking utensils, the other the table and dishes. They spread a cloth on their table and gave us a very comfortable meal of fried venison, tea and short-cake. * * A great many trinkets hang about the house—beads and chains of silver and polished steel. Some of their dresses are richly embroidered with silver brooches—seven and eight rows of brooches as closely as they can be put together. They have many silver ear-rings. My aunt had seven pairs in her ears; her daughters perhaps a dozen apiece. They have saddles and bridles of the most costly kind—six men's saddles and one side-saddle. They have between fifty and sixty horses, 100 hogs, seventeen head of cattle, also geese and chickens. Their house is enclosed with a common worm-fence, with some outhouses, principally built of logs. A never-failing spring of excellent water is near the door, with a house over it. They have a section of land (640 acres) given to the two daughters [as tenants in common].* The treaty was ratified by the Government this Spring. * *

"'Captain' Brouillette, Frances' son-in-law, is now with her, providing for the family by killing game, as he is a noted hunter. He provides the wood—which is rather unusual for an Indian—and lays up corn and hay for the Winter. The husband of the younger daughter and he did not agree very well, as the former was a lazy, indolent Indian, who would not provide, but was ready to spend and eat what was provided. Brouillette left, was absent seven months, during which time the other died, in April [1839]. In June she [*O-zah-shin-quah*] married a second†; he was killed by a Weas in August [1839]. There is a dispute between the Miamis and the Weas respecting their annuity. The Miamis disclaim all connection with the Weas; they had a dispute, and it ended in the death [of *O-zah-shin-quah's* husband].

The time for parting between the families of Frances and Joseph Slocum finally came. Frances made an effort to prevail upon her brother to come and live with her—offering to give him half of her land. Her sincerity and earnestness in this matter were affecting. As Frances, her daughters and "Captain" Brouillette shook each of their relatives warmly by the hand, they showed, by words as well as actions, the gratification they had received from the visit. Brouillette gave Mr. Slocum the most ample assurances that he would take good care of his mother-in-law while she lived.

This was the last time Joseph Slocum saw his sister, although he frequently heard from her down to the close of her life. Before leaving Peru Mr. Slocum arranged with George Winter, an English artist then residing at Logansport, to paint a portrait of Frances. It was executed in due time, and subsequently a second portrait was painted by the same

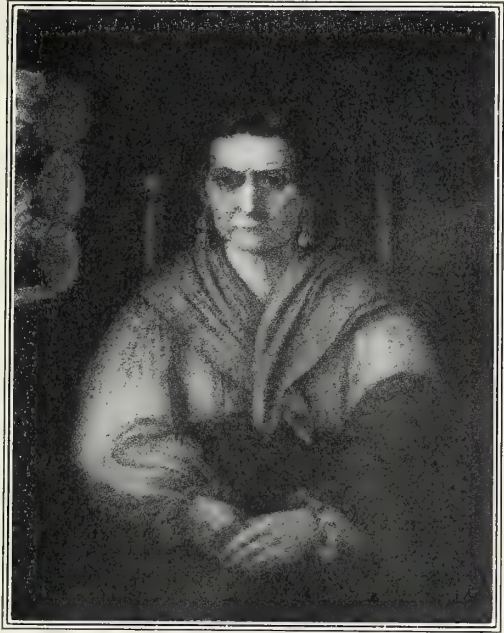
* Under the treaty described on page 1126, *ante*.

† In reality he was her fourth husband.

‡ The Weas, who had a common origin with the Miamis, were once a powerful tribe, and lived on the lower Wabash. In 1820 they made a final cession of all their lands along the Wabash and its affluents, and agreed to leave; but many of them remained.

artist. Both are now in the possession of relatives in Wilkes-Barré, together with various curious and interesting articles of apparel which were worn by Frances in her latter years. Mr. Slocum and his daughters left Peru on October 3d, and, journeying via Logansport, Indianapolis, Cincinnati, Wheeling, Cadiz, Steubenville, Pittsburgh, Hollidaysburg, Northumberland and Danville, arrived at Wilkes-Barré October 28th.

As it was stipulated in the treaty of 1840 (see page 1126, *ante*) that the Miamis should abandon their homes on the Wabash within five years from the ratification of the treaty, there began to be much uneasiness manifested among many of the older members of the tribe as the time for taking their departure drew near. Among those who mourned over the coming emigration of the tribe was Frances Slocum. It was her earnest desire to be permitted to remain at her home on the banks of the Mississineva, and, when she died, to be buried by the side of her husband and sons. She therefore appealed



MAC-ON-A-QUAH (FRANCES SLOCUM).

From a portrait painted by George Winter in 1839.
(Reproduced through the courtesy of Mrs. Martha B. Phelps.)

for advice and assistance to her brothers Isaac and Joseph, all the other members of her father's family being now dead—her sister Mary (Mrs. Towne) having died in April, 1844. It was finally decided to have Frances appeal to Congress, and ask if she could not be exempted from the terms of the treaty. Therefore a memorial, carefully and properly drawn up, under the date of January 17, 1845, and signed "Frances Slocum," was presented and read in the National House of Representatives. It was in part as follows:

* * "That she [the memorialist] is now, and for the last thirty years has been, recognized as a member of the Miami tribe. * * That she has entirely lost her mother-tongue, and can only enjoy the society of her adopted people, with whom she intermarried, and became the mother of a family, and with whose manners and customs she has assimilated. That she is informed that the greater part of the Miamis will be obliged to emigrate to the home assigned them west of the Mississippi in the course of one or two years, where *their annuities will thereafter be paid them*. That she is too old to endure the fatigue of removing; and that, under any circumstances, she would deplore the necessity of being placed beyond the reach of her white relatives, who visit her frequently, and have extended their kindnesses towards her since she was discovered by them. That her children are the owners of a section of land granted to them by the treaty between the United States and said tribes of Indians of the 6th November, 1838, who now reside upon and cultivate the same, and with whom your memorialist now lives; and that it is the wish and design of her children and their families * * to continue to reside upon and cultivate the same. * * Your memorialist therefore prays that Congress may by law direct that the following persons * * * [twenty-one in number], children and grandchildren of your memorialist, as also your memorialist, and such children as they may hereafter have, shall hereafter receive their annuities at Fort Wayne, or at Peru, Indiana, as to your honorable body may seem expedient and proper."

In the latter part of January, 1845, the Committee on Indian Affairs of the House of Representatives reported "A joint-resolution for the benefit of Frances Slocum and her children and grandchildren, of the Miami tribe of Indians." The Hon. Benjamin A. Bidlack, of Wilkes-Barré, who then represented the Wyoming district in Congress, expressed the hope that no motion would intervene to prevent the passage of the resolution. He said further, relative to Frances Slocum and her memorial:

"Her relatives are among the most worthy and meritorious of my constituents—they are my neighbors and friends; they searched after the captive with zealous and praiseworthy efforts and diligence, from the time of her capture until within a few years, and they have found her in the condition set forth in the memorial and report. The incidents set forth and connected with her eventful history would afford a beautiful theme for elucidation and remark. * * What I desire is, not to make a speech, but to ask the unanimous consent of the Members for the immediate passage of the resolution. Frances Slocum was taken from her white friends when a child. She is now desirous of dying among her red friends—where she has lived for half a century—without being compelled to remove west of the Mississippi. Let her first and last request be granted. The proposition is intended to extend to her, as the widow of an Indian chief, the same privileges in relation to the payment of annuities due her and her family as are provided for by treaty stipulation in regard to certain of the Miami chiefs."

The resolution then passed the House and was sent to the Senate, by which body it was adopted on the next to the last day of the session, to wit, on March 3, 1845. It read in part as follows:

"Resolved, * * That the portions, or shares, of the annuities or other monies which are now, or may hereafter become, payable to the Miami tribe of Indians, due to the following named persons—members of said tribe of Indians—shall be hereafter and forever payable to them and their descendants at Fort Wayne, or Peru, or such other place in the State of Indiana as the Secretary of War shall direct, *viz.*: To Frances Slocum [and the twenty-one persons named in the memorial previously mentioned]. And be it further resolved, that if the aforesaid Indians, their descendants or any part thereof, shall hereafter remove to the country west of the Mississippi River, assigned to the Miami tribe of Indians, then and in such case the portions or shares of annuities, or other monies payable to said tribe, shall be paid to such persons so removing at the place of payment of annuities to said tribe of Indians."

The prompt action of Congress in granting the petition of Frances Slocum pleased her greatly, and removed a load of anxiety from her mind. She and her descendants were now free to remain at their Indiana homes, while those of the Miamis not exempted were compelled to depart. The great emigration began in 1846. Under an escort of guides and soldiers the long Indian train moved across the country, over the prairies of Illinois and Iowa to the new reservation provided for the emigrants in Kansas.

After the departure of the Miamis there was a rush of white land-grabbers to acquire the abandoned lands of the Indians, and soon new settlers began to make improvements all around the reservation occupied by Frances and her family. The presence of these neighbors was not calculated to promote the comfort and quiet of the old lady, and she sent for her brother Isaac and arranged with him to have his son, George R. Slocum, remove from Ohio and live with her.

In *The Wabash Gazette* of the fore part of August, 1855, there was printed an article entitled "The White Woman; or the Mysteries of Providence." It contained an account of the captivity of Frances Slocum and her discovery by her relatives, and concluded with the following paragraph:

"'The White Woman,' as she was called, requested that his [Isaac Slocum's] son, George R. Slocum, should be adopted into her family, which was accordingly done. Brother Slocum afterwards removed with his family into the vicinity of the tribe, where

he now resides. This adoption into the family of his aunt has enabled him to exert a great and highly salutary influence over the tribe, and he has done much for the suppression of intemperance among them, to counteract the influence of the 'traders,' and to instruct them in agriculture and religion. Mrs. Slocum has also spent much time and labor in instructing the women in sewing, spinning, cooking, etc., as well as imparting religious instruction. The result has been, in connection with the labors of others, a great improvement in the condition of the tribe, and the hopeful conversion of some of them. Two of their principal men, who married daughters of 'The White Woman,' viz., Peter Bondy and Jean Baptiste Brouillette, have united with the Antioch Baptist Church in their vicinity, and are now good citizens and worthy members of the Church."

Soon after the visit of her Wilkes-Barré relatives in 1839, Frances had a new log house built on the hill a few hundred yards in the rear of her old home, which stood on the brink of the river. In this new house she lived with her family until her death, which occurred March 9, 1847. She was buried by the side of the remains of her husband and two young sons in the Indian grave-yard, situated only a short distance from her house. She was survived by her two daughters—*Ke-ke-nok-esh-wah* and *O-zah-shin-quah*.

Ke-ke-nok-esh-wah, or "Cut Finger," was born about 1800. She was married about 1819 to a Miami Indian, who died a year or two later, leaving an infant daughter. It is alleged that this daughter was poisoned to death, about 1836 or '37, by the friends of a young Indian who wanted to marry the girl, but who, on account of his general worthlessness, was refused permission by *Ke-ke-nok-esh-wah*. Some years before this—probably about 1834—*Ke-ke-nok-esh-wah* was married (2d) to Jean Baptiste Brouillette, a half-breed Frenchman. Thenceforward she was generally known as "Nancy Brouillette." At the time of the death of her mother she was ill, and was so prostrated by that occurrence that she died four days later. Some time afterwards "Captain" Brouillette (as he was commonly called) was married (2d) to Eliza Godfroy, a daughter of his sister-in-law, *O-zah-shin-quah*, by her first husband. Brouillette was born in 1796 in what is now Indiana, near the city of La Fayette, of French and Indian parentage, and was brought up as a Miami Indian. In middle life he was very straight and slim, and six feet and two inches in height. His mind was clear and strong, and he had great comprehension and scope of thought. He had considerable reputation as an orator, and also as a "medicine-man." He was a very peaceable man, and had many friends among the whites. He was the first Miami Indian to cultivate corn with a plow. Through the missionary labors of George R. Slocum (previously mentioned) "Captain" Brouillette was converted to Christianity in 1854. He attached himself to the Baptist denomination and entered into his religious profession with earnest zeal—so much so that he labored as a missionary among the Miamis who continued to live in Indiana. He died at "Deaf Man's Village" June 17, 1867, and was buried in the Indian grave-yard where the remains of his first wife and his mother-in-law had been laid twenty years previously.

O-zah-shin-quah, or "Yellow Leaf," the younger daughter of *Mac-on-a-quah*, was born on the banks of the Mississineva River in 1815 or '16. When quite young she was married to Louis Godfroy, a nephew of Francis Godfroy who had succeeded her father as war-chief of the Miamis, and was the last member of the tribe to hold that office. She bore her husband two daughters, and shortly afterwards was separated from him because of his abusive treatment of her. Later he removed

with other Miamis to the country west of the Mississippi, and shortly afterwards *O-zah-shin-quah* was married (2d) to *Wap-shing-quah*, of the Miami tribe. To him she bore a daughter named *Kin-o-zach-wa*, or Elizabeth, who grew to womanhood and became the wife of Gabriel, son of Francis Godfroy, previously mentioned. She died October 28, 1879, aged forty-three years and one month, and was survived by four sons and one daughter. The second husband of *O-zah-shin-quah* having either died or disappeared, she was married (3d) about 1838 to *Tac-co-nah*, also of the Miami tribe. Shortly afterwards (in April, 1839) he died, and *O-zah-shin-quah* was ready for a fourth husband. He soon came along (in June, 1839) in the person of *Ma-ma-mundra*, brother of "No. 3." By this last union there was one daughter—Lavinia, who grew to maturity. The fourth husband of *O-zah-shin-quah* having been killed in August, 1839, by a quarrelsome Indian, she was married in 1840 to *Wah-pah-pe-tah*, or Peter Bondy, to whom she bore four sons and three daughters.

In habits and manners *O-zah-shin-quah* was a thorough Indian, and never learned to speak the English language, although she lived to be sixty-two years of age. She was reserved and of a retiring disposition; but, like her mother, was industrious and desirous of accumulating property. After her last marriage she was commonly called "Jane Bondy." She died January 25, 1877, at the house built by her mother on the hill near the Indian grave-yard at "Deaf Man's Village." Peter Bondy, the last husband of *O-zah-shin-quah*, was born on Eel River, near Fort Wayne, in July, 1817, the son of a Mohegan woman and a French trader, named Antoine Bondie, who had lived among the Miamis since the age of twelve years. In 1840—about the time of his marriage to *O-zah-shin-quah*—Peter Bondy was adopted by the Miami tribe. Under the ministrations of George R. Slocum he became a convert to the Baptist Church, and for twenty-six years thereafter labored as a missionary among his people. He spoke broken English, with a strong French accent. He died subsequently to 1891.

In May, 1900, a handsome monument was erected over the grave of Frances Slocum in the little Indian grave-yard near Reserve, Indiana, at the expense of members of the Slocum family residing in various parts of the United States. The monument was unveiled, with interesting ceremonies, in the presence of a large assemblage of Slocums and others gathered from near and from far. On the east face of the monument is the following inscription:

"FRANCES SLOCUM, a child of English descent, was born in Warwick, Rhode Island, March 4, 1773; was carried into captivity from her father's house at Wilkes-Barré, Pennsylvania, November 2, 1778, by Delaware Indians, soon after the Wyoming Massacre. Her brothers gave persistent search, but did not find her until September 21, 1837."

On the south face of the monument is the following inscription:

"SHE-PO-CON-AH, a Miami Indian Chief, husband of Frances Slocum—*Ma-con-a-quah*—died here in 1833 (?) at an advanced age. Their adult children were: *Ke-ke-nok-esh-wah*, wife of the Rev. Jean Baptiste Brouillette, died March 13, 1847, aged forty-seven years, leaving no children. *O-zah-shin-quah*, or Jane, wife of the Rev. Peter Bondy, died January 25, 1877, aged sixty-two years, leaving a husband and nine children."

On the north side of the monument are these words:

"When, inclined by a published letter describing an aged white woman in the Miami Indian village here, two brothers and a sister visited this place, they identified her. She lived near here about thirty-two years with the Indian name *Ma-con-a-quah*. She died on this ridge March 9, 1847, and was given a Christian burial."

On the west face of the monument is this inscription :

"FRANCES SLOCUM became a stranger to her mother-tongue. She became a stranger to her brethren, and an alien to her mother's children, through her captivity. (See Psalms, LXIX : 8.)

"This monument was erected by Slocums and others who deemed it a pleasure to contribute, and was unveiled by them with public ceremonies May 17, 1900."

In November, 1906, certain descendants of Judge Joseph Slocum (younger brother of Frances), residing in Wilkes-Barré, erected upon the front wall of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society's building, Wilkes-Barré, a bronze tablet commemorative of Frances Slocum; and at the same time, upon one of the walls of the public-school building on North Street, they placed a second tablet, indicating the spot, near by, where formerly stood the house of Jonathan Slocum from which Frances was carried away in 1778. The Historical Society tablet bears a diagram showing the location of the Slocum house of 1778 with relation to the present North and Scott Streets and Pennsylvania Avenue; while the inscription upon this tablet (a photo-reproduction of which is herewith given) reads as follows :



"In Memory of FRANCES SLOCUM—*Ma-con-a-quah*—'the Lost Sister of Wyoming.' Captured by Delaware Indians when five years old, November 2, 1778, near the southwest corner of North Pennsylvania Avenue and East North Street, Wilkes-Barré, Pennsylvania. She was the daughter of Jonathan and Ruth (*Tripp*) Slocum, and was discovered living near Peru, Indiana, by her relatives September 22, 1837, and died March 9, 1847. Erected by members of the Slocum family November 2, 1906."

In the Summer of 1907 George Slocum Bennett of Wilkes-Barré, a grand-nephew of Frances Slocum, presented to his native city, for a children's public play-ground, a lot of land containing an acre, or more, at the northeast corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and Scott Street. This lot, which lies within a stone's throw of the site of the old home of Jonathan Slocum, formed at one time a part of his estate, and in consequence it has been named by the Wilkes-Barré Park Commission "The Frances Slocum Play-ground."

A considerable amount, both of prose and poetry, has been written and published during the last seventy years relative to the eventful life of Frances Slocum. The first detailed account of her capture and recovery appeared in Stone's "Poetry and History of Wyoming," published late in the year 1840. This was followed two years later by the Rev. John Todd's "The Lost Sister of Wyoming," previously referred to herein. Miner, in his "History of Wyoming" (published in 1845), gives a brief account of the capture and recovery of "the lost sister," while Dr. Peck, in his "Wyoming" (published in 1858), devotes one chapter of fifty pages to "The Captive Girl, Frances Slocum." In 1891 the "Biography of Frances Slocum, the Lost Sister of Wyoming," by John F. Meginness of Williamsport, Pennsylvania, was published.

This is an 8vo book of 250 pages, prepared with great care and at considerable expense, and it is the most complete and authentic account of the life of Frances Slocum heretofore published. Next to this publication, in the matter of elaborateness and authenticity, but surpassing it in general "make-up," is "Frances Slocum, the Lost Sister of Wyoming," by Mrs. Martha (*Bennett*) Phelps of Wilkes-Barré. This is a 12mo volume of 167 pages, and was published in 1905. Mrs. Phelps is a grand-daughter of Judge Joseph Slocum, and therefore a grand-niece of Frances Slocum.





CHAPTER XVIII.

THE SULLIVAN EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SIX NATIONS—A CONTINENTAL MILITARY POST ESTABLISHED AT WILKES-BARRÉ
—CAPT. JOHN FRANKLIN'S COMPANY OF
WESTMORELAND MILITIA.

“Strike the lyre in warning strain !
Wake the hearts of daring men !
Bid them for their country stand,
Guard their homes and cherished land !
Tyrants trampling on their rights,
Savage hordes whose presence blights,
March their homes to desolate—
Bid them rise ere yet too late !
Strike the lyre in martial strain !
Rouse to action valiant men !”

—*Steuben Jenkins, 1878.*

The frequent incursions of bands of Indians into Wyoming Valley during the Autumn and early part of the Winter of 1778—attended as they always were with murder and rapine—began to awaken attention and demand serious consideration on the part of the military authorities of the General Government and the civil and military authorities of Pennsylvania ; as well as to excite general alarm in the minds of the people living along the frontiers in the south-eastern part of Pennsylvania. The Government of Connecticut, however (if we may judge by the best evidence now at hand), took little interest at this time in the affairs of Wyoming. And this condition of disregard and inattention existed notwithstanding the fact that Connecticut claimed and exercised jurisdiction over the Wyoming region and demanded and received tribute from its inhabitants ; and in spite of the fact that appeals from Wyoming for aid and protection had been made to the General Assembly of the State in the Autumn of 1778 (as narrated on page 1104), and were made again in January, 1779, when Colonel Denison and Lieut. Asahel Buck were present at the Assembly as Representatives from Westmoreland.

For some time it had been the judgment of Washington that the war should be carried into the country of the inimical Indians ; it being argued that the surest way to protect the border settlements of New

York and Pennsylvania was to weaken the power of the principal adversaries. "It was known that in the fertile valleys of the Genesee and along the lakes of central New York large crops of corn and other vegetables were raised, not for the support of the Indians alone, but as supplies for the British army. It was thought that if these crops should be destroyed, and the Indians driven back upon the British garrisons which were maintained at Niagara and Oswego, it would largely increase the expense of the British Government in carrying on the war, embarrass their operations through the failure of their expected supplies, place a greater distance between the Indians and the frontiers, and teach them wholesome lessons of the power of the Colonies to visit upon them the vengeance which their cruelties deserved. The territory it was proposed to lay waste was that occupied by the Senecas and the Cayugas, the two most powerful nations of the Iroquois, and the most haughty and implacable in their enmity to the people of the States."

As early as August, 1778, Gen. John Armstrong of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, had suggested to the Pennsylvania authorities (as noted on page 1081) that a formidable military expedition should be sent into the Indian country. At Poughkeepsie, New York, under the date of October 15, 1778, George Clinton, Governor of New York, wrote to General Washington in part as follows*: "I find it impossible to secure the frontier settlements [of New York] against the depredations of the enemy by the utmost exertions I am able to make with the militia." He then suggested that offensive operations should be set on foot against the enemy at Oghwaga†—"a considerable Indian settlement not far distant from the New York frontier settlements, and the principal place of rendezvous for the enemy." Some time later Governor Clinton addressed a communication to the New York Delegates in Congress relative to the frequent depredations of the enemy on the frontiers, and said: "To defend the inhabitants by a militia harassed as ours are, will be impossible. * * In this situation I can only apply to you to know whether Congress mean to pursue any offensive measures against the savages."

At Sunbury, Pennsylvania, under the date of December 13, 1778, Col. Samuel Hunter, Lieutenant of the County of Northumberland, wrote to Vice President Reed of Pennsylvania in part as follows‡:

"I am sorry at Col. [Thomas] Hartley leaving this County; for to do him justice he made the best use possible, of what troops was under his command, for the protection of the frontiers. Last month we were alarmed by an express from Wyoming, * * but when Colonel Hartley and myself issued orders to the inhabitants to assemble at such and such places, I never see them turn out more spirited than they did on this occasion. * * Several of them that had lately come back to the County told me they *would rather die fighting than leave their homes again*, as their families suffered for want of the necessities of life while they were absent from this County; and I believe this to be the case, for the generality of the people that has not suffered by this cruel, savage war that is carried on by the Indians and worse than Indians, turn their backs upon the poor people that was obliged to fly and leave their all behind them."

At Wilkes-Barré, on January 4, 1779, Col. Zebulon Butler received the following letter§:

"MINISINK, 17th Decr. 1778.

"The business on which I address you will, I trust, excuse the liberty I take with a gentleman to whom I am an utter stranger. His Excellency General Washington has

* See "Public Papers of George Clinton," IV: 163.

† Frequently mentioned hereinbefore.

‡ See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, VII: 117.

§ See "Proceedings and Collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," VII: 148.

been pleased to order me to the command of a body of troops assembled here for the defence of this frontier, with the general direction of the troops on the Susquehannah—if any mode of co-operation can be fallen on. As this place is within seventy miles of Wioming, I could easily march the troops on this station to join those on Susquehannah, at that place, if an expedition against the Indian settlements be practicable at this season—on which I beg your opinion and advice. And also request to know if any provision, forage, and pack-horses can be depended on at Wioming; how far it is to Chemung; how the roads, and what depth of snow usually falls at this season; if the rivers and creeks are generally frozen so as to pass them on the ice; and if snow-shoes be necessary, how many pair can be procured in your neighborhood. I beg your answer by return of this express, and am, Sir,

"Your obedient H'mble Servant,"

[Signed]




BRIG. GEN. EDWARD HAND.*

At Wilkes-Barré, under the date of January 10, 1779, Col. Zebulon Butler wrote to General Hand, at Minisink, as follows† :

"*Honord Sir.*—Rec'd yours of ye 17. Decr. 1778 on the 4th Jan^y 1779. I immediately sent an Express to Sunbury who returned this Day with the enclosed letter from Capt. Stoddard who commands there in Col. Hartleys absence. Sir, I am very Happy to find that A Gentleman of your Character is appointed to the command on these Fronteers. Shall allways be happy in receiving and obeying your Orders. Inclosed I send you the Returns of the strength of this Place as to men Ammunition, &c.

"The distance from this to Chemung is about 100 miles, the rode impossabel to pass any other way in the Summer season than by Pack Horses or boats and I think it not Possabel to pass either way at this season with any sufficient quantity of Provision for an army sufficient to go against such an enemy as we probably shall meet with. The Ice in the River is such that we cannot pass by water, and the cricks are Numerous and uncertain passing. At this season the depth of the Snow is usually from 15 inches to two feet deep. Snow shoes will be necessary and can be had hear if men can be procured to make them, as the Comessary has a number of raw hides.

"If from these representations your Honour should think a Winter expedition not practicabel I would propose whether (after your knowing the quantity of provision &c.)

* EDWARD HAND was born in Kings County, Ireland, December 31, 1744. In 1774 he accompanied the 18th Royal Irish Regiment to this country as Surgeon's Mate, but shortly after his arrival he resigned and settled in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in the practise of medicine. His home was on the banks of the Conestoga, near the town of Lancaster. He was commissioned June 25, 1775, Lieutenant Colonel of Thompson's Battalion of Pennsylvania Riflemen. This battalion became the 2d Regiment "of the army of the United Colonies, commanded by His Excellency, Gen. George Washington, Commander-in-Chief," and before the middle of August, 1775, had joined the American forces assembled near Boston. Edward Burd and Jesse Lukens, mentioned hereinbefore, were "independent volunteers" in Thompson's battalion, and took part with it in the siege of Boston. Early in November, 1775, Lieut. Colonel Hand was with his regiment in camp on Prospect Hill, near Boston (see "Pennsylvania in the Revolution," I : 11 and 12, for letters written by him at that time), and shortly afterwards he went home on leave of absence. The new army organization commenced January 1, 1776, and Thompson's Battalion became the 1st Pennsylvania Regiment of the Continental Line. In February and March, 1776, Lieut. Colonel Hand was in command of the regiment, Colonel Thompson being at his home in Pennsylvania. Colonel Thompson having been promoted Brigadier General, Lieut. Colonel Hand was commissioned Colonel March 7, 1776. One week later the 1st Regiment and five other regiments were placed under the command of Maj. Gen. John Sullivan by order of Washington and detached to New York, where they arrived March 28th. About two weeks later Colonel Hand and his regiment were stationed at New Utrecht, Long Island.

The 1st Pennsylvania Regiment began its new term of service July 1, 1776, in camp on Long Island—the term of enlistment being two years. The battle of Long Island took place August 27, 1776, and the retreat of the Continental army from the Island followed. For the services of Colonel Hand and his regiment on that occasion, see "Pennsylvania in the Revolution," I : 305, *et seq.*; also Sparks' "American Biography," VIII : 325. Colonel Hand and his regiment participated in the battle of Trenton, fought December 26, 1776, as mentioned on page 485, Vol. I. March 25, 1777, the following advertisement appeared in the *Pennsylvania Packet* (Philadelphia) over the name of Colonel Hand. "Many of the soldiers of my regiment having strayed from the hospitals into the country, on

your Honour would not think it best to send 100 or 150 more men here for Winter quarters. Barracks can be had for them. The last letter I had from Col. Hartley he informed me that a regt. was coming to this Post, and the Bord of War had directed him to make the following Arrangement—that is if a reinforcement of Troops came to this Post that the detachment from his regt. at this post and at Fort Jinkings joyn the regt. at Sunbury. (Fort Jinkins is a Post kept with about 50 men on this River about 38 miles down from this Post) and that the troops that came here should garrison this Post and Fort Jinkins. But your Honnour can order these affairs as you think propper.

"The Express I send you I have ordered to return to me as soon as Possibel after you dismiss him.

"I am with Esteem Your Honnors Most Obedt Humbel Servt,

[Signed] "ZEBN BUTLER Lt Colonel."

"N. B. If you should think best I will be preparing for boats, desiring your directions. And I think it my duty to let you know that letters of consequence should not be intrusted to the care of Colonel Stroud. Wheather through Inattention to Publick Business, or Design, or multiplicity of privet business I cannot say, but the letters from your Honor to Col. Hartley and myself lay at his House till the 1st Jan^r 1779—and that is not the first time he has done the like.

"Your H. Servt,

[Signed] "Z. BUTLER."

In reply to this letter General Hand wrote to Colonel Butler under the date of January 13, 1779, at Minisink, as follows† :

"Your favour of the 10th inst. now lies before me. I am much obliged to you for the diligence you have used, and the candour with which you give your information and advice on so important a subject. Your sentiments and those of Captain Stoddert justify His Excellency, General Washington's, apprehensions of the impracticability, or at best the doubtful success, of an expedition at this season, inasmuch that I am persuaded the intelligence I now receive from the Susquehanna—which he has desired me to transmit to him—will determine him to give over all thought of it."

Early in 1779 the British authorities at Fort Niagara became convinced that preparations were being made by the Americans for a military expedition into the Indian country of western New York, and thereupon reliable scouts were sent out from Niagara to various points to watch and report upon the movements of the Americans. Under the date of February 2, 1779, Maj. John Butler wrote from Niagara to General Haldimand: "Mr. Secord is sent to Chemung for the purpose of keeping a constant watch upon the rebels towards Wyoming, from whence I daily expect intelligence, as parties have been out that way for some time." The "parties" thus referred to by Major Butler were the bands of Indians and Tories which had been harassing the inhabitants of Wyoming during the Winter of 1778-'79, as previously narrated. According to an official return§ made at Fort Niagara January 26, 1779, by Lieut. Col. Mason Bolton, relative to the arrivals and departures (since December 30, 1778) of the several parties of Indians

various pretenses, and have not yet returned; they are thus publicly called on to join the regiment or send proper certificates that they are not yet able, within one month from the date hereof; otherwise they will be treated as deserters." One week later Colonel Hand was promoted Brigadier General, and soon thereafter he was ordered on command to Fort Pitt (now Pittsburgh), Pennsylvania. In 1778 he succeeded General Stark in command at Albany, New York. In November, 1778 (at the time of the Cherry Valley massacre), and for some time previously, he had his headquarters at Schenectady. General Hand was appointed Adjutant General of the army January 8, 1781, and was promoted Major General September 30, 1783.

"Although he was of daring disposition, General Hand won the affection of his troops by his amiability and gentleness." General Hand was a member of Congress in 1784 and '85; in October, 1788, he was chosen a Presidential Elector for Pennsylvania, and in 1790 he was a member of the convention which framed a new constitution for Pennsylvania. Charles Miner states ("History of Wyoming," page 275) that General Hand stood "high in the confidence of Washington; so much so, that when, in 1798-'9, he consented to take command of the army being raised to resist the aggressions of France, that great and good man desired the appointment of General Hand as Adjutant General. He [Hand] was extremely beloved by his men, and served with great usefulness and honor. The old Wyoming soldiers speak of his noble horsemanship." General Hand was a Free Mason, and in 1781 was Master of Military Lodge No. 19, mentioned hereinafter. He died of cholera morbus at Rockland, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, September 4, 1802, after a few hours' illness, and was buried in the Episcopal church-yard in the city of Lancaster.

† The original draft of this letter, in the handwriting of Colonel Butler, is now in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. See, also, F. C. Johnson's "Historical Record," IV : 50.

‡ See Miner's "History of Wyoming," page 260, note.

§ See the "Haldimand Papers"—B. M. 21,765, B. CV : 90.



VIEW OF THE KINGSTON SHORE OF THE SUSQUEHANNA.
South of the Market Street bridge, Wilkes-Barre.

belonging to the different nations gathered at Fort Niagara, there were then present there 1,581 warriors, and absent on the war-path, 1,042; making a total of 2,623 Indian warriors of various nations who made their headquarters at and near Fort Niagara.*

For a number of years about 1779 the principal road in the lower part of Kingston Township ran lengthways of the Flats† (through the present borough of Dorranceton), bisecting, at the Kingston-Plymouth boundary-line, the road running from the margin of the river (opposite Northampton Street, Wilkes-Barré) to a point west of the main branch of Toby's Creek—as described on page 1090. Crossing the Kingston-Plymouth boundary-line, the first-mentioned road ran straight across the Upper Plymouth Flats to the river, where, at the upper end of Wilkes-Barré, or Fish's, Island, there was a ford which led over to the Wilkes-Barré Flats. (See page 50, Vol. I.) Thenceforward the road continued in a south-westerly direction to Hanover—and this portion of the road is still in existence; one section being called "Old River Road," and the other section, "Carey Avenue." (See the map of Wilkes-Barré in Chapter XXVIII.)

In Kingston Township, near the crossing of the two roads just described, the inhabitants of Westmoreland erected in the Winter of 1778-'79 a small log block-house, which, upon its completion, was occupied by a detail of soldiers from Fort Wyoming, chiefly for the purpose of guarding the approaches, on the west side of the river, to the Wilkes-Barré ferry.

On February 18, 1779,‡ Lieut. Asahel Buck (see pages 977 and 1145), Frederick Follett (see page 467), Elihu Williams, Sr.,§ and Stephen Pettebone,|| who had gone from Fort Wyoming to the upper end of Kingston on a scouting expedition, were returning to Wilkes-Barré, in broad daylight, by way of the Kingston Flats road. When opposite Center (now Market) Street, Wilkes-Barré, near two



THE "TWIN SISTERS."

* At Niagara, under the date of April 2, 1779, Maj. John Butler wrote to General Haldimand: "The Senecas, Delawares, and others have been very active during the Winter, and have had various successful skirmishes along the frontiers. There are now between 400 and 500 out in different places."

† It followed almost exactly the course of the old Indian "path to Wyalusing," noted on the "Plot of the Manor of Sunbury," on page 454, Vol. I.

‡ Not February 23, 1779, as printed on page 468.

§ ELIHU WILLIAMS, SR., accompanied by his wife, Desire, and two sons and four daughters, removed in 1773 from Canterbury, Windham County, Connecticut, to the valley of Wyoming, and settled on a tract of land in Plymouth Township, lying between Toby's Eddy and the Kingston-Plymouth boundary-line. Upon the organization of the town of Westmoreland in March, 1774, Elihu Williams, Sr., was chosen one of the seven Tything-men for the town. In the Westmoreland tax-list for 1776 the names of Elihu Williams, Sr., and his eldest son Rufus appear, and in the lists for 1777 and 1778 their names and the name of Elihu Williams, Jr., appear, as inhabitants of Plymouth. All three men were members of the 3d Company (Asaph Whittlesey, Captain), 24th Regiment, Connecticut Militia, and they took part in the battle of July 3, 1778. The two sons were slain, but the father escaped to Forty Fort, whither his wife and younger children had previously repaired. After the capitulation of Forty Fort Mr. Williams fled from the Valley with his family (his youngest child was then only two years of age), going over the mountains and through the swamps to Fort Penn. From there the mother and children made their way to their old home in Canterbury, but Mr. Williams returned to Wilkes-Barré in August in the detachment of militia commanded by Col. Zebulon Butler. (See page 1096.) Mrs. Desire Williams, accompanied by her children, returned to Plymouth

Township from Connecticut in the Summer of 1782, and in the following November letters of administration upon the estate of her deceased husband were granted to her by the Probate Court of Westmoreland—John Dorrance becoming her surety on a bond for £300. The children of Elihu and Desire Williams—other than the sons named above—were: Esther, Desire, Martha, Lucy (born in 1768; became the wife of ——— Ives), and Darius.

The last-named was born in Plymouth Township in 1776. Col. H. B. Wright, referring to him in his "Historical Sketches of Plymouth" (1873), says: "Darius Williams was for many years a local Methodist Episcopal preacher, and a man of strong mind and peculiar powers of eloquence. The writer has often heard him preach. He had great earnestness of manner, and his language was strong and well chosen. He earned, and very justly, too, the reputation of not only being a good and exemplary man, but also of possessing a high order of talents. He died at the old homestead, probably about thirty years ago." Cynthia Williams, a daughter of Darius Williams, was married at Kingston, June 18, 1829, to Reuben Jones, for many years thereafter a well-known resident of Kingston.

|| STEPHEN PETTEBONE, or PETTIBONE, was born at Simsbury, Connecticut, in September, 1755, fifth child of Noah and Huldah (Williams) Pettibone, and great-grandson of John Pettibone, the founder of the family in this country. (Originally the surname of this family was spelled "Pettibone," and it was so spelled for many years by the Wyoming Valley branch of the family.) John, the founder, was a French Huguenot, who came to America from England about 1650, and was a proprietor and freeman at Windsor, Connecticut, as early as 1658. In the latter part of 1669 he became one of the first settlers at Simsbury. He was married at Windsor February 16, 1664, to Sarah, daughter of Begat Eggleston. John Pettibone died at Simsbury July 15, 1713, his wife having died one week previously. They were the parents of nine children—three born in Windsor and six in Simsbury—the third of whom was Stephen Pettibone, born October 3, 1669. He was married (1st) to Deborah, daughter of Samuel Bissell, and their third child was Noah Pettibone, born at Simsbury April 16, 1714.

Noah Pettibone was married (1st) to Huldah Williams, about 1745, and they settled in Simsbury, where the following-named children were born to them: (i) *Esther*, born in June, 1747; married to William Allsworth of Dutchess County, New York, and later of Luzerne County, Pennsylvania; died May 1, 1833. (ii) *Huldah*, born in August, 1749; became the wife of Benjamin Atwater. (iii) *Noah*, born in November, 1751; killed at the battle of Wyoming, July 3, 1778. (iv) *Hannah*, born October 18, 1753; became the wife of Joseph Shaw. (v) *Stephen*, born in September, 1755; killed by Indians (as related above) February 18, 1779. (vi) *Dolly*, born June 9, 1767; married in 1777 to Timothy Stevens. (vii) *Lydia*, born in December, 1759; became the wife of John Vaughn. (viii) *Oliver*, born May 13, 1762; died March 17, 1832. (See below.)

Late in 1762, or early in 1763, Noah Pettibone, Sr., removed with his wife and children from Simsbury to Amenia Precinct, Dutchess County, New York, and there, a year or two later, Mrs. Huldah (Williams) Pettibone died. The present writer, following in the footsteps of other writers, has stated in his "History of Lodge No. 61, F. and A. M." (published in 1897), that "Noah Pettibone, Sr., was one of the settlers who came to Wyoming from Connecticut in the Spring of 1769, but who were driven from the Valley by the Pennamites in November of the same year." This statement is erroneous, inasmuch as Mr. Pettibone came to Wyoming for the first time in July, 1771, he and several of his friends and neighbors in Amenia being members of the company of adventurers (commanded by Zebulon Butler) which had been organized under the auspices of The Susquehanna Company to retake possession of the Wyoming lands from the Pennamites. (See pages 691-694, *ante*.) At Wilkes-Barré, August 16, 1773, Noah Pettibone, Sr., received payment from Captain Butler of his "bounty of five dollars" for "assisting" in that successful work. (See page 710, *ante*.)

At that time Mr. Pettibone was, undoubtedly, a proprietor in The Susquehanna Company, and, as such, entitled to a share, or right, of land in the Company's Purchase; but early in 1772 he bought of Asahel Buck (see page 1149)—then of Amenia Precinct, but later of Kingston, Wyoming Valley—Meadow Lot No. 22 in Kingston. Upon this lot (which lies wholly, or in part, in the upper end of the present borough of Dorranceton) Mr. Pettibone immediately erected a log house and established his home—being joined in the Spring of 1772 by his sons Noah and Stephen. Shortly afterwards he was married (2d) to Phebe Tubbs, and later he brought from Amenia to his home in Kingston three of his daughters (who were still unmarried) and his youngest son. The name of Noah Pettibone appears in the Kingston tax-lists for 1776, 1777 and 1778.

Although Noah Pettibone, Sr., was sixty-four years of age in 1778, yet he was an enrolled member of the 1st Alarm List Company of the 24th Regiment (see page 922), and when the battle of July 3d took place he was on duty at Forty Fort. After the capitulation of the fort he made his way to Fort Penn with his wife, his son Oliver, and one or two of his daughters. There he joined the detachment of militia commanded by Colonel Butler, and marched with it to Wilkes-Barré in August (see page 1080), while his wife and children made their way to Amenia Precinct. As shown by the muster-roll printed on page 1096, Mr. Pettibone was in continuous service as a militia-man from June 28 till, at least, October 1, 1778. After the murder of his son Stephen he joined his wife and children in Amenia Precinct, where he resided until the Summer or early Autumn of 1781, when, with his wife, he returned to his former home in Kingston. There he resided until his death, March 28, 1791. His wife, Phebe, died at some time between the years 1784 and 1791.

(iii) *Noah Pettibone, Jr.*, came to Wyoming first in the Spring of 1772, being then in the twenty-first year of his life. In 1775 or '76 he was married to Lucy, daughter of Obadiah Scott of Westmoreland, and they settled in Plymouth. A year or more later Noah Pettibone acquired certain lands in the new township of Huntington, which lay in the district of Plymouth—as established by vote of the inhabitants of Westmoreland. (See page 794.) The name of Noah Pettibone, Jr., appears in the tax-lists of "Plymouth District" for the years 1776, '77 and '78. He was a private in the 3d Company, 24th Regiment, Connecticut Militia, and, taking part with his company in the battle of Wyoming, fell early in the engagement. Under the date of November 27, 1778, letters of administration upon his estate were granted by Nathan Denison, "Judge of the Court of Probate for the District of Westmoreland, in the State of Connecticut, in *New England*," to "Noah Pettibone." The original "Letters," in the handwriting of, and signed by, "John Jenkins, Clerk [of the Court]," are now in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. In 1800 or 1801 Obadiah Scott deposed before the Commissioners under the Compromise Law of 1799 (see page 25, Vol. I, and Chapter XXVI) that Noah Pettibone, Jr., came to Huntington early in the Spring of 1778 and built a house and planted a garden on Lot No. 16, 1st Division; that he was killed in the "Indian battle;" that he had two children by his wife, both of whom died in childhood; that his widow married Amariah Watson of Huntington.

(v) *Stephen Pettibone* was just twenty-one years of age when, in September, 1776, he was mustered into the Continental service as a private in the "First Westmoreland Independent Company," commanded by Capt. Robert Durkee. (See page 892.) With this company he served until it was consolidated with the "Second Company" (Ransom's) under Captain Spalding. With the latter he marched to Wilkes-Barré in August, 1778, and was in service at the Wyoming Garrison at the time of his death. His name was unintentionally omitted by the writer from the list of Spalding's company printed on page 981. Stephen Pettibone was unmarried.

(viii) *Oliver Pettibone*, or *Pettebone*, born in Simsbury, Connecticut, May 13, 1762, removed with his parents to Amenia Precinct, and in 1772 or '73 joined his father and brothers in Kingston, Wyoming Valley. He was nearly sixteen years old when the battle of Wyoming occurred, and was

in Forty Fort when it was surrendered to the British. As previously related, he made his way back to his old home in Amenia, where he continued to reside until December 21, 1783, when he was married to Martha (born July 25, 1763), daughter of Dr. Barnabas and Mary (*Burrows*) Payne, and then settled at Livingston Manor, New York. In the Spring of 1788, having purchased a tract of land in Kingston Township, Wyoming Valley, near that of his father, Oliver Pettibone removed thither with his wife and three children, and there he continued to live until his death. In 1799 and 1800 he was a member of the Kingston Town Committee for the sale of the public lands of the township. In 1802-05 he was one of the Commissioners of Luzerne County, and for several years about 1813 he was a Captain in the Pennsylvania Militia. Charles Miner (in his "Wyoming," Appendix, page 13) wrote of him in 1838: "The writer remembers him well as he appeared thirty years ago. He was tall, slender, but well made, of frank and agreeable manners. We knew him in public life as Commissioner of the County, a vigilant and faithful officer; and as a private gentleman, liberal and kind, ever assiduous to please. He was a man of perfect integrity and honor." Capt. Oliver Pettibone died March 17, 1832, at his home in Kingston Township, and his wife died there on Christmas day 1833.

The children of Oliver and Martha (*Payne*) Pettibone were as follows: (1) *Oliver*, born at Livingston Manor September 9, 1784; died in Kingston Township December 6, 1813. (2) *Esther*, born at Livingston Manor September 15, 1785; married at Wilkes-Barré February 25, 1804, to George Trucks; died September 25, 1835. (3) *Payne*, born at Livingston Manor January 24, 1787; died August 13, 1814. (See below.) (4) *Joshua*, born in Kingston Township August 31, 1788; died March 29, 1877. (See below.) (5) *Marcia*, born November 3, 1790; became the wife of Samuel Thomas; died July 24, 1865. (See below.) (6) *Lucy*, born September 12, 1792; became the wife of Col. Erastus Hill; died at Kingston January 12, 1842. (7) *Mary*, born October 21, 1794; died January 19, 1869. (8) *Nancy*, born November 13, 1796; died May 14, 1888. (9) *Noah*, born July 27, 1798; died December 11, 1866. (See below.) (10) *Huldah*, born February 14, 1801; died November 25, 1801. (11) *Henry*, born October 5, 1802; died May 5, 1861. (See next page.) (12) *Martha*, born December 30, 1804; died February 26, 1838. (13) *Stephen*, born February 2, 1807; died August 5, 1810.

(3) *Payne Pettibone* was married in Kingston Township November 27, 1810, by the Rev. Ard Hoyt, to Sarah (born April 4, 1793), eldest daughter of Joseph and Mary (*Lee*) Tuttle. Joseph Tuttle, son of Henry Tuttle, was born in Rockaway, Morris County, New Jersey, January 19, 1772, and removed with his father to Kingston Township, Wyoming Valley, in 1785—settling on the banks of Abraham's Creek. Prior to 1798 Henry Tuttle built a small two-story frame grist-mill on this creek, just south-east of the road running from Kingston to Pittston. It stood very near what is now known as the "stone-arched bridge," almost on the dividing line between the present boroughs of Forty Fort and Wyoming. Henry Tuttle ran this mill until 1812, when his son Joseph came into possession of it and ran it for twenty-six years. Forty years ago this little brown mill, perched on the bank of the creek, high above the clear and quiet waters, and overhung and almost surrounded by noble trees, formed a very picturesque view. Joseph Tuttle, mentioned above, was married September 26, 1792, to Mary Lee, daughter of Jesse Lee (originally of Connecticut, but, as early, at least, as 1774 or '75, a resident of Kingston in Wyoming Valley) and his wife Sarah, a daughter of John McDowell, mentioned on page 730, *ante*. Joseph Tuttle died February 11, 1849. *Payne Pettibone* died in Kingston August 18, 1814, and some years later his widow became the wife of David Perkins, Jr., of Kingston. (See page 1108.) She died April 27, 1869. The children of *Payne* and *Sarah (Tuttle) Pettibone* were: (a) *Staughton*, born April 9, 1812; married (1st) in 1835 to Antoinette Dunning, who died March 9, 1845; married (2d) in 1846 to Cornelia Bellamy. For many years Staughton Pettibone was a manufacturer of paper at Niagara Falls, New York, where he died September 1, 1888. (b) *Payne*, born December 23, 1813; married October 3, 1837, to Caroline M. Swetland. (See note on page 1085.) *Payne Pettibone* was for many years a prominent and influential citizen of Wyoming Valley and a man of large wealth. For some time he was Treasurer of the Lackawanna and Bloomsburg Railroad Company and a member of its Board of Directors. At the time of his death he was a Director of the Miners' Savings Bank and the Wyoming National Bank of Wilkes-Barré; President of the Board of Trustees of Wyoming Seminary; a Trustee of Wesleyan University, and also of Drew Theological Seminary. He was also identified with other important institutions and business enterprises, and was an earnest member and a liberal supporter of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He died at his home in the borough of Wyoming March 20, 1888, being survived by his wife and two children—Mrs. Kate Swetland (*Pettibone*) Dickson and Robert Treat Pettibone.

(4) *Joshua Pettibone*, born in Kingston August 31, 1788, was married there in February, 1810, to Eleanor, daughter of Col. Ebenezer Gay, Sr. (born at Litchfield, Connecticut, December 26, 1726; died July 16, 1787) and his second wife, Elizabeth Fairbanks (married November 21, 1765; died December 8, 1827). Fisher Gay of Kingston Township (born at Sharon, Connecticut, May 6, 1778; died July 8, 1857, at his home near the Wyoming Monument, where he had lived for fifty years) was one of the two brothers of Mrs. Eleanor (*Gay*) Pettibone. Joshua and Eleanor (*Gay*) Pettibone were the parents of the following-named children: (a) *Sarah Ann*, born April 4, 1810; married September 6, 1832, to George Reese; died February 12, 1888. (b) *Oliver*, born June 22, 1811; died July 17, 1874. (c) *Samuel Thomas*, born April 27, 1813; married November 18, 1834, to Ann Reel of Kingston; died April 18, 1880. (d) *Elizabeth*, born January 20, 1815; married December 15, 1835, to Oliver Gates Pettibone of Kingston; died July 28, 1857. (e) *Jane*, born February 16, 1817; died December 7, 1829. (f) *Ebenezer Gay*, born November 1, 1818; married to Margaret Seagraves; died February 17, 1887. (g) *Benjamin Dorrance*, born April 20, 1820; died October 16, 1820. (h) *Fisher*, born January 1, 1823; died February 8, 1824. (i) *Mary*, born February 14, 1825; died June 28, 1863. (j) *Esther M.*, born February 24, 1827; died February 20, 1874. (k) *George Trucks*, born October 25, 1829; died March 9, 1849. (l) *Lucinda C.*, born April 6, 1832; married January 24, 1854, to Stephen Hill Pettibone (born August 11, 1829; died October 4, 1905), son of (9) *Noah Pettibone*.

(5) *Marcia Pettibone*, born in Kingston Township November 3, 1790, was married there May 10, 1807, to Samuel Thomas, who was born in Connecticut February 2, 1787, and removed to Kingston in 1806. Samuel Thomas was Captain of the Wyoming Volunteer Matross, an artillery company in the service of the United States during the War of 1812. (See a subsequent chapter for a further account of this organization.) In 1821 Captain Thomas was elected Brigade Inspector of the 2d Brigade, 8th Division, Pennsylvania Militia. This office he held until 1828, when he was elected and commissioned Brigadier General of the 2d Brigade for a term of seven years. In 1825 and again in 1826 he was elected to the Pennsylvania House of Representatives from Luzerne County. In 1834 General Thomas removed with his family from Kingston to the State of Illinois, and settled in Stark County, a few miles east of Toulon, where, in the Spring of 1836, he located and laid out a town which he named "Wyoming"—now a large and thriving place. For many years he was engaged in mercantile pursuits and in farming. In 1846 he represented Stark County in the Illinois Legislature. General Thomas became a member of Lodge No. 61, F. and A. M., Wilkes-Barré, November 4, 1811, and retained his connection therewith until his removal to Illinois. He became one of the charter members of Toulon Lodge, No. 93, F. and A. M., constituted at Toulon November 19, 1846. He held at different times important offices in the Lodge, and continued to be a member in good standing until his death, which occurred at his home in Wyoming, Illinois, July 13, 1879.

(9) *Noah Pettibone*, born in Kingston July 27, 1798, was married there (1st) November 30, 1820, to Sarah Sharps (born January 17, 1800), daughter of John Sharps of Wyoming, and granddaughter of John Sharps (born in 1752; died October 3, 1831) and his wife Christianna, of Greenwich, New

sizable elm trees* which stood alongside the road, and within less than 400 yards of the Kingston block-house, previously mentioned, they were ambushed by a band of twenty Delaware Indians. Lieutenant Buck and Messrs. Williams and Pettebone were instantly killed, while Frederick Follett fell lacerated with seven spear-wounds. Knowing that the Indians would strike while signs of life remained, Mr. Follett, by the exercise of all his fortitude and will power, managed to lie perfectly still. Believing him to be dead the Indians hastily scalped him, as well as the three men who were unquestionably dead. All this was done in

Jersey. Mrs. Sarah (*Sharps*) Pettebone having died December 20, 1843, Noah Pettebone was married (2d) to Margaret Nice (born at Philadelphia November 3, 1811), daughter of William and Nancy (*Nice*) Speece. Noah Pettebone died at his home in Kingston December 11, 1867, and his wife Margaret Nice died there June 12, 1882. The following are the names of the children of (9) Noah and Sarah (*Sharps*) Pettebone: (a) *Jacob Sharps*, born September 17, 1821; married March 2, 1851, to Sarah Williamson; died December 26, 1895. (b) *Henry*, born February 8, 1824; died November 4, 1826. (c) *John Sharps*, born May 2, 1826. (d) *Stephen Hill*, born August 11, 1829; married January 24, 1854, to (1) Lucinda Pettebone; died October 4, 1905. (e) *Martha Ann*, born April 24, 1832; died January 23, 1884. (f) *George*, born February 24, 1835; died October 12, 1836. (g) *Noah*, born August 5, 1838; married January 14, 1864, to Jane, daughter of George and Sarah (*White*) Renard, and has two sons and two daughters living. The children of (9) Noah and Margaret N. (*Speece*) Pettebone are as follows: (h) *Sarah Elizabeth*, born November 13, 1847; married to Wesley N. Johnson. (i) *Walter Speece*, born December 21, 1852. (j) *Harper Nice*, born March 14, 1857.

(11) *Henry Pettebone* was born in Kingston Township October 5, 1802. He entered the Wilkes-Barré Academy in 1818, and having pursued a course of study there he studied law with Garrick Mallery, Wilkes-Barré, and was admitted to the Bar of Luzerne County August 3, 1825. In 1828, in conjunction with Henry Held, he established in Wilkes-Barré the *Republican Farmer and Democratic Journal*, a weekly newspaper, of which he served as editor for a time. In 1831 he sold out his interest in the establishment to J. J. Adam. Mr. Pettebone was appointed by Governor Wolf of Pennsylvania, February 17, 1830, Prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas, and Clerk of the Orphans' Court, Quarter Sessions and Oyer and Terminer, of Luzerne County, for the regular term of three years. January 21, 1833, he was reappointed for a second term, which he served, and was succeeded in January, 1836, by Dr. John Smith. From 1836 to 1838 Mr. Pettebone was one of the Managers of the Wilkes-Barré Bridge Company. From 1836 to 1848 he was engaged—part of the time alone and the rest of the time as a partner of Charles Denison—in the practise of his profession before the Courts of Luzerne County; also, during the same period, he carried on alone, and then in partnership with others, a mercantile business in Wilkes-Barré. (In July, 1841, "Henry Pettebone & Co." opened a store for the sale of general merchandise "at the store-room formerly occupied by Jacob Cist, a few doors below the Phoenix Hotel, on River Street.")

In 1841 Henry Pettebone, the Hon. Chester Butler and Capt. Hezekiah Parsons were appointed by the citizens of Wyoming Valley to repair to Hartford, Connecticut, to petition the General Assembly of that State for pecuniary aid in finishing the Wyoming Monument. (See Chapter XXVII.) To succeed the Hon. Ziba Bennett, who had resigned, Governor Shunk of Pennsylvania appointed Mr. Pettebone an Associate Judge of the Courts of Luzerne County March 6, 1845; and in November of the same year the Governor commissioned him a Notary Public. He served as Judge until November, 1849, when he resigned and was succeeded by Edmund Taylor of Wilkes-Barré. Judge Pettebone then served for a time as Clerk of the Pennsylvania State Senate. For several years after that—until about 1857—he was actively engaged in superintending extensive contracts which he had in hand on the Pennsylvania Gravity Railroad and on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. In 1857 or '58 he became Secretary and General Ticket Agent of the Lackawanna and Bloomsburg Railroad Company. This position he held until the day of his death—having his office in the borough of Kingston.

Henry Pettebone became a member of Lodge No. 61, F. and A. M., Wilkes-Barré, April 9, 1824, and in the following December was elected and installed Junior Warden of the Lodge—Garrick Mallery, his preceptor in the law, being at that time Master of the Lodge. Mr. Pettebone served as Master of the Lodge in 1832, 1845 and 1848, and in the years 1845-'51 and 1856-'57 he was District Deputy Grand Master of the Masonic District comprising the counties of Luzerne, Susquehanna, Wayne, Bradford and Pike. He was the first Scribe of Shekinah Chapter, No. 182, Royal Arch Masons, constituted at Wilkes-Barré February 13, 1856, and in 1857 was High Priest of the Chapter. He was also a Knight Templar.

Henry Pettebone was married in 1825 to Elizabeth (born September 30, 1803; died July 8, 1847), daughter of John Sharps, previously mentioned, and they became the parents of three children, to wit: (a) *Martha*, born in 1826; married in 1844 to William Streator, son of Dr. Charles Streator of Wilkes-Barré. (b) *Sarah*, born March 12, 1828; died April 21, 1836. (c) *William S.*, born July 1, 1830; died April 15, 1847.

Judge Pettebone died suddenly at his home in Kingston May 5, 1861. His remains were interred with the honors of Free Masonry by Lodge No. 61 in St. Stephen's Episcopal Church-yard, Wilkes-Barré, but some years later they were removed to Forty Fort Cemetery, where they now lie.

* These trees are still (1907) standing, although the trunk of the larger of the two—the one at the right hand side in the illustration on page 1149—weakened by decay, has recently been split in twain by a wind storm. The following paragraph concerning these trees was printed in the *Record of the Times*, Wilkes-Barré, June 28, 1854. "We must, however, ascribe the greatest perfection of symmetry and grace to the two noble old elms that stand, adorned with every shade of beauty, upon the left of the road, near the 'Pond Hole,' as you go from Wilkes-Barré to Kingston. As we gaze upon them we are struck with admiration at their surpassing loveliness. In their perfect magnificence they arrest and completely fascinate every admirer that watches the graceful waving of their long, arched, pendulous branches. Such trees are sacred. They were left by our fathers, and they should be left by us, to stand not only as ornaments, but also as representatives of past generations. They are too noble to be cut down!" Sixteen years later, in the *Record of the Times* of June 1, 1870, the following was printed relative to these same trees. "It may not be generally known that the two beautiful elm trees on the Hollenback estate, just beyond the first 'Pond Hole,' long ago received the name 'Twin Sisters.' One of our citizens lately visiting Norwich, Connecticut, was startled by an inquiry in regard to these 'Twin Sisters' of Wyoming by one whose recollections of the past disposed him to express an interest in the present landmarks of this historic region. These elms have been the observed of all observers. It is to be lamented that cattle browsing in the field have been allowed to trim away the lowest boughs springing from the trunks of these trees. * * * Can any one assign a good and adequate reason for the inequality between these two trees, as they stand upon the same elevation, in the same soil, and with the same exposure?"

plain sight of the occupants of the Kingston block-house and of Fort Wyoming, and a detachment of armed men was immediately sent across the river from the fort; but the Indians had fled and could not be overtaken.* Follett, weltering in his blood, gave signs of life and was taken over to the fort. Dr. William Hooker Smith, on examining his wounds, said that, while everything should be done that kindness and skill could suggest, he regarded a recovery as hopeless. And yet Follett did recover, although his stomach was pierced by a spear-thrust to such an extent that the contents thereof came out through the opening. Miner says that Dr. Smith "gained great credit for restoring Follett to health and usefulness."

Miner says that in March, 1779, bands of savages began to make their appearance, as if, from the contiguity of their towns, an incursion into the Valley, instead of being a matter of toil, was but a pleasure party. On Sunday, the 21st of the month, Josiah Rogers† and Capt.

* On the same day, or the next day, Abel Dewey, Robert Alexander and Amos Parker were killed and scalped by a band of Indians below Salem, on the opposite side of the river, while Michael Kelley and his daughter, of Westmoreland, were taken prisoners. At Fort Niagara, under the date of March 8, 1779, Maj. John Butler reported to General Haldimand that a band of Delawares had "had a skirmish with the enemy at Wyoming," in which they took "three prisoners and seven scalps." (See the "Haldimand Papers," B. M. 21,765, Book CV : 113.)

† JOSIAH ROGERS, son of Hope and Esther (*Mecomb*) Rogers, was born in New England in 1720, and early in 1776 he and his wife (Hannah Ford, born in 1727), accompanied by their son Jonah and his wife and family, immigrated to Wyoming Valley and settled in Plymouth Township. After the battle of Wyoming the Rogerses made preparations to flee from Plymouth. Mrs. Hannah Rogers was in ill health, and in order that she might be taken to a place of safety she was laid on a bed which was lashed to two horses traveling abreast. The party then set out in the night-time, taking their course down along the Susquehanna, two days' journey, and then making their way across the mountains towards the Lehigh. The fatigues and trials of this journey were too great for Mrs. Rogers, and on the 9th of July she died in the wilderness, many miles from any human habitation. A broken piece of board that lay in the path was used for a spade, and in a hollow, formed by the upturned roots of a fallen tree, a shallow grave was made, where the remains of the dead wife and mother were laid. On the board, placed above the grave, was written, with a piece of charred wood, this inscription: "Here rest the remains of HANNAH, wife of JOSIAH ROGERS, who died while fleeing from the Indians after the massacre at Wyoming." The surviving members of the family continued their journey to the German settlements below the Blue Mountains, in Berks County, where they were treated with great kindness and consideration—being supplied with food and helped on their way to New England. In the Autumn of 1778 they returned to Wyoming Valley, but did not venture to take up their residence in Plymouth until the next year, or later. Josiah Rogers died at Plymouth in 1815, in the ninety-sixth year of his age.

Jonah Rogers, son of Josiah and Hannah (*Ford*) Rogers, was married in New England to Delivance Chaffee, who accompanied him to Wyoming in 1776. The name of Jonah Rogers appears in the tax-lists of Plymouth District for 1777 and 1778, and in the Westmoreland lists of 1780 and 1781—the only ones known to be now in existence. We are unable to state the time and place of the death of either Jonah Rogers or his wife. The names of their children—or, at least, some of them—were as follows: (i) *Jonah*, born in 1766; died subsequently to 1833. (ii) *Jose*, born in 1771; in 1800 was Tax Collector of Plymouth; died subsequently to 1838. (iii) *Elisha*, who was living in Plymouth in 1796. (iv) *Hannah*, born in 1776; died in September, 1856. (v) *Joel*, born March 17, 1780; died July 29, 1850.

(i) *Jonah Rogers* was ten years old when he came to Wyoming with his parents and grandparents. After the battle of Wyoming he fled from the Valley with the other members of his father's family; and with them he returned late in the Autumn of 1778. In 1780 he was captured by Indians, but soon made his escape—as is more fully related in a subsequent chapter. He settled in Plymouth, and in 1797 was Collector of Taxes there. About that time he began teaching school in Plymouth, and in that occupation he continued for at least twenty years. Col. H. B. Wright, in his "Historical Sketches of Plymouth" (published in 1873), says: "The old frame Academy, now standing, was built not far from the year 1816. Jonah Rogers kept school in it. He had been taken a prisoner, when a boy of fourteen, by the Indians. * * * The old gentleman was in the habit of repeating, almost daily, in open school, his knowledge of Indian tragedies. He would speak of the number of reeking scalps he had seen strung upon a cord, and dangling from the belt of a red warrior as a trophy of his prowess; how the savages were in the habit of stripping their victims, binding them with thongs to a tree, piercing their naked bodies with sharpened pine knots, and then setting them on fire; how they had inhumanly murdered a man that he knew—pointing to the exact place where it was done, and naming the exact time; how he could detect them [the Indians] by the smell of their smoked and painted bodies, before they were visible to the eye; and how it would be serving God to remove and exterminate the entire race! These were some of the lessons we learned in the old man's school. They were a part of the education of the youth fifty years ago in the township of Plymouth. The old man [Jonah Rogers] was kind and indulgent, and it was not unfrequently that he would resort to these rehearsals as a means of quieting the unruly element of his school; and it worked like a charm, for when he commenced all eyes were fastened upon him, and all ears ajar. An Indian story would produce instantaneous order."

Stewart Pearce, in his "Annals of Luzerne County" (published in 1860), has the following to say relative to Jonah Rogers: "Messrs. Gray, Benedict and Finn had gathered a small congregation [of Baptists] at Plymouth in 1787, and among those baptized were Joel and Jonah Rogers, both of whom became Elders in the Church. They, with Mr. [Jacob] Drake and Mr. [Griffin] Lewis, * * * laid the foundation of the Baptist Church in Huntington, Jackson, Union and Lehman Townships, and indeed in the whole western part of the County. This is the Jonah Rogers who was captured by the savages, and is the *Bugle Boy* of Mr. McCoy's 'Frontier Maid.' He had participated in the early trials and dangers of the first settlers, and was esteemed a valuable citizen; and when, in after life, he espoused the Christian faith, and exhorted the people to believe and be baptized, his exhortation

James Bidlack (see page 999) left Fort Wyoming on horseback with the intention of going to Plymouth. Crossing the river by means of the ferry at the foot of Northampton Street, they continued their journey on the road running along the Plymouth-Kingston boundary-line. When near the main branch of Toby's Creek an Indian appeared from behind the willows which lined the banks of the creek, and, rushing towards Rogers and Bidlack, attempted to catch hold of the bridles of their horses. This Indian was instantly followed by other Indians, while the parting of the willows disclosed the shore of Toby's Eddy lined with red men. Rogers and Bidlack immediately wheeled their horses and made for the block-house near the bank of the river. Captain Bidlack's saddle—having an old girth, which broke at the wrong moment—turned and precipitated him to the ground. He immediately jumped to his feet and attempted to escape by running, but was soon overtaken and seized by the Indians; and, as previously narrated, was carried into captivity. The pursuing Indians fired several shots at Rogers (some of which penetrated his clothing), but he had the good fortune to reach the block-house in safety.

The garrison at the block-house, on hearing the firing, sallied forth to attack the Indians, while Colonel Butler, at Fort Wyoming, immediately detached twenty-five men to the support of the block-house party. The cannon at the fort was also brought to bear on the savages, and was

fell with great force on the ears of the people. Like Anning Owen and Benjamin Bidlack of the Methodist Church, he had stood shoulder to shoulder with those to whom he preached, in defence of their homes; and now, when he spoke to them of the good things of the world to come, his words, plain and simple, were those of a companion in arms, and reached the hearts of his hearers."

Jonah Rogers became a member of Lodge No. 61, F. and A. M., Wilkes-Barré, June 3, 1816. About 1822 or '23 he removed from Plymouth to Huntington Township, where he continued to reside until his death—which occurred subsequently to 1833. Whether or not he was ever married we are unable to state.

(iv) *Hannah Rogers* was born in 1776, the same year in which her parents removed to Wyoming. She was married in 1799 to Griffin Lewis, who came from Exeter, Rhode Island, to Plymouth in 1794. Colonel Wright says ("Historical Sketches of Plymouth," p. 342): "Not far from this time [1800] 'Elder' Joel Rogers, brother to Jonah, who has been frequently mentioned in our reminiscences of the town, hoisted the Baptist flag, and continued for many years to act in the capacity of a preacher. He was joined by 'Elder' Griffin Lewis a few years later. Mr. Lewis resided in that part of Plymouth now called Jackson. These two men were at the head of the Baptist part of the population. They were both excellent and exemplary men; and while neither of them could claim any pretensions to what is called pulpit oratory, they nevertheless might be classed as solid, sensible men, and they preached solid, sensible doctrines. When I first knew them they were both past middle age. They were of the old school of divines, who were governed by the idea that the sanctity of their lives, their exemplary conduct, their weekly discourses, and the importance of their mission, furnished a sufficient guarantee of success." The home of "Elder" Lewis was for many years near Huntsville, in Jackson Township, and for a long time he was the only minister of the gospel in that section of country. He was not noted for his eloquence, but for his solid, good sense. Among his neighbors he was a peace-maker, and not a busybody. He died at his home in 1836, and his wife Hannah died in Dallas Township in September, 1856. They were the parents of six children: James (who lived and died at Detroit, Michigan); Jonah (who lived at Battle Creek, Michigan); a daughter who became the wife of Abed Baldwin; a daughter who became the wife of Capt. T. O. Bogardus; one who became the wife of Palmer Brown, and another (the youngest) who became the wife of Thomas Worthington.

(v) *Joel Rogers* was born in Plymouth, Wyoming Valley, March 17, 1780, and resided there until the Spring of 1816, preaching, teaching and farming. As narrated hereinbefore, he was a Baptist "Elder." During the last four or five years of his residence in Plymouth he was also engaged in general mercantile business there, having formed about 1811 a partnership with Joseph Wright and Benjamin Reynolds, under the firm name of Wright, Rogers & Co. This partnership was dissolved by mutual consent May 6, 1814, and shortly thereafter Joel Rogers and Henderson Gaylord formed a partnership and carried on a mercantile business for almost two years. In April or May, 1816, Joel Rogers settled in Wilkes-Barré Township—on the west side of what is now North Main Street, about half-way between North Street and Courtright Avenue, in the city of Wilkes-Barré. There he lived, engaged in preaching and teaching, until March, 1827, when, with his family, he removed to Huntington Township, Luzerne County, where he settled on a farm, having a grist-mill and a saw-mill on the same property. There he lived until his death.

"Elder" Joel Rogers was married (1st) to Polly Linn; (2d), September 30, 1815, to Mary Jackson (born November 24, 1784; died October 7, 1836); and (3d) to Amy, Bonhorn. "Elder" Rogers died July 29, 1850, and his remains lie in what is known as the old "Goss" grave-yard at Harveyville, in Huntington Township.

The children of "Elder" Joel and Mary (Jackson) Rogers were as follows: (a) *Joze*, born in Wilkes-Barré Township July 24, 1816; married in 1849 to Lydia Ann, daughter of Col. Josiah Rogers of Northmoreland; removed from Huntington to Colorado in 1880; died at Denver, Colorado, June 11, 1890—survived by one son, Merritt Harrison Rogers. (b) *Joel Jackson*, born in Wilkes-Barré Township March 4, 1818; became a physician; married at Trucksville, Luzerne County, April 15, 1851, to Sarah Caroline (born in 1824), daughter of the Rev. Jacob and Sarah (Cook) Rice; died at Huntsville, Luzerne County, March 21, 1902—survived by his wife and five children: Lewis Leonidas, Charles Jacob, Mary Louise, Joseph Alfred, and Sarah Carrie (widow of Samuel H. Sturdevant, (Jr.)). (c) *Lydia*, born December 24, 1819; died September 13, 1844. (d) *Lewis W.*, born May 22, 1822; died August 3, 1845, in Union County, Pennsylvania. (e) *Stephen*, born April 17, 1824.

discharged at them. A charge was made on the enemy, who retreated, keeping at a respectful distance, evidently intending to draw the detachment into an ambuscade. On approaching the woods a larger number of Indians was seen, which rendered a retreat prudent; whereupon the enemy advanced. A smart skirmish then ensued and several men were wounded, but none mortally. The enemy then withdrew, but two days later (on March 23d), about midday, they showed themselves on the Wilkes-Barré side of the river. Some 250 warriors, arranged in a semicircle, advanced across the Wilkes-Barré plain upon Fort Wyoming, as if with intent to surround it and carry it by storm. A brisk fire was opened upon them from the fort—the four-pounder being brought into effective service, inasmuch as a ball from it cut in two the Indian chief in command of the beleaguering warriors. What further loss they sustained was not definitely ascertained, but they were successfully repulsed, and withdrew from the neighborhood of the fort. Relative to the incidents of March 21st and 23d, thus briefly described, we have an account written at Wilkes-Barré by Col. Zebulon Butler under the date of March 23d and forwarded to General Hand. It reads as follows*:

"The intent of this is to inform you of a late affair at this post. On the 21st *inst.* there appeared a number of Indians on the flats opposite the fort, who had taken one old man [Bidlack] before they appeared on the flats, and were in pursuit after another, who the people in the block-house relieved by advancing upon them; but our people were soon obliged to retreat, seeing a superior number, though a very hot fire on both sides. The enemy immediately ran about the flats collecting horses and cattle. I ordered a party over (who, with those stationed in the block-house, made about forty, and two subaltern officers), who pushed upon them with such bravery that they retreated through the flats, with a constant fire on both sides till they came to woods, when our men discovered two large bodies over a little creek—the whole supposed to be upwards of 200. Our men retreated slowly, firing, which prevented their pushing, Indian like, and got back to the block-house well through a heavy fire. The Indians immediately went in pursuit of horses and cattle again, our men in small parties pursuing and firing upon them; but notwithstanding the activity of our troops, after severe skirmishing for two hours and a-half, the enemy carried off sixty head of horned cattle and twenty horses, and shot my riding-horse (they could not catch him), and burned five barns that were partly full of grain and hay, and ten houses that the inhabitants had deserted, and shot a number of hogs and sheep that they left lying [where they fell].

"We had not one man killed, taken or wounded, except the old man [Bidlack] first mentioned, though a considerable number of our men had bullets through their clothes and hats. Lieutenant Pettigrew, a brave officer of Colonel Hartley's regiment, had his ramrod shot all to pieces in his hand. It is aggravating to see the savage wretches drive off cattle and horses, and burning and destroying, and we not able to attack them out of the fort. I have sent by the express (who will hand this to Capt. [Alexander] Patterson, to be forwarded to you) a particular account of the affair and a particular state of this place [addressed] to his Excellency, General Washington. I mention that they have taken off cattle, horses, etc. They have got them out of our reach, but we have no reason to think they have left the place, as a number of fires were discovered on the side of the mountain last night.

"Can only say I have the honor to be your Honor's most obedient humble servant,
[Signed] "ZEBN BUTLER."

"N. B.—Of horses and cattle that were taken in the late action there were seven Continental horses, and eight [head] of Continental cattle which were beef.—Z. B.

"*Sir*: What happened at the close of this letter will justify my apprehensions of the enemy's not being gone. At one o'clock, afternoon [March 23d], a large party were discovered on this side the river advancing toward the fort. They surrounded the fort on all sides, firing very briskly, while others were collecting horses and cattle. I sent out about forty men and a small piece, and drove them back to a thick wood across a marsh, where the enemy made a stand. The skirmishing held till sunset. At this time the enemy were driving off cattle and horses. They got fifty-one head of horned cattle and ten horses, burned three barns partly full of grain and hay, and two dwelling-houses. We lost no men killed or taken; we had two wounded, but 'tis hoped not mortally. 24th and 25th of March being extremely stormy, we heard not much about them. 26th, we discovered large smokes rising about four miles down the river, on the other side, where we had a guard in a block-house to guard a mill. 27th, two men from the block-house

* See "Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania," I : 461.

informed us all is well, except three barns partly filled with grain and hay, and two houses with some quantity of provisions, were burned. At the time of the burning our people discovered a considerable number [of Indians] running about, but none have been seen this day [March 27] yet. It is now twelve o'clock. I have sent this same account to General Washington and the Board of War. 28th.—Nothing happened since the above account, only we now believe we discover their smokes. From our last discoveries I rather think the enemy were near 300.

"I am your Honor's most obedient humble Servant,

[Signed] "ZEBN. BUTLER."

During the fight on the Kingston Flats on March 21st, "Anthony Turkey," an Indian who had formerly lived in the Valley, and whose name is mentioned hereinbefore, having been shot through the thigh was surrounded by some of the Westmorelanders, who cried out: "Surrender, 'Turkey,' we won't hurt you!" Conscious, undoubtedly, of his own cruelties, he fought like a tiger-cat to the last. After the Indians had retired from the scene of the engagement, some of the men from the block-house took possession of the body of "Turkey" and put it into an old canoe. Fixing in the hands of the dead Indian a bow and arrow, and pinning to the body a written "pass," requiring all persons to "let the bearer go to his master—King George or the Devil," the men fastened a dead rooster in the bow of the canoe and then launched it in the river. Down stream it floated, amid the cheers of men and boys. Owing to the high water the canoe went clear of Nanticoke Falls, and in due time arrived opposite Catawissa, where there was a small settlement. A man there, seeing the drifting canoe, with something in it, pushed off from the shore in a boat, eager to capture a prize. But what was his surprise, when he drew near, to see an Indian with bow bent and an arrow, drawn to the head, aimed directly at him. He fled quicker than he came, but being a man of resolution pushed off again with his rifle, and found the dead "Turkey" just as he had been launched. Having been towed ashore for the people there to look and laugh at, "Turkey" was again turned adrift and speeded on his way down the river.

On the same day that the Indians made a show of besieging Fort Wyoming, a band of them attacked the house of Thaddeus Williams,* situated nearly half a mile from the fort, in the town-plot of Wilkes-Barré. The Williams family had removed from Wilkes-Barré at the time of the general flight from the Valley after the battle of Wyoming, but later the men and boys of the family returned. Isaac Williams, one of the sons of Thaddeus, was the young man who, in company with John Abbott, was murdered by Indians about the middle of August, 1778—as narrated on page 722. Thomas Williams, the eldest son of Thaddeus, was one of the original members of Capt. Samuel Ransom's "Westmoreland Independent Company" in the Continental service, and upon the consolidation of the companies of Ransom and Durkee under the captaincy of Simon Spalding, Thomas Williams was promoted

* THADDEUS WILLIAMS, originally of Fairfield County, Connecticut, was married about 1755 to Frances Case of Hartford, Connecticut, and in 1776 they immigrated with their children to Wilkes-Barré. The former died April 11, 1796, and the latter in August, 1815. After his discharge from the Continental army Serg't Thomas Williams, eldest son of Thaddeus, went to Connecticut, where he was married in 1783 to Elizabeth Robertson of Bethel, Fairfield County. They resided near Bridgeport, Connecticut, until 1790, when they removed to that part of the township of Wilkes-Barré which is now the township of Plains. There they lived until their respective deaths—she dying December 6, 1835, aged seventy-one years, and he dying November 12, 1839, aged eighty-three years. Their remains rest in Hollenback Cemetery. Thomas and Elizabeth (Robertson) Williams were the parents of six sons and four daughters. One of the daughters—Clarissa—became the wife of Benjamin Court-right (born 1789; died January 22, 1867), son of Cornelius Courtright, mentioned hereinbefore. The youngest son of Thomas and Elizabeth (Robertson) Williams was Jonathan Robertson Williams, who was born in Wilkes-Barré (now Plains) Township, December 5, 1809, and died subsequently to 1881, near where he was born.

a Sergeant. (See pages 897 and 981.) He was, of course, with his company at Fort Wyoming during the Winter of 1778 and the Spring of 1779, but at the time the Indians made their incursion into the Valley, as previously related, he was at the house of his father on a furlough.

On March 23d (the day of the attack on Fort Wyoming) Thaddeus Williams was ill in bed, while the only other persons in the house were Serg't Thomas Williams and his brother, aged twelve or thirteen years. The location of the Williams house was such that the Indians determined to attack and destroy it previous to their meditated attack on the fort. Therefore a party of ten or more of them made their way to the house. Seeing them approaching, Sergeant Williams made his preparations for defense by barricading the doors and getting his guns ready for effective use. Fortunately there were three muskets and plenty of ammunition in the house. Giving his young brother the necessary directions for reloading the guns as fast as he should fire them, he awaited the approach of the savages. When they arrived within short range Williams took deliberate aim between the logs of which the house was constructed, and brought the leader of the attacking party dead to the ground. With a hideous yell his companions retreated, dragging the dead body with them. Then they returned to the attack and assaulted the door of the house, which, however, was too securely fastened to yield. The number of Indians was now increased by the arrival of others, and they, in turn, fired into the house through the chinks between the logs. By one of these shots Thaddeus Williams was severely wounded as he lay in his bed, but Sergeant Williams kept up as brisk a fire as his young brother, who acted his part manfully, could enable him to do. A second and a third one of the savages fell, when the survivors again retreated, taking their slain with them and raising the customary death howls. Maddened by their losses, however, they again approached the house, one of them bearing a flaming brand with which he had resolved to fire the building. But the Sergeant was at his post, and with deliberate aim he quickly turned the brand-bearer into a corpse; whereupon the attacking party withdrew, taking their dead with them.

While the events just described were taking place in Wyoming Valley, General Washington and those in his confidence at headquarters were quietly devising plans for an effective military campaign against the hostile and troublesome Indians on the upper Susquehanna and its New York tributaries. On February 27, 1779, the Congress had passed a resolution authorizing Washington to take the most effectual measures for protecting the inhabitants of the States and chastizing the Indians, and the Commander-in-Chief determined to carry out this resolution with vigor. The plan of a vigorous campaign contemplated the entire destruction of everything upon which the Indians depended for food or shelter. "It was planned that the invading army was to enter the Indian country in three divisions—one from the south, up the Susquehanna; another from the east, down that river; the third from the west, by way of the Allegheny.* These were to form a junction at some convenient point, advance against the strongholds of the enemy in such force as could not possibly be resisted, and then overturn the whole Iroquois

* In consequence of subsequent plans the third, or western, division, numbering about 800 men under the command of Col. Daniel Brodhead (see note on page 258, Vol. I), performed its work without making a junction with the other divisions or receiving any orders from General Sullivan.

country west of the Oneida villages.”* Under the date of March 3, 1779, Washington wrote to Governor Clinton of New York, and also to President Reed of Pennsylvania, in part as follows† :

“ I am, therefore, to inform your Excellency that offensive operations against the hostile tribes of Indians have been meditated and determined upon some time since, and that preparations have been making for that purpose, and will be carried into execution. * * * But the profoundest secrecy was judged necessary to the success of such an enterprise. * * With respect to the force to be employed on this occasion it is scarcely necessary to observe that the detaching of a considerable number of Continental troops on such a remote expedition would too much expose the country adjacent to the body of the enemy’s army. There must, therefore, be efficacious assistance derived from the States whose frontiers are obnoxious to the inroads of the barbarians. * * * They should be corps of active rangers, who are at the same time expert marksmen and accustomed to the irregular kind of wood-fighting practised by the Indians. Men of this description, embodied under proper officers, would be infinitely preferable to a superior number of militia unacquainted with this species of war, and who would exhaust the magazines of ammunition and provision without rendering any effectual service.”

Under the date of March 6, 1779, Washington wrote at his headquarters at Middle Brook, New Jersey, a letter reading in part as follows :

“ Congress having determined upon an expedition of an extensive nature against the hostile tribes of the Indians of the Six Nations, the command is offered to Maj. Gen. [Horatio] Gates, as senior officer ; but should he decline, it is my wish it should devolve upon you. That no time may be lost by General Gates’ non-acceptance, I have put this letter under cover to him, and have desired him to forward it to you, should that be his determination. Should it, therefore, be sent to you, I must request you to set out as speedily as possible, after the receipt of it, to headquarters, as the season is already far advanced. Upon your arrival the whole plan of the expedition shall be communicated to you, and measures concerted for carrying it into execution. Nothing will contribute more to our success in the quarter where we really intend to strike, than alarming the enemy in a contrary one, and drawing their attention that way. To do this you may drop hints of an expedition to Canada. * * * I would wish you to keep the motive of your journey to headquarters a secret, because if it is known that an officer of your rank is to take command to the westward, it will be immediately concluded that the object must be considerable.”

This letter was addressed to Maj. Gen. John Sullivan,‡ but was sent by Washington to Major General Gates, who duly received it and

* See the “historical address” (page 340) by the Rev. David Craft in “Journals of the Military Expedition of Maj. Gen. John Sullivan.”

† See “Public Papers of George Clinton,” IV : 615.

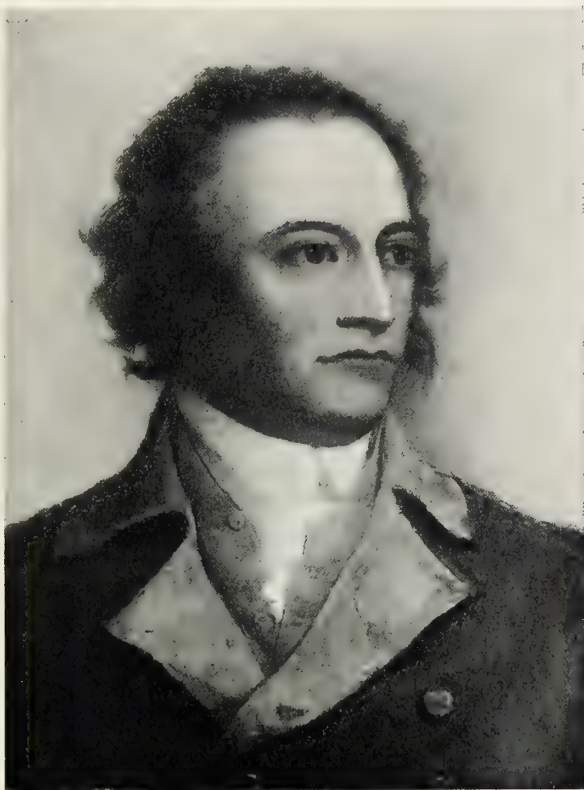
‡ JOHN SULLIVAN, (JR.), was born February 17, 1740, in Somersworth, New Hampshire, the third son of John Sullivan (born in 1692; died in 1796), a native of Limerick, Ireland, who had immigrated to America in 1723. The wife of the latter was a native of Cork, Ireland, who, also, had come to America in 1723. John Sullivan, Sr., who was a farmer by occupation, was a man of intellectual capacity and education. One of his sons was James Sullivan, for some years Attorney General, and afterwards Governor, of Massachusetts—dying while holding the latter office. Without the advantage of what is commonly termed a liberal education, John Sullivan, Jr., studied law with Samuel Livermore (later a Delegate in Congress from New Hampshire, and then a Justice of the Superior Court of that State), and upon his admission to the Bar established himself in his profession at Durham, New Hampshire. He was self-possessed, and gifted with a strong power of reasoning and a copious and easy elocution, aided by a clear and musical voice. His practise soon became extensive and successful. In 1772 he received a commission as Major in the militia of New Hampshire.

As noted on page 354, Vol. I, the First Continental Congress assembled at Philadelphia September 5, 1774. Major Sullivan was present as one of the two Delegates from New Hampshire, and, serving as a member of the Committee on Violation of Rights, he reported a set of articles which, as John Adams wrote in his diary, “were two years afterwards recapitulated in the Declaration of Independence, on July 4, 1776.” The first direct Colonial assault on royal authority was the capture, by a band of New Hampshire men, led by Maj. John Sullivan and Capt. John Langdon, of the royal Fort William and Mary at Newcastle, New Hampshire, in December, 1774. The capture was made in broad daylight, the garrison of five men and an officer being seized and locked up, while the captors—after giving three cheers in honor of their success, and, for the first time in American history, hauling down the royal flag—carried off 100 barrels of powder, some light guns and small arms. Under Sullivan’s direction these munitions of war were carried in boats up the river to Durham, where they were stored in the cellar of the Congregational Meeting-house. (In September, 1894, on the site of this old building, a monument to General Sullivan was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies.)

In January, 1775, Major Sullivan and Captain Langdon, previously mentioned, were elected Representatives from New Hampshire to the Second Continental Congress, and on the 10th of the following May Sullivan took his seat in the Congress, at Philadelphia. June 22, 1775, the Congress chose eight Brigadier Generals for the new Continental army, and John Sullivan was one of the number. He immediately accepted the appointment, resigned his seat in the Congress, received his commission, proceeded to the camp at Cambridge, Massachusetts, and was assigned by Washington to the command of one of the brigades composing the left wing of the army, and stationed at Winter Hill. Later in the year, to replace the Connecticut troops in Washington’s army, General Sullivan went to New Hampshire, raised 2,000 men in ten days, and marched them to the vicinity of Boston. No important military operations took place during the Winter of 1775-76, and in March, 1776, the British evacuated Boston. In the latter part of May General Sullivan was ordered to proceed with a body of troops to Canada to reinforce the Continental troops there—he to assume command of the entire

force. Gen. Horatio Gates succeeded Sullivan in command of this northern army early in July, 1776, at Crown Point, and shortly afterwards Sullivan set out for Philadelphia.

When, early in August, 1776, the Continental army was reorganized, John Sullivan was appointed by Congress, and duly commissioned, "Major General of the army of the United States," and was ordered to join Washington in the city of New York. At that time the British forces assembled on Staten Island consisted of 24,000 men, and it was obviously their purpose to gain possession of the city of New York. The principal part of the American army—which was far inferior to that of the enemy in numbers and efficiency—was stationed on the lower end of the island of Manhattan, while a small part of the army, under the command of Maj. Gen. Nathaniel Greene, occupied extensive works at Brooklyn, on Long Island. About the middle of August Greene was compelled, by illness, to relinquish his command, and Sullivan was appointed to succeed him. The battle of Long Island was fought August 27, 1776 (see page 485, Vol. I), and General Sullivan was among the large number of prisoners captured by the enemy. The following is an extract from a letter written by a British officer shortly after this battle. (See "American Archives," Fifth Series, I: 1259.) "The Hessians and our brave Highlanders gave no quarter; and it was a fine sight to see with what alacrity they despatched the rebels with their bayonets after we had surrounded them. To that they could not resist. Our loss was nothing. We took care to tell the Hessians that the rebels had resolved to give no quarter to them, in particular; which made them fight desperately, and put all to death that fell into their hands. The Island is all ours, and we shall soon take New York. I expect the affair will be over this campaign, and we shall all return covered with American laurels, and have the cream of American lands allotted us for our services." On August 30th General Sullivan was paroled, and



MAJ. GEN. JOHN SULLIVAN.

reached New York City the same day. Later he was exchanged for General Prescott (a prisoner in the hands of the Americans), and soon afterwards rejoined the army—being placed in command of one of its five divisions the next Spring.

With his command General Sullivan was active and efficient throughout the campaign in New Jersey in the Summer of 1777. In June of that year the Chief Justice of Quebec wrote to him: "You were the first man in active rebellion, and drew with you the Province you live in. You will be one of the first sacrifices to the resentment and justice of the [British] Government. Your family will be ruined, and you must die with ignominy!" At the battle of the Brandywine Sullivan's activity and skill were everywhere visible, and at the battle of Germantown he led two divisions of troops. He passed the wretched Winter of 1777-'78 at Valley Forge, but in March, 1778, he received orders from Washington to take command of the American forces in Rhode Island. These forces consisted of 10,000 men, in two divisions—one commanded by General Greene and the other by General the Marquis de Lafayette. While there Sullivan fought what Lafayette declared to be the most hotly contested battle of the war—the British losing probably 1,000 men. Sullivan drew off without loss of troops or equipments, and his action met with the approval of his superior officers and of Congress. General Sullivan remained in command at Rhode Island during the Winter of 1778-'79 and the following Spring, until appointed to organize and command the expedition against the Six Nation Indians. He was at that time just thirty-nine years of age.

Shortly after his return from that expedition General Sullivan addressed a communication to Congress, in which he expressed a desire to retire from the military service—on the ground that his

transmitted it to General Sullivan—sending to Washington at the same time a communication reading in part as follows :

“Last night I had the honor of your Excellency’s letter. The man who undertakes the Indian service should enjoy youth and strength—requisites I do not possess. It therefore grieves me that your Excellency should offer me the only command to which I am entirely unequal. In obedience to your command I have forwarded your letter to General Sullivan.”

In a letter to the President of Congress dated April 14, 1779, Washington wrote :

“The plan of operations for the campaign being determined, a commanding officer was to be appointed for the Indian expedition. This command, according to all present appearances, *will probably be of the second, if not the first, importance of the campaign.* The officer conducting it has a flattering prospect of acquiring more credit than can be expected by any other this year; and he has the best reason to hope for success. General Lee, from his situation, was out of the question; General Schuyler (who, by the way, would have been most agreeable to me) was so uncertain of continuing in the army that I could not appoint him; General Putnam I need not mention. I therefore made the offer of it—for the appointment could no longer be delayed—to General Gates, who was next in seniority. * * My letter to him on the occasion, I believe you will think, was conceived in very candid and polite terms, and it merited a different answer from the one given to it.”

By Washington, as well as by others, the reply made by Gates to the Commander-in-Chief was deemed as little less than insolent. Sullivan, however, accepted the command and went to work with his usual energy; though, perhaps, he was quite conscious that the task he had undertaken was more useful than glorious.

At Wilkes-Barré, under the date of March 31, 1779, Col. Zebulon Butler wrote to Brig. General Hand, at Minisink, forwarding the letter to him by the hand of Lieut. John Jenkins, Jr. The original letter, now in the possession of George H. Butler, Esq., of Dorranceton, Wyoming Valley, reads in part as follows :

“*Dear Genl*—Yours of the 25th instant came to hand last evening. In answer thereto Mr. Jinkings will wait on you, and as I conclude you have my account of the late action at this place I shall omit saying anything about it; and if you have not, Mr. Jinkins will be able to give you the particulars of that affair.

“With reference to the Indian Job Jiliway*—I was well acquainted [with him]. The last I heard of him he went with General McIntosh to the Ohio, and is since dead of the small-pox.

health was much impaired by the fatigues and privations which he had undergone. This letter was read in Congress November 1, 1779, and the resignation was finally accepted—a resolution, returning Sullivan the thanks of Congress, being passed at the same time.

In the Autumn of 1780 General Sullivan was again elected a Delegate from New Hampshire to the Continental Congress. He took his seat therein, and served until the Summer of 1781, when he returned to his home at Durham and took up his professional pursuits. Then, for some time, he was Attorney General of New Hampshire, an office which was subsequently held for several years by his son. He also took part in the labors of the convention which formed the Constitution of New Hampshire in 1783, and later became a member of the first “Council” chosen under it. In 1786 he was elected President of the State of New Hampshire, and by re-election held the office three successive years. In November, 1790, he received from President Washington a commission as Judge of the United States Court for the District of New Hampshire. He entered upon the duties of this office forthwith, and discharged them up to the time of his death. Shortly after his elevation to the Bench the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him by Dartmouth College.

General Sullivan was a Free Mason, having become a member of the Fraternity about the beginning of the War of the Revolution. In 1789 an independent Grand Lodge of the Fraternity was formed in New Hampshire, and General Sullivan was elected its first Grand Master. At that time he was Master of the Lodge at Portsmouth. In October, 1790, at a meeting of the Grand Lodge a communication from General Sullivan was read, in which he stated that, owing to the alarming state of his health, he would no longer be able to serve as Grand Master.

General Sullivan was about five feet eight inches in height, erect in person, with broad shoulders and full chest, inclining somewhat to corpulency. In his movements he was quick and elastic. His eyes were dark and piercing; his hair black and somewhat curly. His manners were dignified, but easy and graceful. Dr. James Thacher, in his “Military Journal” (published in 1824), says of him: “It is remarked on the Sullivan Expedition by the translator of M. de Chastelleux’s ‘Travels’—an Englishman then resident in the United States—that the instructions given by General Sullivan to his officers, the order of march he prescribed to his troops, and the discipline he had the ability to maintain, would have done honor to the most experienced ancient or modern Generals. His military talents and bold spirit of enterprise were universally acknowledged. He was fond of display, and his personal appearance and dignified deportment commanded respect.”

General Sullivan died at his home in Durham, New Hampshire, January 23, 1795.

* “JOB CHILLAWAY,” mentioned on pages 364, 422, 456, 720 and 733. He removed from the neighborhood of Wyalusing to the West Branch of the Susquehanna in 1775 or '76. In the Autumn of 1778 he warned the inhabitants of the West Branch that they might shortly expect to be attacked

"As to the road to the Minnisink. The 'Upper Road' is from this Garrison to Lackawanna, by the Susquehanna, 9 miles to a large flatt, deserted by our people; 10 miles to Capows Large Meadows and several stacks of grain—except it is burnt very lately; 23 miles to Lackaway, to a settlement deserted, but I believe forage plenty; 14 miles to Shohola, a settlement, large meadows and, I believe, hay plenty; 14 miles to Wells' Ferry, opposite Captain Chambers on Delaware. The 'Lower Road' is 8 miles to Bullock's—house deserted by the owner, small meadows, no forage; 27 miles to Larnard's—some improvements, but much eat out by travellers; 8 miles to Colonel Stroud's; 37 miles to Wells' Ferry, on the west side Delaware. Inhabitants the most of the way. The 'Upper Road' has been much used with carts and waggons, and the lower road has not been used with carriages at all. * * *

"If the horse the express rides out could be sent back, should be glad, as we are much stripped of horses. The Indians took away nine lately and killed my riding-horse and one other, the best we had; and if you have others wants recruiting we can take good care of them here if the Indians don't catch them." * * *

Upon the arrival of Lieutenant Jenkins with the foregoing letter at the headquarters of General Hand, the latter directed him to repair immediately to Washington's headquarters. Having reached there on April 6th he was interviewed at length by Washington relative to the Indian country on the headwaters of the Susquehanna.

At his headquarters at Middle Brook, under the date of April 1, 1779, General Washington wrote to Col. Zebulon Butler at Wilkes-Barré as follows* :

"I received your letter comprehending the transactions at your post from the 23d to the 28th, *ultimo*. Considering the importance of the place, I have ordered up the 'German Regiment,' and Armand's and Schott's corps, as a reinforcement. These may amount to * * *. You will, therefore, take the necessary precautions for their barracks, and give proper notice to the Commissaries to increase or proportion their supply to your numbers. I need not recommend to you that watchfulness and exact discipline in your patrol and scouting parties (which can alone give security to the garrison, as well as prevent surprise on their own part), or to your giving that protection to the country consistent with your orders and force.

"On examining the returns I was surprised to find on furlough thirteen men from Captain Spalding's company,† altho expressly raised for the defense of the frontier. You will be pleased to call in all who are on furlough as soon as possible."

At Philadelphia, under the date of April 2, 1779, Joseph Reed, President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, wrote to Col. Zebulon Butler at Wilkes-Barré. After referring to a letter recently received by him from Colonel Butler, relative to a "late attack and depredations on the frontiers by Indians," he continued, in part, as follows‡ :

"I lately went to the camp to confer with the Commander-in-Chief relative to the frontier settlements, and I have the pleasure of assuring you that he is fully impressed with a like sense of your danger and merit; and that the most effectual measures are in train, not merely to protect and defend, but to make the savages, and the more *savage Christians* among them, feel the weight of the American arms. Before this reaches you I hope you will have received reinforcement from General Hand,"

by a strong force of marauding Indians. From "Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania" we learn that "Job Chillaway" was "one of the strange characters who was a frequent visitor to Fort Antes [in Lycoming County, Pennsylvania, opposite Jersey Shore] in 1778 and '79. He had been converted by the Moravians, and remained steadfast in the faith. Having associated much with the whites he became very friendly, and by many good acts won their confidence and respect. He was much employed as a scout by the military authorities, and his fidelity was frequently proven by dangerous missions to gain information of the movements of the savages. He had a wide acquaintance among the Indians, as well as a thorough knowledge of the country, its mountains, streams and paths, and, therefore, was enabled to acquire information that proved of great value to the whites. At times he was suspected by the Indians of giving information, but through his artlessness and keenness of perception he always managed to disabuse their minds of suspicion, and escaped when others would have failed. In a word, he was a first-class Indian detective, whose sense of gratitude never allowed him to prove recreant to his trust, and those who had befriended him—which was something remarkable in the nature and character of an aborigine. Through life he proved himself a 'good Indian,' and when he died near Fort Erie, Canada, September 22, 1792, he received Christian burial at the hands of his Moravian friends."

* See the original letter in the possession of John L. Butler of Memphis, Tennessee.

† According to "Connecticut in the Revolution" (page 266) the following names (additional to those printed on page 981, *ante*) appear on the rolls of Captain Spalding's company dated March 15, 1779. Azariah Smith, Francis Stephens, Samuel Ensign, Constant Lorts, Robert Dorrance, Michael Foster, Douglass Davidson (see note, page 908, *ante*), Elisha Sill, Barzelt. Guarney, Thomas Tuckitt, Jeremiah Baker.

‡ See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, VII : 283.

Early in April, 1779, the garrison at Wilkes-Barré being greatly in need of commissary supplies, Colonel Butler sent Benjamin Harvey (see page 994) with an urgent communication on the subject to William Stewart, "Purchasing Commissary" of the Continental army, then at Coxtown, or Coxborough (now Selinsgrove, Snyder County, Pennsylvania), on the Susquehanna a few miles below Sunbury, where he was gathering supplies for the army.

At Minisink, under the date of April 5, 1779, Brig. General Hand wrote to Maj. Daniel Burchardt (in command of the "German Regiment"* of the Continental Line) as follows:

"Agreeable to the orders you yesterday received, you will proceed to Wyoming, on the Susquehanna River, with the regiment under your immediate command, Colonel Armand's† and Captain Schott's‡ corps. The former [Armand's] is commanded at present by Major Lomaign, and the latter by Captain Selin.§ These corps will join you at or before you reach Colonel Stroud's, at Fort Penn, as you will see by their orders, left open for your perusal, and which you will have delivered. You must take with you from here all the flour now left in store, and beef sufficient to carry the detachment thro to Wyoming; you will receive an additional supply of flour at Colonel Stroud's. Take care that each corps takes with them the provisions they have respectively drawn. You will receive a few camp kettles for the detachment at Colonel Stroud's, and may draw twenty axes for your regiment, six for Armand's and three for Schott's here.

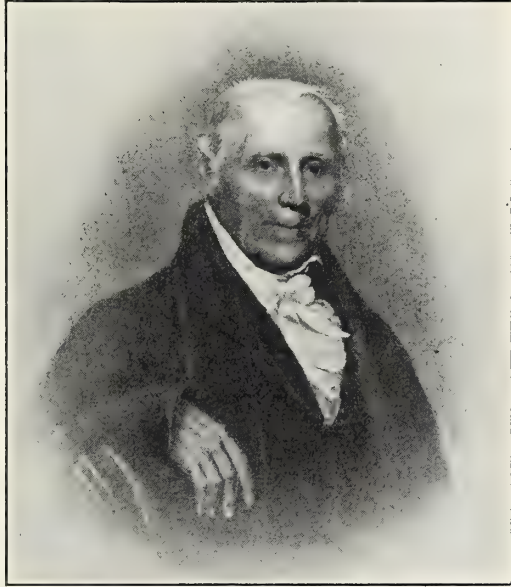
"It will take you four days from Colonel Stroud's to Wyoming; you will, therefore, regulate your provision accordingly. Capt. Alexander Patterson,|| A. D. Q. M., will send express to Col. Zebulon Butler, commanding at Wyoming, with notice of your approach. From Fort Penn you will march to Lardner's [or Larner's];¶ thence to an incamping place in what is commonly called the Great Swamp; the third day to Bullock's, which is within five miles** of Wyoming Garrison, where, for the present, you will put yourself under Colonel Butler's directions. I am thus particular, as it will be necessary to make easy marches in order to reconnoiter the country well and examine every thicket and hollow way, or swamp, before you enter it; which I desire you may be very particular in doing, to prevent being surprised or led into an ambuscade or attacked without previous knowledge of the enemy's being near. You will be particularly attentive to keep the body of the troops compact. Suffer no straggling on any account; keep a proper advance and rear guard, tho not at too great a distance, and also small parties on your flanks, observing the same caution. Should any enemy appear,

* The GERMAN REGIMENT of the Continental Line originated from a resolution of Congress, passed June 27, 1776, directing four companies (subsequently increased to five), of Germans to be raised in Pennsylvania and four in Maryland, to compose "the German Battalion;" the companies to serve for three years, unless sooner discharged. Pennsylvania furnished by far the largest number both of the commissioned officers and of the rank and file composing this regiment. Nicholas Haussegger, Major of the 4th (Col. Anthony Wayne's) Battalion, was commissioned Colonel; George Stricker, Lieutenant Colonel; and Ludwig Weltner, of Maryland, Major. The regiment was in the field almost from its very beginning, and was engaged at the battles of Trenton and Princeton. In May, 1777, it was in Deborre's Brigade, Sullivan's Division. After the battle of Monmouth Colonel Haussegger retired from the service and returned to his home near Lebanon, Pennsylvania—Lieut. Colonel Weltner succeeding to the command of the regiment, but without increase of rank. At that time Daniel Burchardt, of Philadelphia, who had been commissioned Captain of one of the companies of the regiment July 8, 1776, was promoted Major. In the Spring and Summer of 1779, during the absence of Lieut. Colonel Weltner "on command," the German Regiment was commanded by Major Burchardt. In the Spring of 1780 the regiment was stationed on the frontiers of Northumberland County, Pennsylvania, with Lieut. Colonel Weltner in command. By a resolution of Congress passed in October, 1780, the German Regiment was reduced, and ended its organization January 1, 1781. Among the officers of this regiment who were at Wilkes-Barré, and who took part in the Sullivan Expedition, were: Dr. Peter Peres, of Philadelphia, who served as Surgeon of the regiment from September 1, 1778, to January 1, 1781; Capt. Bernard Hubley, who had been commissioned First Lieutenant August 15, 1776, and promoted Captain February 24, 1778; Capt.-Lieut. Philip Shrawder, of Philadelphia, who had been promoted from First Lieutenant February 8, 1778.

† ARMAND'S CORPS was raised under a resolution of Congress passed May 10, 1777, authorizing Charles Armand, Marquis de la Rouerie (who had come over from France a short time previously, and on the date mentioned had been commissioned Colonel by Congress), to raise a corps of Frenchmen, not exceeding 200 in number. The corps was soon raised, was designated "Armand's Corps," and took a prominent part in the fight at Red Bank, New Jersey, in 1777, and later opposed the Tories in Westchester County, New York. In December, 1778, Armand's Corps—then composed of one company of light dragoons and three companies of foot-soldiers, numbering, in all, ninety-five rank and file—was stationed at Minisink, New York, forming a part of the forces under the command of Brig. General Hand. Early in February, 1779, Colonel Armand applied to Congress for leave of absence. This having been granted, he went to France, and returned in the following Autumn with a large number of recruits for his Corps, which then became known as "Armand's Partizan Legion." In the latter part of 1779 the "Legion" was stationed at Ridgefield, Connecticut; later it was under General Gates in the South, and pursued Cornwallis to Yorktown. In the Spring of 1782 the "Legion"—then officially designated the "First Partizan Legion"—consisted of six troops of dragoons, under the command of Colonel Armand. In 1783, on the recommendation of General Washington, Colonel Armand was promoted Brigadier General. After the close of the Revolutionary War General Armand returned to France. He took an active part in some of the events of the French Revolution, and died in 1793.

‡ JOHN PAUL SCHOTT, son of Col. Frederick Schott of the Prussian army, was born in Berlin, Prussia, October 15, 1744. After an academic education he was, at the age of sixteen years, commis-

sioned to a military office of subordinate rank by Frederick II, "the Great" King of Prussia. He served some time in the army of that distinguished soldier and ruler, where he had occasion, during the last three years of the "Seven Years' War," to see and take part in much severe service, and in which he received unusual marks of the favor of the King. Near the close of the war he was promoted First Lieutenant, and appointed Adjutant to Lieutenant General Charles William Ferdinand, Prince of Brunswick, a brother-in-law of King George III of England. In the Spring of 1775 Lieutenant Schott resigned from the Prussian service, and a few months later sailed from Rotterdam for New York. He brought with him letters of introduction to Lieut. Gen. Sir William Tryon, the royal Governor of New York, and to other prominent citizens, and through his soldierly bearing and refined manners he soon won the favor of the aristocratic circles in which he first appeared. After he had spent some time in New York he went to Philadelphia, bearing letters of introduction to some of the principal people in that city.



CAPT. JOHN PAUL SCHOTT.

From a portrait painted late in his life.

Observing the deep interest and earnestness which the American patriots showed for the cause of freedom, Lieutenant Schott became inspired with a strong desire to attach himself to them—struggling as they were to secure and maintain a station to which their situation, wealth and numbers gave them a claim. Noticing, at the same time, that the revolutionists were poorly supplied with weapons—especially heavy guns—and ammunition, he determined to procure a supply for them. Consequently, in July, 1776, a few days after the Declaration of Independence had been promulgated, he sailed for the Island of Eustatia, one of the Lesser Antilles belonging to Holland, where certain speculative Dutchmen had established a depot for blockade-runners, and were supplying them with provisions, arms, etc. Lieutenant Schott chartered a schooner at the island and loaded her with arms and munitions of war, on his own account, and then sailed for Chesapeake Bay. After a variety of exciting experiences he sailed safely into the harbor of Norfolk with his valuable cargo, which he soon disposed of to the Continental military authorities. Proceeding to Philadelphia without delay he formally offered his services to the American cause in a communication reading as follows: "*To the Honourable Continental Congress.*—The petition of JOHN PAUL SCHOTT most humbly sheweth, That your petitioner having served as a Lieutenant with the German troops commanded by Prince Ferdinand during the last War, and having acquired a considerable share of military skill in the profession of soldier, most humbly begs the honourable Congress (as he has ample testimonials with him of his good character) to grant him a Captain's commission in the Continental army. And he, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

"Philadelphia, September 4, 1776.

[Signed] "JOHN PAUL SCHOTT."

This petition was received by the Congress on September 5th, and, having been read, was referred to the Board of War. The next day the Board brought in a report, which having been duly considered by the Congress, it was "*Resolved*, That JOHN PAUL SCHOTT, who is well recommended as an experienced officer, be appointed Captain in the Continental army, with directions to raise a company as soon as possible; but, in order that he may be usefully employed immediately, that he be forthwith sent to General Washington at New York, and that one month's pay be advanced to him." (See "*American Archives*," Fifth Series, II: 157, 1832.) He was at that time in the thirty-second year of his life. Having received his commission, his orders, etc., Captain Schott set out for New York, where he arrived and reported to General Washington on September 9th. Just two weeks before his arrival at New York the battle of Long Island had been fought (see page 1159), and a few days after his arrival it was decided by Washington that the evacuation of New York City should take place on September 15th. In the meantime Captain Schott had been assigned to the temporary command of the 3d Battery of the "Continental Regiment of Artillery," and on September 16th he and his battery were with Washington's main army at Harlem Heights, seven miles from the city of New York. At the battle of White Plains, New York, October 28, 1776, Schott's battery rendered important and effective service.

Upon the close of the "Seven Years' War" Nicholas Dietrich, Baron De Ottendorff (a Saxon nobleman who had served in that war as a Lieutenant), went to Paris, where he associated with Kosciuszko and Roman De Lisle. At the breaking out of the American Revolution these three warriors came together to this country to assist the colonists in their struggle for independence. Kosciuszko became a member of Washington's staff, De Lisle was made Captain of artillery, and De Ottendorff, by a resolution of Congress passed November 8, 1776, was "appointed a Brevet Captain in the service of the United States." December 5, 1776, Congress directed De Ottendorff "to raise an independent corps, consisting of 150 men, sergeants and corporals included; that the same be divided into three companies—the 1st to consist of sixty men, light infantry, to be commanded by one Captain and two Lieutenants; the other two companies to consist of hunters [rifemen], of forty-five men each, to be commanded each by a Captain and two Lieutenants; that Captain De Ottendorff have the rank of Major, be Captain of the light infantry company, and command the whole."

This battalion was to be known as "De Ottendorff's Corps," and on December 7, 1776, Captain Schott was assigned to it, and in the following January was sent into the German districts of Pennsylvania to recruit a company. This he did in a short time, when he was appointed to command it, and permitted to nominate his subordinate officers. This company was designated as the "3d" of De Ottendorff's Corps. At the battle of Short Hills, New Jersey, June 26, 1777, the Corps covered the retreat of the defeated Americans, and at that time Captain Schott was severely wounded, and captured by the enemy. He was held as a prisoner in the infamous Provost Prison, New York City, for about six months, when he was exchanged. Meanwhile, De Ottendorff's Corps having been greatly

decimated at the battle of Short Hills, the remains of the three companies that had composed it were organized into two independent "rifle-companies." A writer in the *Pennsylvania Magazine* (II : 5) states that these companies were "composed of volunteers who could not speak the English language." Capt. Anthony Selin (mentioned more at length hereinafter) was appointed to command the 1st Company, and when Captain Schott returned from captivity he was designated Captain of the 2d Company and placed in command of the battalion of two companies, which became known as "Schott's Independent Corps"—although sometimes it was still referred to as De Ottendorff's. In the latter part of March, 1778, the Corps was ordered to join Pulaski's Legion at Minisink, on the Delaware.

About that time Captain Schott applied for promotion. In a letter dated at "Wyoming Garrison, November 26, 1779," he referred to the matter in these words: "When I was exchanged I got the command of that Corps I now command. I made frequent application to the Honorable Board of War to grant me the rank of Major, and liberty to enlist men and raise that Corps again to its former strength; by which I thought to have an opportunity to take satisfaction of the enemy, in an honourable way, for the ill usage I received when a prisoner (which I would have done, or died in the attempt)—but was always refused. Having had no opportunity to distinguish myself, I was even left out of the arrangement of the Line with the rest of the officers in this Corps."

About the time the expedition against the Six Nations was determined on Captain Schott was detached "on command," but about May 1, 1779, he arrived at Wilkes-Barré and assumed command of his Corps. Upon the return to Wilkes-Barré of the Sullivan Expedition, Schott's Corps was detached from the army by command of General Sullivan, and ordered to assist in garrisoning Fort Wyoming. In March, 1780, Lieut. Colonel Weltner, then in command of the German Regiment (with headquarters at Sunbury), desired the Board of War "to determine between Captains Schott and Selin, each claiming to remain in command of the Company formerly De Ottendorff's, and now to be incorporated with the German Battalion," or Regiment. The Board decided that if Colonel Weltner could not "settle the dispute," a board of officers should be convened to determine the relative rank of the two Captains. At Philadelphia, under the date of April 12, 1780, Assistant Paymaster Burrall wrote to the Treasury Board as follows: "Captain Schott, who commands an Independent Corps stationed at Wyoming, is waiting in town for their pay, which is due from September last, and amounts to more than I have on hand. * * * I should be glad of 20,000 dollars, which will be sufficient to pay him. I hope this last sum, at least, may be obtained, as Captain Schott's returning without the money would occasion much uneasiness in the Corps, who have six months' pay due; and the expense of another journey from Wyoming would be considerable."

About that time, or shortly afterwards, Captain Schott determined to make Wilkes-Barré his permanent home, and September 21, 1780, he purchased from Phineas Peirce, for £50, a half-share in the Susquehanna Purchase. A week later he bought of Benjamin Bailey, for £50, Lot No. 33 in the town-plot of Wilkes-Barré—he (Schott) being described in the deed of conveyance as "of Westmoreland." On the 18th of the following month he was married to Naomi (born November 28, 1754), third child of Jabez and Elizabeth (Noyes) Sill of Wilkes-Barré, and a younger sister of the wife of Col. Nathan Denison. (See a sketch of the Sill family in a subsequent chapter.) Miner, in his "History of Wyoming," says of Captain Schott's marriage: "The banns were published on Sunday, October 15th, and on Wednesday, the 18th, they were married; the occasion being one of great joy and festivity in the garrison, and among the whole people."

In February, 1781, Captain Schott was ordered to march with his Corps (which then consisted of only twenty-six men, including himself, Captain Selin, and one Lieutenant) to Fishkill, New York, to join Colonel Hazen's "Congress' Own Regiment." Schott joined this regiment about March 15th, but three months later, owing to the serious illness of his wife, he obtained leave of absence for an indefinite period and hastened to Wilkes-Barré. Within a short time thereafter "Congress' Own" moved down the Hudson to the neighborhood of New York City, and early in September proceeded with other regiments to Virginia to take part in the siege of Yorktown. The war being virtually ended, by the surrender of Cornwallis, Captain Schott tendered his resignation and was honorably discharged from the Continental service in November, or December, 1781. In May, 1782, having purchased from his father-in-law, for £6, the north-west corner of Lot No. 1 in the town-plot of Wilkes-Barré, he built thereon what long afterwards was known as the "old red house." Moving into this house in 1783 (the year in which it was completed), he kept there for a number of years a public inn, and later carried on a store in the same building. During the ensuing twenty-one years Captain Schott was prominent and influential in various ways in the life of Wilkes-Barré and Wyoming Valley, and his name appears frequently in the following pages. (For a more detailed account of his life see the present writer's "History of Lodge No. 61, F. and A. M.," published in 1897.)

December 4, 1790, Captain Schott was appointed and commissioned by Governor Mifflin a Justice of the Peace for Wilkes-Barré, to serve during good behavior. This office he held until he removed from the town. In 1802 he was, with Rosewell Welles, a candidate for the State Legislature, but was defeated. In February, 1794, he was one of the charter members of Lodge No. 61, F. and A. M., and was its first Senior Warden. He was Master of the Lodge in 1795, '96, 1800, '01 and '02. In April, 1804, he withdrew from the Lodge, and seven years later became one of the charter members of Philanthropy Lodge, No. 127, F. and A. M., Philadelphia. Of this Lodge he was Treasurer in 1814, '15 and '16, and Master in 1815. In the Summer of 1804 Captain Schott removed from Wilkes-Barré to Philadelphia, where he held, until within a few months of his death, the office of Inspector of Customs in the United States Custom House. He died at his home in Philadelphia July 29, 1829, and his wife died there on the 31st of the following August.

Capt. John Paul and Naomi (Sill) Schott were the parents of four sons and one daughter who grew to maturity, as follows: (i) *John Paul*, born in 1782; married about 1801 to Emily Eliza, daughter of Lieut. John Markland of Philadelphia; was for more than twenty years a successful merchant in Philadelphia. (ii) *James*, born in 1784; as early as 1809 was a merchant in Philadelphia; married to Rebecca, daughter of Guy and Martha (Matlack) Bryan of Philadelphia; died at Philadelphia October 23, 1870. (iii) *George S.*, born in 1786; was graduated at the Medical School of the University of Pennsylvania in 1811, and practised his profession in Philadelphia and elsewhere for many years; was a prominent Free Mason, and an officer of the Grand Lodge and of the Grand Chapter of Pennsylvania; his wife, Eleanor, died at Scranton, Pennsylvania, December 22, 1855, in the sixty-fourth year of her age; he died at Nanticoke, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, June 29, 1863. (iv) *Charlotte*, born in 1788; married at New York in October, 1809, to Henry D. Mandeville. (v) *Charles*, born January 26, 1790; died January 26, 1810, from wounds caused by an explosion in a powder-mill at Philadelphia.

§ ANTHONY SELIN, a Swiss by birth, was commissioned a Captain by Congress December 10, 1776, and was assigned to De Ottendorff's Corps, mentioned in the preceding note. He raised and commanded the 2d Company of this Corps, as originally organized. He was in service with his company at Wilkes-Barré, in "Schott's Independent Corps" (previously described), until March, 1781, when, with that Corps, he joined "Congress' Own" Regiment. In this regiment he served until his honorable discharge from the army in January, 1783. In the Journal of Congress, February 24, 1784, he is referred to as "late Major, 2d Canadian Regiment ['Congress' Own']." Captain Selin, after his retirement from the army, purchased from the estate of his deceased brother-in-law, John Snyder, a tract of land on the Susquehanna River, in what is now Snyder County, Pennsylvania, and there he established his home. The settlement which grew up there became known as Selinsgrove, and the place has been for many years now a flourishing town. Simon Snyder (a brother-in-law of Captain Selin, and from December, 1808, to December, 1817, Governor of Pennsylvania) settled there in 1785.

you must take care not to advance on them precipitately before you know their number, or until you have sufficiently extended your front to prevent being out-flanked.

"By a steady adherence to the above directions you will have little danger to apprehend. Double your attention as you approach the fort. As the badness of the roads at present, and the scarcity of horses, will prevent your carrying your heavy baggage, you must leave it at Fort Penn with a guard, until you have a more favorable opportunity. Relying much on your Steadiness, Industry, Zeal and Activity, I wish you a Good march, and am, Sir, your obedient servant."

Shortly after despatching this letter to Major Burchardt, General Hand set out for his home in Lancaster County, to make a brief visit there before coming to Wilkes-Barré to take command of the troops to be assembled here. Within a couple of days after the receipt of his orders Major Burchardt marched for Wyoming from his station on the upper Delaware. He was joined at "Lardner's," or "Learn's," and accompanied the remainder of the way, by Lieut. John Jenkins, Jr., who was returning to Wilkes-Barré from the headquarters of General Hand and of General Washington, whither he had been sent, as narrated on page 1161. Major Burchardt reached "Learn's" in the evening of April 8th, and early the next morning sent forward an express to Wilkes-Barré, bearing the following letter* to Colonel Butler :

"Agreeable to my instructions from General Hand I inform you that I am now on my march to join you with the German Regiment, Armand and Schott's Corps. You'll please to give me some information how to proceed on, as the roads are strange to me. You can best judge when I can reach you. I set off from this place this morning. I am, Sir, with due respect, your most obedient humble servant."

Upon receipt of this communication Colonel Butler sent forward some guides to meet and conduct Major Burchardt's command to Wilkes-Barré. The arrival of these troops—numbering about 300—at Fort Wyoming in the evening of Sunday, April 11th, made a welcome addition to the garrison under the command of Colonel Butler. He was now enabled, not only to defend his position, but to clear the open portions of the Valley of the cruel and insolent red men. But small parties of Indians still hovered about Wyoming, like wolves around a sheep-fold. In the various mountain passes they lay in wait for chance travelers, and occasionally they exhibited extraordinary instances of courage and audacity.

Under the date of April 7, 1779, Colonel Butler wrote from Wilkes-Barré to Col. William Cook, Deputy Quartermaster General at Northumberland, Pennsylvania, saying :

"As I've lately received orders from his Excellency, General Washington, to provide for a number of troops he has ordered to this Post, I'm sure you will not fail of forwarding the articles the Quartermaster writes for, as far as in your power; and if you cannot forward the money immediately I must apply to the Board of War, as I've borrowed money to pay for expenses, carriages, forage, etc., with an expectation of money from you."

On the same day Colonel Butler wrote to the Board of War relative to the expenses incurred in and by the Quartermaster's department at the Wyoming Post, in view of orders received from General Washington. In conclusion he said : "I must desire the Board to forward some

Captain Selin was a member of the Society of the Cincinnati. He died at Selinsgrove in 1792. He had two children—Anthony Charles and Agnes. The former, who was married August 26, 1810, to Catharine Yoner of Sunbury, Pennsylvania, was a Major in the United States Army in the War of 1812.

|| Mentioned on page 1167, and on other pages hereinbefore.

¶ Learn's Tavern, mentioned on page 1167. See "Map of North-eastern Pennsylvania" in Chapter XXIII.

** Five miles in a bee-line, but about nine miles by the "Lower Road," which was the route Major Burchardt was directed to march.

* The original letter is now in the possession of the present writer.

money, either by way of Colonel Cook, or directly from the Board by the bearer, Mr. Stewart, as we have received only £1,155 for the above uses." This letter Colonel Butler placed in the hands of William Stewart, "Commissary of Purchases and Issues," accompanied by an order directing him to "procure and forward to this Post, immediately, provisions and liquor for a reinforcement of 500 men;" and "likewise provide soap and candles, and also necessaries for the use of the Hospital, such as rum, wine, sugar, molasses, coffee, vinegar, etc."

A couple of days after the arrival of Major Burchardt's command at Wilkes-Barré, Colonel Butler received from Sunbury, by the hands of an express, a letter reading as follows* :

"*Dear Sir:* I have inclosed a Letter to you for Gen^l Hand which I have left open for your perusal. you will please put a Wafer on it and send it to him by Express if he is not at your place. I have requested him to order the two comp^s of our Reg^t here (for several reasons, & one in particular) to reinforce Fort Jenkins. There is a set of the Damnedst Rascals about Fishing Creek & Fort Jenkins that ever existed. I expect in a short time to make some great discoveries, in respect of a correspondence held between them & the Indians, and we have some Reason to think they intend making a strike at that place.

"I am, Sir, Your Very Hum^l Sert., [Signed] "GEO. BUSH, Capt. Comdg."
"Sunbury April 11, 1779.

At a town-meeting of the inhabitants of Westmoreland held at Wilkes-Barré April 12, 1779, Giles Slocum, Christopher Hurlbut, Daniel Ingersoll, Asa Chapman and Joel Strong were admitted freemen, and took the oath of fidelity to the State of Connecticut. Col. Nathan Denison and "Deacon" John Hurlbut were, at the same time, chosen Representatives from the town of Westmoreland to the General Assembly of Connecticut to meet at Hartford in the following May.

Under the date of April 14, 1779, President Reed of Pennsylvania wrote from Philadelphia to Col. Samuel Hunter, Lieutenant of the county of Northumberland, in part as follows† :

"By a letter I received from General Washington, of the 8th *inst.*, General Hand was to march from Minisink for Wyoming the 5th *inst.*, with about 600 men, which will be a very competent force for your protection, as well as that of Wyoming. * * * We have now only to add that, as it is a time of common danger, we would recommend to you to *cultivate Harmony and a good understanding with the people at Wyoming*, leaving our unhappy disputes in that quarter to be settled as peace and more favorable circumstances will admit."

At Lancaster, Pennsylvania, under the date of April 16, 1779, Brig. Gen. Edward Hand wrote to President Reed, at Philadelphia, as follows :

"In consequence of General Washington's orders, I am thus far on my way to Wyoming, to take the command of the troops on the Susquehanna. * * * It is needless to mention how happy I should deem myself could I render any services to the distressed inhabitants of that part of the State."

About the middle of April a detachment of the "New 11th Regiment," Pennsylvania Line (see note "‡," page 1108), consisting of about 100 men under the command of Maj. Joseph Prowell, was ordered to march from the general camp in New Jersey to Wilkes-Barré, via Easton, to reinforce the Wyoming Garrison. The detachment left Easton on April 18th, marching to Heller's Tavern‡ (twelve miles),

* The original is in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

† See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, VII : 283.

‡ Heller's Tavern was in Plainfield Township, Northampton County, about one and a-half miles south of the Wind Gap. Simon Heller, the first of the name to locate at that place (in 1760), was from Saucon Township.

thence through the Wind Gap to Brinker's Mills* (about seven miles), and thence about nine or ten miles to Learn's Tavern,† near the foot of a spur of the Pocono range of mountains then known as "Pocono Point." The route from the Wind Gap to "Learn's" was along the "Lower Road" to Wyoming, described on pages 979 and 1054. This particular stretch of the road, however, had been improved within the preceding year to such an extent that it was in almost as passable a condition as the long-traveled road leading from Easton to the Wind Gap, or as the newer one running from a point about three miles north of Brinker's Mills to Fort Penn, or "Stroud's." "Learn's" was at that time the outpost of Northampton County civilization on the road to Wyoming—there being no other house, except Nathan Bullock's (see page 1039), between "Pocono Point" and Wilkes-Barré; while the road for this distance was still the rough, narrow bridle-path that it had been for several years—except in a few places, where efforts to remove some of the worst obstructions had been made by the ax-men, or pioneers, of the troops under Major Burchardt during their march to Wilkes-Barré.

Major Prowell and his command arrived at Bear Creek, some twelve miles from Fort Wyoming, in the evening of April 22d, and there they encamped for the night. Early the next morning Major Prowell, believing that they were now out of danger from a surprise by Indians, ordered his officers and men to burnish their arms and furbish up their uniforms and accouterments so as to present as fine an appearance as possible upon their arrival at Wilkes-Barré. With drums and fifes playing the column then advanced.

Having passed the deserted house of Nathan Bullock, three miles from Bear Creek, and crossed the Moosic, or Wyoming, Mountain (see page 44, Vol. I), the head of the column arrived at the point where the "Lower Road" crossed Laurel Run—sixty-one and three-fourths miles from Easton, and six miles (by the road, but only three miles in a bee-line) from Fort Wyoming. There the vanguard reported that they had seen several deer browsing but a few minutes before; whereupon, by permission of Major Prowell, Capt. Joseph Davis,‡ Lieut. William Jones,§

* The settlement at Brinker's Mills (previously mentioned on page 646) became known in 1779 as "Sullivan's Stores," owing to the fact that a large store-house, surrounded by a palisade, had been erected there for use as a magazine, or depot, for provisions and other supplies for the Continental troops. Capt. Alexander Patterson (previously mentioned, particularly on page 1064), Deputy Quartermaster General, was in charge of this depot, while Capt. Luke Brodhead and a small body of Northampton County militia composed the guard on duty there.

† Learn's log tavern was located at what is now Tannersville, in Pocono Township, Monroe County, twenty-eight miles from Easton. On July 3, 1781, Mr. Learn was shot and scalped near his house by a band of Indians, as was also his son George. Another son, John, shot one of the Indians, who was left by his companions on the spot where he fell. The remaining Indians carried off the wife of George Learn and her four-months-old infant; but not wishing to be encumbered with the child, dashed out its brains. In some of the journals of the officers of the Sullivan Expedition Learn's tavern is referred to as "Larnard's" and as "Larner's," and at a later day the place was sometimes called "Larner's." (See the map of North-eastern Pennsylvania in Chapter XXIII.)

‡ JOSEPH DAVIS, undoubtedly a native of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, was appointed Ensign of Capt. Abraham Marshall's company, in Col. Samuel J. Atlee's "Musketry Battalion," March 27, 1776. This battalion was embodied strictly for the defense of Pennsylvania, under a resolution of the Provincial Assembly passed March 5, 1776. Early in the following August, however, the battalion was ordered over to New York, where it was made a part of the brigade commanded by Lord Stirling, and later took part in the battle of Long Island—in which engagement Colonel Atlee was captured by the enemy, and was held a prisoner for nearly two years. Some time in the latter part of 1776 Ensign Davis was promoted First Lieutenant, and, January 15, 1777, was transferred to the 9th Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Line, commanded by Col. James Irvine. Shortly afterwards, upon the organization of "Hartley's Regiment" (see page 1108), Lieutenant Davis was transferred to that regiment, and June 5, 1778, was promoted Captain.

When, in January, 1779, Congress resolved (as noted on page 1108) that "Hartley's Regiment," certain companies of "Patton's Regiment," and several independent Pennsylvania companies annexed to Colonel Malcolm's regiment, should be incorporated together to form the "New 11th Regiment" of Pennsylvania in the Continental Line, Captain Davis became Captain of the 1st, or Colonel's, Company of the new regiment. After Colonel Hartley's resignation in February, 1779, the 1st Company was designated as the "Lieutenant Colonel's Company."

§ WILLIAM JONES was a native of Delaware. As noted on page 1108, Congress authorized General Washington in December, 1776, to raise sixteen "additional" battalions of troops "from any and

Corporal Butler and four privates, all armed with rifles, crossed the "Run" and hurried forward along the path. They had gone but a short distance, and were nearing the crest of Wilkes-Barré Mountain, when they were fired upon by a band of Indians (believed to have numbered about twenty) in ambush, and every one of them* was either instantly slain or mortally wounded. The savages rushed from their covert, secured the scalps of their victims, and disappeared in the thick woods before a single man of the main body of troops could be hurried up to the spot. Dr. Ebenezer Elmer, Surgeon of the 2d New Jersey Regiment (which took part in the Sullivan Expedition), wrote in his journal, at Wilkes-Barré, June 25, 1779, relative to this event: "What renders the action peculiarly inhuman was that the scalps were all taken off by a squaw, consort to a sachem; and at that, of some while they were alive."

Major Prowell, fearing that he had a large force of savages to cope with, halted his men and prepared for an attack. In the meantime he despatched to Colonel Butler the Surgeon of the detachment (who had volunteered for the duty) and John Halstead (a private of Captain Spalding's company, who had met the detachment en route, and was acting as guide), bearing information as to the situation of affairs on the mountain. Colonel Butler immediately called out the German Regiment and ordered it to march to the relief of Major Prowell† and his men and escort them to Fort Wyoming. This duty was done without delay; but, first, the remains of the seven slain soldiers were decently buried alongside the path where they had fallen. Over the grave of Captain Davis there was set up a piece of a board, bearing these words, written with a piece of charred wood: "The place where Capt. Davis was murdered by the Savages April 23d 1779." At the grave of Lieutenant Jones there was also placed a board, which was smeared with his blood and had inscribed upon it, "The blood of Lt. Jones."

On the same day that the Indians murdered these men, six cows were driven off from Plymouth by a band of Indians. On the same day, also, the following letter was written at Fort Penn (now Stroudsburg, Monroe County, Pennsylvania) and despatched to Colonel Butler at Wilkes-Barré.

all of the United States." One of the battalions raised in pursuance of this resolution was commanded by Col. John Patton of Philadelphia, and was known as "Patton's Regiment." Peter Scull, subsequently Secretary of the Board of War, was the first Major of this battalion, and Joseph Prowell was one of the original Captains. The latter was promoted Major January 1, 1778, and, upon the organization of the "New 11th Regiment," was transferred to that command. "Patton's Regiment" drew contributions, both in officers and men, from New Jersey and Delaware—one of the companies being Capt. Allan McLane's Partizan Company of Foot, composed entirely of Delawareans. William Jones was commissioned Second Lieutenant of this company January 13, 1777, and was still in service with the company when Congress directed that certain companies of "Patton's Regiment" (*excepting Captain McLane's company, which should be annexed to the "Delaware Regiment"*) should be incorporated with other companies to constitute the "New 11th Regiment"—as related in the preceding note. It was not until June 1, 1779, that, by resolution of the Executive Council of Delaware, McLane's company was actually annexed to the "Delaware Regiment." Meanwhile the company had continued in service temporarily attached to the 11th Regiment, under the command of Lieut. Colonel Hubley, who had succeeded Colonel Hartley. Thus it happened that, when a detachment of soldiers from the 11th Regiment was despatched to Wyoming from the general camp near Millstone, New Jersey (where only a few companies of the "11th" were encamped; the remaining companies being on duty at and near Sunbury, Pennsylvania), Lieutenant Jones came to be one of the subaltern officers of the detachment.

* Lieut. John Jenkins states in his journal that "Captain Davis, Lieutenant Jones, and three men were killed, and two others were missing." The other diarists of the expedition have recorded that the two officers named and five men were killed and scalped.

† Miner says that "Major Prowell, having leave to resign, soon left the army." Lieut. Colonel Hubley, in a letter to Brig. General Hand, written at Sunbury, June 22, 1779, said: "A board of general officers to determine the dispute of rank between Major Prowell and the Captains of the Pennsylvania Line, determined in favor of the latter; in consequence of which he will be removed from the rank he now holds, and a senior Captain take his place. I am extremely sorry for the loss of Major Prowell. He is a worthy, good officer."

"*Dear Sir.*—not being certain whether General Hand is yet arrived at Wyoming, make Bold to write you as Commanding officer at that Post. I have this Instant sent off seven Pack horses loaded with the Baggage of the German Regt., Armangs and Schoots Cores, which I hope will arrive safe. I shall continue that number in Employ constantly, and would Employ more but for the scarcity of forage at this Place. However I hope to have better Provision made for them shortly.

"You will please to let me know how you stand in respect of amunition, as I have 5,000 Rounds at this Place that I intend to send you, but if it would be convenient would rather send the officers baggage first as they are rather in my way at Present. I wish you would consult General Hand if arrived, if not would be glad you would think it right to send a party of men to causeway that bad Place at Tobyhannah, as I am informed it is almost Impossible to pass it and it will doubtless get worse Dayly.

"Should be glad to know if you have any regular appointed Quartermaster and who he is. Please to let me know how you are in the forage way. You will please to present my best compliments to the officers of my acquaintance in general.

"I am, Sir, your Humble Sert,

[Signed]

"ALEX^R PATTERSON, D. Q. M. G."

"Lieut. Col. ZEBULON BUTTLER, Wyoming.

"By Lieut. SWARTS.

"On Publick Service.

Under the date of April 13, 1779, William Stewart, Purchasing Commissary, wrote from "Coxtown" to Col. Zebulon Butler, informing him that 150 small boats were being built at Middletown (see page 859) for the Continental service. He also stated that he had seen at Carlisle Colonel Blaine, Commissary General of Purchases, who desired that he (Stewart) would remain in the locality where he was then stationed until the Commissary Department could get together 1,000 barrels of flour and 600 barrels of beef for the use of the troops that would rendezvous at Wyoming.

At Estherton, Pennsylvania, under the date of April 23, 1779, Brig. General Hand wrote to Colonel Butler at Wilkes-Barré as follows:

"Immediately on the receipt hereof I beg you may send a sufficient party, under the command of a prudent, careful officer, to Fort Jenkins [see page 995, *ante*] to meet Captain Schott, who has the charge of a quantity of stores for your Post, to protect him and the stores from Fort Jenkins upwards. If anything material happens before I have the pleasure of joining you, please to give me notice—directing your letters to the care of the commanding officer at Sunbury, to be forwarded if necessary."

At Fort Jenkins, under the date of April 25, 1779, Capt. Isaac Sweeny, of the 8th Company, 11th Pennsylvania Regiment, wrote to Colonel Butler informing him that Commissary Stewart had left Sunbury on the preceding day with a large boat-load of stores for Wyoming Garrison. He stated further:

"This day a party of fifty or more Indians came within one-fourth of a mile of the Garrison [Fort Jenkins], and took three families prisoners. I sent out thirty men with Lieut. [William] Lemmon and Ensign [Francis] Thornbury. The savages discovered the party, left their plunder, and took to the woods. A smart skirmish took place, and two men of the Garrison party were killed, four wounded, and one missing. In the meantime the prisoners escaped from the Indians. I expect your stores here next Wednesday [April 28th], where they will remain till you send a guard for them, as I am too weak here to furnish one."

At Sullivan's Stores (Brinker's Mills), under the date of May 6, 1779, Capt. Alexander Patterson wrote to Colonel Butler at Wilkes-Barré as follows*:

"*Dear Sir:* Immediately upon the receipt of your Letter of the 4th Inst. I Dispatched an Express to Col. Spencer in Easton to enquire what time he would March for your Post. he Returns Me for answer that he believes he will March in Two or Three Days and will take the amunition &c. on with him. I have sent the same Men back who came down—hope they will arrive safe at your Place.

"We have at this time six officers at this Place waiting to go in [to Wyoming], and perhaps 20 men, but as there Certainly will a body of Men march very soon for Wyoming think it is best to run no risks. I am extreemly sorry for the misfortune of Major

* The original letter is in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

Prowells party as also for the poor people on Fishing Creek and the West Branch. I should have sent you Intelligence after the receipt of your first letter after Major Prowells arrival, but could not get any Person to venture to go. Dont be discouraged, there will a large body March your way shortly. I am ordered not to communicate a word to the wise.

"My complements to the Gentlemen in general. If you think it necessary, send the Express down again. Do you certify for them, I will pay them. Dont let Publick Service suffer for a trifling expence.

"I am, Sir, your real Friend and Very Humble Sert,
"Col. ZEBULON BUTLER.

[Signed]

"ALEX^R PATTERSON."

"N. B.—Col^s Malcolms & Spencers Regts are joined together in this new arrangement. There is a Disatisfaction about it which has impeaded thier March.

[Signed]

"A. P.—"

General Sullivan arrived at Easton, Pennsylvania, and established his headquarters there, May 7, 1779. The next day he wrote to General Washington :

"I will do everything in my power to set the wheels in motion, and make the necessary preparations for the army to move on. * * The expedition is no secret in this quarter. A Sergeant of Spencer's [regiment] who was made prisoner at Mohacamoe and carried to Chemung, has just returned. He says they [the enemy] know of the expedition, and are taking every step to destroy the communications on the Susquehanna. * * I think the sooner we can get into the [Indian] country the better."

"This last sentence," says Dr. Craft, "was in allusion to the verbal instructions of Washington not to hasten the march from Easton until it was known what would be the future movements of D'Estaing, then in the West Indies, who was expected soon to sail north, and with whom the Commander-in-Chief wished to be ready to co-operate in striking some decisive blow upon the enemy." General Sullivan had also been directed so to time his movements as to be able to destroy the crops of the Indians before they could gather them; and at the same time to do this so late in the season that the crops could not be replanted. On May 11th Sullivan wrote again to Washington, complaining of his inability to procure wagons and horses necessary for forwarding from Easton to Wyoming the stores, etc., required for the Expedition.

The next day after Sullivan's arrival at Easton Brig. General Hand reached Wilkes-Barré from Sunbury, and formally assumed command of Fort Wyoming and all the troops stationed in Wyoming Valley and at Fort Jenkins and elsewhere on the Susquehanna. On May 15th he wrote to President Reed, at Philadelphia, with reference to the ravages committed by Indians on the frontiers of Northumberland County in the previous April, and stated: "We have at present about 400 rank and file for duty here, and 100 at Fort Jenkins."

At "Brinker's Mills, May 14, 1779," Capt. Alexander Patterson wrote to General Hand at Wilkes-Barré as follows* :

"*Dear General:* I am glad to hear of your safe arrival at Wyoming. * * I am sorry that I could not comply with your request respecting the rum, as there is not any arrived yet at this Post. I am in hopes Colonels Courtland and Spencer will soon make a road, so as we shall be able to supply you by hogsheads. Captain Spalding will advertise you of the approach of the party marching with the baggage of the German Battalion, Prowel's, Armang's and Schoot's cores [corps]. * * How the horses will live that are necessary to be upon the road while making, I cannot conceive, as we have not one handful of grain for them. I foresee many other difficulties. Would point them out, but might be deemed impertinent."

On May 23d Captain Patterson wrote from Brinker's Mills to Colonel Butler: "Never was man more hurried. The troops all coming on, and *everything wanting*."

During the Winter of 1778-'79 the 2d New York Regiment, Continental Line, commanded by Col. Philip Van Cortlandt, was quartered

* The original letter is in the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

at Wawarsing, in the south-western part of Ulster County, New York. In pursuance of orders to join the Sullivan Expedition, this regiment broke camp May 4, 1779, and marched across the country to what is now Port Jervis, on the Delaware River. Thence they proceeded down along the New Jersey shore of the river to Decker's Ferry (see the map in Chapter XXIII), at the mouth of Big Bushkill Creek, and some thirteen miles from Fort Penn (Stroudsburg). Crossing the river at Decker's they marched to the fort, where they arrived in the evening of May 11th. There they remained until the afternoon of May 14th, when, in obedience to orders received from General Sullivan, they marched in a north-westerly direction from Fort Penn a distance of about five miles, into the woods, and bivouacked for the night. Early the next morning the regiment proceeded to Learn's Tavern (mentioned on page 1167) and encamped in the fields near by, where, on Sunday, May 16th, they were joined by the 5th New Jersey Regiment, Continental Line, commanded by Col. Oliver Spencer. This regiment had marched from Easton, having been encamped there for a week or ten days.

The men of these two regiments—numbering in all about 500—began, forthwith, the work of building a military road from "Learn's" to Wilkes-Barré. The course of this road—which came in time to be called the "Sullivan Road," and which followed very closely the old bridle-path known for a number of years previously as the "Lower Road to the Delaware," and frequently referred to hereinbefore—was carefully surveyed, measured and plotted by Lieut. Benjamin Lodge, "Geographer" (Topographical Engineer) to the Sullivan Expedition, and his assistants. (Colonel Van Cortlandt, who was in immediate command of the forces engaged in laying out and building the road, was himself a practical surveyor; having followed land-surveying as an occupation for several years before entering the army.) In the collections of the New York Historical Society there is now preserved a considerable number of the original manuscript maps which were plotted by Lieutenant Lodge and his assistants while making the surveys from Easton to Wilkes-Barré for the "Sullivan Road." Some of these maps are drawn on a scale of two inches to one mile, and others on a scale of one inch to two miles. They are all in a fairly good state of preservation, and appear to have been made with care. The present writer has recently studied these maps with much interest, and, while unable to print herein a reproduction of any one of them, is able to give a satisfactory description of the course which the road followed, the principal localities through which it passed, and the measured distances between those various localities.

The Sullivan Road started in Easton near where the present Third Street bridge spans Bushkill Creek. It ran along the left bank of that stream a short distance westward; then took its way around the north shoulder of the hill on which Lafayette College now stands, and then ran over that hill in a northerly direction to Chestnut Hill. A portion of the road on College Hill was known in the writer's student-days as "Lovers' Lane." It is now called Sullivan Street.* From Chestnut

* Alongside this street, on a huge rock near the residence of Prof. Francis A. March, Sr., of Lafayette College, a bronze tablet was placed by George Taylor Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, in June, 1900, with appropriate ceremonies. The tablet bears the following inscription: "This stone marks the road over which Gen. John Sullivan marched June 18, 1779, to quell the Indian insurrection and avenge the Wyoming massacre. Erected by the George Taylor Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, June 18, 1900."

Hill the road ran north by west to "Heller's" (twelve miles from Easton); thence about a mile and a-half to and through the Wind Gap; thence to Brinker's Mills (about nineteen miles from Easton). Some three and a-quarter miles beyond "Brinker's" a road leading to Fort Penn branched off to the right. (This was the road which had been used for several years by persons traveling from Wyoming to Fort Penn, and to the Delaware River a few miles farther on.) The distance to "Learn's" from where the Fort Penn road branched off was six and a-quarter miles; or, as previously noted, twenty-eight and a-half miles from Easton.



VIEW OF LAFAYETTE COLLEGE HILL
FROM MT. JEFFERSON, IN 1871.

Six miles beyond "Learn's" the road crossed White Oak Run at what was later called "Rum Bridge." This was near the west line of the present Pocono Township, Monroe County. At the thirty-seventh mile-post the road entered the Great Swamp (previously described herein), and about two and a-half miles farther on crossed Tunkhanna Creek, near which was a locality

known as "Indian Field." At exactly the forty-first mile-post the road crossed Tobyhanna Creek, over which a bridge was constructed, not far from the present hamlet of Tompkinsville in Tobyhanna Township, Monroe County. The forty-fifth mile-post was at Locust Hill, or Locust Ridge—so called because the elevated ground at that point was covered with a growth of small locust trees. The forty-seventh mile-post was at the western end of what the surveyors called the "Great Swamp"—Locust Hill lying within the territory covered by this swamp. Passing this locality the road descended a mountain diagonally to the Lehigh River, which it crossed at or near what is now Thornhurst, in Lehigh Township, Lackawanna County. At the place of crossing the water was shallow and the river bottom smooth and solid. No bridge was necessary. From the Lehigh onward, for three miles, the country was of a rolling character, covered with very heavy timber and with an almost impenetrable growth of laurel. Boulders, too, of great size, were scattered apparently in all directions. In order to avoid this stretch of bad lands the road was turned in a slightly more westerly direction, and at the entrance to a small swamp—which the surveyors named "Shades of Death"—the fifty-first mile-post was set, while the fifty-third mile-post marked the farther border of this swamp. At the fifty-fifth mile the road entered "Bear Swamp," passing through it for a distance of one mile, and crossing, a little more than midway, Bear Creek—which the surveyors designated "a Branch of Schuylkill." From Bear Swamp the road ran in an almost straight course two and three-quarters miles to Nathan Bullock's property—passing his house and clearing on the south. At sixty miles the road passed through a notch, or gorge, in what the surveyors called "Moosic Mountain" (now known as Wyoming Mountain, as explained on page 44, Vol. I); and at sixty-one and three-quarters miles Laurel Run—along the right bank



VIEW OF BEAR CREEK FROM "TOP-KNOT" COTTAGE.

of which the road ran for a mile or more—was crossed, at a point where the creek turned towards the north-east, to continue its course along the south-eastern base of Wilkes-Barré Mountain. On this mountain (called by the surveyors “Susquehanna Mountain”) the sixty-second and sixty-third mile-posts were set—the former on the south-eastern slope of the mountain (not far from where Captain Davis and Lieutenant Jones and their companions had been massacred), and the latter on the north-western slope of the mountain, a full quarter of a mile west by south from the bold, jutting ledge known since that day as Prospect Rock. (See page 49, Vol. I.) From this point the road continued on down the slope of the mountain, and then over the foot-hills in a course almost north-westerly, until it terminated in Northampton Street in the town-plot of Wilkes-Barré. At the sixty-fifth mile from Easton the road crossed the small creek described on pages 58 and 59, Vol. I, and from that point to Fort Wyoming, via Northampton Street, the distance was half a mile—making the total distance from Easton to Fort Wyoming by this new route sixty-five and one-half miles; being from one and a-half to two miles shorter than by the route leading from “Bullock’s” to and through Solomon’s Gap, and thence in a northerly direction to the Wilkes-Barré town-plot.

The late Hon. G. M. Harding of Wilkes-Barré, in a paper entitled “The Sullivan Road,” read before Wyoming Valley Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, and published in 1899, states :

“Contemporaneous with the orders given to Colonels Courtlandt and Spencer for opening a road from Larner’s [Learn’s] westward toward the Susquehanna, orders were also issued to Col. Zebulon Butler, who was in command of the fort at Wilkes-Barré, to open a like road from the latter place easterly, over and beyond what was then known as the ‘Three-Mile Mountain’ [Wilkes-Barré Mountain]. *No particular or definite point was indicated for the meeting of the two divisions of the contemplated through road.* Both divisions were to be pushed forward with all possible despatch—each in its proper direction—until a meeting was had, *no matter where.* Colonel Butler was aware that a road constructed on the line of the bridle-path (already described) from the level land below, up by ‘Prospect Rock’ to the top of the ‘Three-Mile Mountain,’ would be too rough and too steep for the safe passage downwards of the artillery and the supply trains of the coming army. He at once selected a more feasible route. Competent engineers, and a force of road-builders consisting mostly of the then necessarily idle settlers in the Valley, entered vigorously upon the work. The road started at the westerly foot of the mountain, near a spring known as ‘Bowman’s Spring,’ and not far from the present breaker of the Franklin Coal Company. The course up the mountain was generally easterly, along the mountain side, though in places it followed depressions, and was here and there somewhat circuitous. Reaching the summit, it passed on for a considerable distance. * * It descended the easterly side of the mountain to a point within about fifty yards westerly from the [Laurel Run] station of the Central Railroad of New Jersey. From this point the road continued directly up Laurel Run for a mile and a-quarter.”

In the foregoing statement there are several important errors, due, chiefly, to the undoubted fact that Judge Harding never saw the original maps, or plots, of the surveys made by the topographical engineers of Sullivan’s army—which maps are more fully referred to on pages 1099 and 1172. As previously stated, the entire course which it was intended the “Sullivan Road” should follow from “Learn’s” to Wilkes-Barré was surveyed and marked out by the engineers, who worked in advance of the road-builders proper. The engineers followed pretty closely the old bridle-path, known as the “Lower Road,” up to a point a short distance beyond where it crossed Laurel Run, and near where Captain Davis and Lieutenant Jones had been murdered. Thenceforward, instead of following that path* down along the south-eastern base

* The bridle-path, or “Lower Road,” did not run over the crest of Wilkes-Barré Mountain, and down “by Prospect Rock,” as stated by Judge Harding.

of Wilkes-Barré Mountain to and through Solomon's Gap, the engineers went diagonally up the face of the mountain, passed over its crest, and continued down the other side—at first, diagonally (passing in the rear of Prospect Rock), and then in a zig-zag course. Having reached the foot of the mountain, the course of the proposed road was run in a north-westerly direction, over the foot-hills, till it terminated at the head of Northampton Street in the town-plot of Wilkes-Barré. In other words, the present Northampton Street, from Pennsylvania Avenue (formerly Canal Street) south-east to the city line, and continuing thence as a township highway through "Georgetown," past Prospect Rock, and on over the mountain to Laurel Run (forming what was once a section of the Easton and Wilkes-Barré Turnpike), follows a course almost identical with that of the old "Sullivan Road" for the same distance.

The section of the "Sullivan Road" extending from "Bullock's" to Northampton Street was not built in its entirety by the men of Colonel Butler's command (as stated by Judge Harding on page 17 of his pamphlet), but only that stretch of it lying between the crest of the mountain and Northampton Street—as is shown by the "journals" of the Sullivan Expedition. And, as a matter of course (the whole line of the proposed road having been surveyed), in opening up this Wyoming section of the road, a "particular, or definite, point *was indicated* for the meeting" of this section with the section which was being constructed under the direction of Colonel Van Cortlandt.

The road which Judge Harding mentions as having "started at the westerly foot of the mountain near a spring known as Bowman's Spring," was not the "Sullivan Road" or any part of it, but was a public road which was constructed in 1788 or '89 to supersede that portion of the "Sullivan Road" which passed up and over the mountain in the neighborhood of Prospect Rock. This "Bowman's Spring" road is referred to more fully in a subsequent chapter.

The troops under the command of Colonel Van Cortlandt having completed the construction of the road from "Learn's" to White Oak Run (a distance of about six miles), removed their camp early in the morning of May 17th to the west side of this little creek—giving the name "Rum Bridge" to the locality. There the camp remained until Sunday, May 23d, the men working meanwhile on the road in front, although the weather was either foggy or rainy every day. In the morning of the 23d tents were struck, and the camp was removed some six miles to a point in the Great Swamp between Tunkhanna and Tobyhanna Creeks. In the evening of the same day a Sergeant and five men were sent forward to Wilkes-Barré with letters from General Sullivan to General Hand. They reached Wilkes-Barré safely, and returned to camp in the evening of May 26. The troops remained at the camp last mentioned exactly one week, working industriously on the road in front, and also building a substantial bridge across the Tobyhanna, together with a connecting causeway—the whole being 115 paces in length. While stationed there Colonel Van Cortlandt wrote to Governor Clinton of New York, dating his letter May 26, 1779, at "Great Swamp Wilderness, of the Shades of Death, 25 miles from Wyomen." The letter reads in part as follows* :

"By an officer passing to your State [I] have just time to inform you of the good health and spirits of the officers and men under my command. I have, in a letter sent

* See the "Public Papers of George Clinton," IV : 851.

by Lieutenant Livingston, informed you of the nature of the command I am ordered upon, which is to make a road to Wyomen for the transportation of artillery, which is coming in with General Sullivan, and is now at Easton. * * * I just received a letter from General Hand, who is at Wyomen. Things go on well in that quarter. Provisions are transported up the Susquehanna, and meet with no obstruction as yet from the savages; although small parties are very frequently seen near the fort, and have been on the path from this [point] to Wyomen, but have not as yet attempted anything to the prejudice of my party. * * The danger will be when I advance beyond the swamp."

On May 29th, while in camp near Tobyhanna, two soldiers of Colonel Van Cortlandt's detachment were tried by a drum-head court-martial for stealing rum from the commissary stores. Both men were found guilty, and were sentenced, one to receive seventy-five lashes and the other fifty lashes—which sentence was executed immediately. In the evening of that day General Sullivan, accompanied by Maj. Adam Hoops, one of his aides-de-camp, arrived at the camp from Easton. They remained there over night, and set out early the next morning on their return to Easton, where, on May 31st, in general orders, General Sullivan extended "his most sincere thanks to Colonels Van Cortlandt and Spencer, and to the officers and soldiers under their command, for their unparalleled exertions in clearing and repairing the road to Wyoming." In conclusion he declared:

"He [Sullivan] cannot help promising himself success in an expedition in which he is to be honored with the command of troops who give such pleasing evidence of their zeal for the service, and manifest so strong a desire to advance against the inhuman murderers of their friends and countrymen."

At the same time General Sullivan wrote to President Reed of Pennsylvania as follows:

"I yesterday returned from the Great Swamps. I find the road in such forwardness that I shall march the army for Wyoming this week. I have already sent on 500 men to strengthen that Garrison, as I find Colonel [John] Butler is on his march downward with 900 men."

Meanwhile, by order of General Sullivan, the 1st New Hampshire Regiment (commanded by Col. Joseph Cilley)—which had arrived at Easton on May 18th and taken up its quarters "in the Court House and other spare buildings"—had marched from Easton on May 28th to join Van Cortlandt's detachment. The latter broke camp at Tobyhanna on May 30th and removed five or six miles to Locust Hill, where, on the 31st, the men of Colonel Cilley's regiment arrived, pitched their tents, and went to work on the road. On the next day a detachment of 200 men, selected from the three regiments then at Locust Hill, marched forward to Wilkes-Barré under the command of Lieut. Col. William S. Smith of the 5th New Jersey Regiment. This detachment was accompanied onward from Locust Hill by the 1st New Jersey Regiment (Mathias Ogden, Colonel, and David Brearly, Lieut. Colonel), which had just marched up from Easton on its way to Wilkes-Barré. Here, on June 3d, these combined bodies arrived and went into camp on the bank of the river, erecting "bush huts" for their shelter. (The baggage and camp equipage of the 1st New Jersey Regiment had been left at Easton in charge of one of the companies of the regiment, by which it was brought on pack-horses to Wilkes-Barré on June 12th.)

At his headquarters in New Jersey, under the date of May 31, 1779, General Washington issued his instructions to General Sullivan relative to the campaign against the Indians for which preparations were then being made. The immediate objects of the Sullivan Expedition, declared Washington, were the total destruction and devastation of the settle-

ments of the Six Nations, as well as of their adherents and associates, and the capture of as many persons as possible, of every age and sex. Having established some central post, Sullivan was directed to detach parties "to lay waste all the settlements around, with instructions to do it in an effectual manner, that the country may be not merely overrun, but destroyed." Until this should be thoroughly done, he was not to listen for a moment to any proposals of peace. He was ordered to "make, rather than receive, attacks, attended with as much shouting and noise as possible." If, after he had thoroughly destroyed their settlements, the Indians should show a disposition for peace, Sullivan was to encourage it, on the condition that they should give "some decisive evidence of their sincerity" by delivering up into the hands of the Americans "some of the principal instigators of their past hostility—Butler, Brant, and the most mischievous of the Tories" that had joined them.

The camp of Colonel Van Cortlandt's road-builders remained at Locust Hill until the morning of June 7th, when it was moved forward about six miles—"across the Lehigh, to the side of a swamp called the 'Shades of Death'," as recorded by one of the officers in his journal. In the afternoon of the 8th the camp was again moved forward, through the "Shades," to a point within one mile of Bear Swamp,* where it was located until the 11th—the men, in the meantime, working hard on the road in front. A removal was made to "Bullock's" early in the morning of the 11th, and during all that day and the two following days the men worked diligently building the road over Wyoming Mountain, along and across Laurel Run, and thence up the eastern slope of Wilkes-Barré Mountain. In the evening of the third day (Sunday, June 13th) Van Cortlandt's men formed a junction with Butler's men, who (as mentioned on page 1174) had been opening the road from Wilkes-Barré town-plot to and beyond Prospect Rock. Thus the "Sullivan Road" was at last completed—whereat there was great rejoicing on the part of its builders; and at six o'clock in the morning of June 14th the generale was beaten, tents were struck, and the troops marched down the mountain to Wilkes-Barré and went into camp on the bank of the river. Three days later the regiments of Colonels Van Cortlandt, Spencer and Cilley were ordered by General Hand to go into camp four miles north-east of Fort Wyoming, on Jacob's Plains, near the bank of the river.

While the "Sullivan Road" was being constructed the soldiers and citizens of Wilkes-Barré were kept busy in a variety of ways; chiefly, however, in arranging for the suitable care and accommodation of the large force of troops soon to rendezvous here. Early in May Colonel Denison and "Deacon" Hurlbut, Representatives from Westmoreland to the General Assembly of Connecticut (see page 1166), set out for Hartford to attend the May session of that body. During the session the Assembly appointed, and Governor Trumbull commissioned, for the ensuing year, the following officers in and for the county of Westmoreland: Col. Zebulon Butler, Judge of the County Court; Col. Nathan Denison and Zerah Beach, Justices of the Peace and the Quorum; Col. Zebulon Butler, Maj. William Judd, Dr. Joseph Hamilton, Capt. John

* In October, 1898, the members of the Wilkes-Barré Branch of the Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America erected (and dedicated with interesting ceremonies) on the banks of Ten Mile Run, near Bear Creek, a monument to mark the site of a bridge constructed by Sullivan's road-builders across the creek mentioned. The monument in question consists of a boulder, having affixed to it a bronze tablet bearing this inscription: "This stone marks the site of a bridge built by Sullivan's Army on its march against the Six Nations, 1779. It was presented by Mr. Albert Lewis to the Wilkes-Barré Branch of the Colonial Dames, and by them inscribed, 1898."



Lord Butler

GEN. LORD BUTLER.

Photo-reproduction of a lithograph by P. S. Duval, Philadelphia 1850.

Franklin, Zebulon Marcy, John Hurlbut, Obadiah Gore, Uriah Chapman and Capt. Stephen Harding, Justices of the Peace.

One of the busiest men in Wilkes-Barré in the Spring of 1779 was the youthful "Acting Quartermaster at the Wyoming Garrison"—Lord Butler,* then only seventeen and a-half years old. One of his duties

* LORD BUTLER, eldest child of Col. Zebulon and Anne (Lord) Butler (see page 638), was born December 11, 1761, in the North Society, or Parish, of the town of Lyme, New London County, Connecticut. He removed thence to Wilkes-Barré in December, 1772, with the other members of his father's family. Here he lived the remainder of his life, except for two or three years prior to 1778, spent at school in Connecticut. In October, 1778, he was appointed by his father Quartermaster at the Wyoming Post—as related on page 1095. The duties of this appointment he performed until the following January, when he was appointed Acting Deputy Quartermaster in the Continental establishment, and Quartermaster at the Wyoming Post. He was then only a few weeks over seventeen years of age. Before June, 1779, he was promoted Acting Quartermaster in the Continental establishment, and in the following October was promoted Acting Deputy Quartermaster General, with an assignment to the Wyoming Post. This office he held until February, 1783, when the Continental garrison was withdrawn from Wyoming.

When the "Second Pennamite-Yankee War" was begun in the Autumn of 1783, Lord Butler was one of the foremost of the younger men identified with the Connecticut party in Wyoming to come to the front to oppose the schemes and impositions of the Pennamites—as is more fully shown in the following pages. He was one of the thirty-seven "effective men" who, in August, 1784, under the command of Capt. John Swift, marched over the mountains to Locust Hill and attacked a band of invading Pennamites. A few weeks later he was one of thirty Wyoming settlers who were taken prisoners by the Pennamites, bound, and marched under guard to Easton, where they were lodged in the jail of Northampton County. (See Chapter XXI.) In April, 1787, the new county of Luzerne having been organized, Lord Butler was appointed and commissioned by the Supreme Executive Council of the State Sheriff of the county, to serve until the election of his successor. In the following October he was elected to serve a full term as Sheriff, and in November was duly commissioned by the Supreme Executive Council. He served until the last of October, 1789, when he was succeeded by Jesse Fell of Wilkes-Barré.

In May, 1788, Lord Butler was elected First Lieutenant of the Troop of Light Dragoons of the Luzerne County militia. Prior to 1798 he became Captain of this Troop, and in April, 1799, he was commissioned a Brigadier General of the Pennsylvania militia. He was a member of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania from October 30, 1789, till December 20, 1790, when the Council went out of existence. He was appointed and commissioned, August 17, 1791, as the successor of Col. Timothy Pickering, Prothonotary, Clerk of the Orphans' Court and of the Court of Quarter Sessions, Register of Wills, and Recorder of Deeds in and for Luzerne County. These various offices he held until January, 1800, when he was removed from them by Governor McKean for political reasons only. Following this action of the Governor, General Butler prepared an address to the public, which was printed in the *Wilkes-Barré Gazette* of February 18, 1800. It read, in part, as follows:

"Other principles seemed to govern him [Governor Mifflin], than those of our present chief magistrate; but which of them was the most pure is not for me, at present, to say. Suffice it to mention, that he [Mifflin] removed no good officer who only exercised his right as a freeman. The herd of office-hunters approached him not (with their pockets filled with affidavits) the moment his election was sure, to show that this and the other office-holder voted for his competitor, and therefore ought to be removed. Either the times were more honest then, or the loaves and fishes were not purchasable through such means. Having done well in office, differing from him in politics was not a subject of enquiry. But times have changed! Dare but to adhere to a system of politics contrary to that of the Governor, and you at once draw to a close your public offices that are at his disposal. Dare to vote for another, and your name is as soon with the proscribed. Political opinion, rather than a faithful discharge of trust, seems to be studied.

"Although my offices have been taken from me in this manner, yet, fellow-citizens, I trust your affection for me remains. For these eight years past I have endeavoured a faithful discharge of the several duties incident to my offices; and how far I have succeeded you can best attest. Error may have escaped me, but in no one instance have I intentionally done wrong. A discharge of duty has, I trust, never been delayed because the office fees were not promptly tendered. For the truth of this I appeal to the orphan, the widow, and all others who have claimed my official services, under a conviction that I have never oppressed, and with an approving conscience of having spared no pains in acquitting myself worthily as an officer and public servant for the best part of my days. I take my official adieu of you, trusting that in private life I shall never lose sight of those principles of integrity and virtue which, as they should guide in public, are not less essential in retirement."

Lord Butler was the first postmaster of Wilkes-Barré, being appointed in 1794, and holding the office till 1802, when he took his seat for one term in the Pennsylvania Legislature as one of the two Representatives from Luzerne County. Upon the organization of the first Town Council of the borough of Wilkes-Barré, in May, 1806, General Butler was elected President of that body, and this office he held until May, 1808. He was Burgess of the borough from May, 1811, till May, 1814. In 1801, and for several years thereafter, he held the office of County Treasurer, and from 1815 till 1818 he was one of the Commissioners of Luzerne County. He was one of the incorporators of the Wilkes-Barré Academy, and was a member of its Board of Trustees from 1807 until his death in 1824—for seven years of which time he was President of the Board.

General Butler was for many years one of the most prominent and influential men in public life in Luzerne County. Charles Miner, who knew him well, says of him ("History of Wyoming," Appendix, page 7): "In all his various offices General Butler sustained the highest character for faithfulness and ability. No public servant ever deserved better of the public. If he would not condescend to flatter their prejudices, he yet delighted all with his intelligence and zeal to promote their best interests. Decided in his political opinions, and free in expressing them, his opponents said he was proud. If an unworthy pride was meant, the charge was unjust. He was a man of stern integrity, and lived and died highly respected and esteemed, while in the family and social circle he was justly and tenderly loved. He was always and everywhere the gentleman." He died at his home on River Street, Wilkes-Barré, March 3, 1824.

Lord Butler was married May 30, 1786, to Mary (born in October, 1763; died October 28, 1834), third child of Abel and Ruth (Sheppard) Peirce, mentioned on page 711. Their children were as follows, all born in Wilkes-Barré: (i) *Louisa*, born February 23, 1787; died December 17, 1787. (ii) *Peirce*, born January 27, 1789; died March 30, 1848. (See next page.) (iii) *Houghton*, born November 8, 1791; died October 3, 1807. (iv) *Sylvina Peirce*, born March 5, 1794; married in June, 1811, to Garrick Mallory; died March 28, 1824. (See sketch and portrait of Garrick Mallory in a subsequent chapter.) (v) *John Lord*, born February 9, 1796; died August 4, 1858. (See a sketch of his life in a subsequent chapter.) (vi) *Chester Peirce*, born March 21, 1798; died October 5, 1850. (See a sketch of his life in a subsequent chapter.) (vii) *Ruth Ann*, born January 11, 1801; married December 17,

was to receive from the various "conductors" the numerous Continental pack-horses which were brought here for the use of the Sullivan Expedition; and also to provide for their proper care and sustenance. It is shown by original records in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society that, during the month of June, 1779, Lord Butler received here and took charge of 608 pack-horses, together with a large number of pack-saddles.*

At Estherton, Pennsylvania (on the Susquehanna, some fifty miles below Sunbury), under the date of June 8, 1779, Cornelius Cox, Deputy Quartermaster General, wrote to General Hand at Wilkes-Barré as follows:

"You will have the pleasure, by the arrival of this letter, of seeing the largest number of boats that ever was together at one time on this river—and all loaded."

At Sunbury, Pennsylvania, under the date of June 22, 1779, Lieut. Col. Adam Hubley† wrote to General Hand as follows:

"*Dear General.*—Your favour of the 19th came safe to hand last evening. I'm extremely happy to find I shall be under your command this campaign. I have communicated this agreeable piece of news to a number of my officers, who equally express their happiness on the occasion; and what adds to the happiness is, that your corps is to be a *select* one, to act as Light Infantry. Agreeably to your orders I have given directions for the [11th] regiment to be in readiness at a moment's warning. General Sullivan, it seems, is to determine on the continuance of the Dragoons in my regiment. I must beg you will use your influence with him to have them dismounted, unless they can be annexed and do duty with us. * * * We shall be able to load the greatest part of the boats at this place. I expect they will be at Fort Jenkins about the 25th, at which place the officer commanding them will await your further orders. The remainder are on their way to Cox's town. Those, with what new ones may be finished, will be sufficient to bring up what stores are at present there. Every step is taken to expedite the forwarding of the stores, &c. I anxiously look forward for the moment when I shall have the pleasure of seeing you."

1823, to John N. Conyngham; died July 31, 1879. (See in a subsequent chapter a sketch and portrait of the Hon. John N. Conyngham.) (viii) *Zebulon*, born September 27, 1803; married November 12, 1829, to Mary Ann Murdock; was a Presbyterian clergyman for thirty-three years at Port Gibson, Mississippi, where he died December 23, 1860. (ix) *Lord*, born October 18, 1805; died November 27, 1861. (See a sketch of his life in a subsequent chapter.) (x) *Phebe Haight*, born January 16, 1811; married in 1835 to Dr. Alexander C. Donaldson, of Folsom, California; died in July, 1849.

(ii) *Peirce Butler* was married February 2, 1818, to Temperance (born December 27, 1790), eldest child of Arnold and Lucinda (*Yarington*) Colt—referred to more at length in a subsequent chapter—and they settled in Kingston Township, Wyoming Valley, where, for the greater part of his life, Mr. Butler was occupied in farming. He became a member of Lodge No. 61, F. and A. M., Wilkes-Barré, April 11, 1814, and was Senior Warden of the Lodge in 1821 and again in 1845. "He was possessed of an uncommon share of native good sense, a sound, discriminating judgment, a happy, benevolent disposition. Few men ever had fewer enemies, and none ever had warmer and more sincere friends. The virtues of humanity were so happily blended in him as to command the esteem and affection of all who knew him. He was a faithful and devoted Mason." Peirce Butler died at his home in Kingston March 30, 1848, and was buried with the ceremonies and honors of Free Masonry by Lodge No. 61. Mrs. Temperance (*Colt*) Butler died in Kingston May 10, 1863. The children of Peirce and Temperance (*Colt*) Butler were: (1) *Houghton Seymour*, born December 15, 1818; became a civil engineer; married March 18, 1847, to Caroline Amanda Meyer (born in Wysox, Bradford County, Pennsylvania; died in Wilkes-Barré April 8, 1893). He died August 22, 1870, being survived by his wife and three children: Charles S., Henry Colt, and Julia. (2) *Mary Lucinda*, born January 13, 1822; married November 21, 1842, to Elijah Wadhams (born January 18, 1813), fifth child of Benjamin and Lydia (*Fuller*) Reynolds of Plymouth; he was a merchant in Wilkes-Barré for many years; was President of the Town Council in 1848 and '49; became a member of Lodge No. 61, F. and A. M., February 12, 1844, and was Treasurer of the Lodge in 1845 and '46, and Secretary in 1851. Elijah W. Reynolds died September 25, 1869, and his widow died November 21, 1897. Children: Peirce Butler, William Champion, and John Butler. (3) *James Montgomery*, born February 9, 1826; married March 18, 1852, to Martha (born September 28, 1832), daughter of John and Polly (*Drake*) Lazarus of Hanover Township, Luzerne County; died in Kingston December 9, 1861. Children: Blanche Montgomery, Peirce, George Hollenback, John Lord, and James Montgomery. (4) *Peirce*, born October 13, 1832; married January 17, 1855, to Catherine A. Kelley. Resides in Carbon-dale, Pennsylvania.

* From an original record, now in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, we learn that the following Quartermaster's stores were "issued at the post of Wyoming by Lord Butler, A. Q. M., in July, 1779." 287¼ quires of paper; 156 blank books; 1,059 quills; 69 papers of ink-powder; 19 ink-stands; 20½ boxes of wafers; 1,297 knapsacks; 1,774 haversacks; 1,184 canteens; 156 camp-kettles; 14 scythe-stones; 18 scythes; 1 grindstone; 11 coils of rope; 11 tin candlesticks; 38 tents; 162 felling-axes; 65 spades; 46 shovels; 27 pickaxes; 46 portmanteaux; 880 horse-shoe nails; 162 lbs. of nails; 675 pack-saddles; 203 rope halters; 116 "Aa" slings; 6 horse-bells and collars.

† ADAM HUBLEY, (JR.), was a native of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. He was commissioned by Congress, October 27, 1775, First Lieutenant in the First Pennsylvania Battalion (commanded by Col. John Bull, who was succeeded in January, 1776, by John Philip De Haas), raised in pursuance of a resolution of Congress passed October 12, 1775. His term of service having expired in October, 1776, Lieutenant Hubley was, on December 6, 1776, commissioned Major in one of the "additional" regiments ordered to be raised by Congress—as mentioned in the note on page 1108. March 12, 1777, he was promoted Lieut. Colonel of the 10th Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Line, ranking from

While Wilkes-Barré, during the building of the "Sullivan Road," was filled to overflowing with Continental soldiers—Frenchmen, Germans, Yankees and Pennsylvanians—and nearly everybody here was kept on the move, in one way or another, because of the necessary and extensive preparations which were being made for the designed expedition, Easton, at the other end of the road, was equally in a state of bustle and excitement. What with the hurrying up of supplies, the arrival of troops and their departure for Wilkes-Barré, the reviewing and inspecting of the various commands encamped at Easton, a continual correspondence carried on with the Commander-in-Chief, and likewise with the President of Pennsylvania (relative to troops from his State that had been promised for the Expedition, but had not yet materialized), visits to the Moravians at Bethlehem, courts-martial, executions of military malefactors, and many other duties—as well as diversions—General Sullivan led a strenuous life for about six weeks, and kept his subordinate officers in a state of almost constant activity.

As early as May 24th General Sullivan, believing that the Expedition would soon be in readiness to set out for the Indian country, issued, in general orders, full details (accompanied by diagrams) as to the "order of march" and "order of battle" to be observed by the troops.* At that date, besides General Sullivan and his staff, and Brig. Gen. William Maxwell of New Jersey (assigned to the command of the 1st Brigade of the Expedition) and his staff, the following organizations were encamped at Easton: Procter's Pennsylvania Artillery Regiment, the 1st New Hampshire Regiment (Col. Joseph Cilley in command), the 1st New Jersey Regiment (Col. Matthias Ogden in command), and one or two companies of the 11th Pennsylvania Regiment. Two days later the 2d New Hampshire Regiment (Lieut. Col. George Reid in command) and the 3d New Hampshire Regiment (Lieut. Col. Henry Dearborn in command), led by Brig. Gen. Enoch Poor of New Hampshire (who was assigned to the command of the 2d Brigade of the Expedition), and the 3d New Jersey Regiment (Col. Elias Dayton in command), arrived at Easton—the first two regiments after a long march through New York and New Jersey. These troops having been supplied with tents, went into camp on the south-east side of the town, on the left bank of the Lehigh River. A few days later the 2nd New Jersey Regiment (Col. Israel Shreve in command) reached Easton; but in the meantime the 1st New Jersey Regiment and the 1st New Hampshire Regiment had

October 4, 1776; and June 8, 1779, he was appointed Lieut. Colonel Commandant of the "New Eleventh Regiment," to rank from February 13, 1779. (See page 1108.) Colonel Hubley retired from the service January 1, 1781, and settled at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. He became a member of the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati in December, 1783. He was a Free Mason, and was one of the seven Master Masons who were charter members of Lodge No. 43, F. and A. M., warranted April 21, 1785, and constituted September 14, 1785, at the house of Frederick Hubley in Lancaster. In later years Colonel Hubley was a member of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives and of the Senate. He was appointed one of the City Auctioneers of Philadelphia, and died there of yellow fever in 1793.

At New Windsor, New York, under the date of March 24, 1781, General Washington wrote as follows concerning Colonel Hubley: "Adam Hubley, Junr., Esq., late Lieut. Colonel Commandant of the 11th Pennsylvania Regiment, entered the service as a Lieutenant in the year 1775, from which rank he rose to that of the command of a regiment, and continued until the late reform of the army, when he was under the necessity of retiring upon half-pay. For the last three years Colonel Hubley acted principally under my immediate command, during which time he distinguished himself as an attentive, brave and intelligent officer; and from the testimony of the gentlemen under whom he served at other periods, his conduct has been uniformly deserving of applause."

At Trenton, New Jersey, under the date of January 19, 1781, Brig. Gen. Anthony Wayne, commanding the Pennsylvania Line, wrote as follows: "If more than five years' faithful service in the field—if the truest patriotism, bravery and assiduity—entitles the gentleman and the soldier to the esteem and confidence of his country, Lieut. Colonel Commandant Adam Hubley has the highest claim to it."

* See "Journals of the Sullivan Expedition," pages 66-68.

been sent forward from Easton—the one to work on the “Sullivan Road,” and the other to reinforce the garrison at Wilkes-Barré, as related on page 1175.

“In the meanwhile,” states the Rev. Dr. Craft in his “historical address” previously referred to, “some of the Jersey troops were in a state of mutiny because the authorities of that State not only neglected to provide for the depreciation of the currency, but had failed to pay even the nominal sum—in the almost worthless Continental paper-money—due them for their services. It required all the address of the officers to quiet the minds of the soldiers, and Washington declared that nothing had occurred during the war which so filled him with alarm. Spies from the enemy were also busily at work amongst the disaffected soldiers, urging them to desert the army and betray their country. * * *

“Difficulties of another sort began to present themselves. Many people in Pennsylvania had opposed the Expedition from the first. The Quakers of Philadelphia, averse to all war on principle, were specially so to any measure which looked towards punishing the Indians, who, they alleged, were far more deserving of pity than blame for whatever excesses they might be guilty of; while what was known * * * as the Pennamite party—which included men possessing large wealth and much political influence—* * * while they professed to commiserate the sufferings of the [Wyoming] people, did not hesitate to express their satisfaction at being clear of the hated ‘intruders,’ and their perfect willingness that the Indians should keep them out of the disputed territory until the war was over. This opposition began to show itself early in the campaign, in the lack of hearty co-operation and the failure to furnish either their quota of men or supplies for the army.”

At Easton, June 3, 1779, Lawrence Miller (who had been a Lieutenant in the New Jersey Militia) and Michael Rosebury, inhabitants of Sussex County, New Jersey, were tried by a general court-martial on the charge of “enticing soldiers of the American army to desert to the enemy, and engaging their assistance for that purpose.” The prisoners were found guilty by the court (of which Brig. General Maxwell was President), and were “sentenced to suffer death.” General Sullivan approved the sentence, but postponed the execution of it for a few days.

On the 7th of June General Sullivan wrote from Easton to President Reed of Pennsylvania in part as follows* :

“I am happy to find your Excellency and the Council pursuing every measure to forward the Expedition. * * I doubt not every effort will be used on your part to have the troops sent on with expedition, as the army, if moved to Wyoming, must await their arrival, as our numbers will fall far short of what was supposed, and the army must remain there consuming the provisions intended for the Expedition, until those troops have joined.”

On June 12th Sullivan wrote to General Washington, giving him in detail the difficulties he had been compelled to meet. In reply the Commander-in-Chief wrote: “I am very sorry you are like to be disappointed in the independent companies expected from Pennsylvania, and that you have encountered greater difficulties than you looked for. I am satisfied that every exertion in your power will be made, and I hope that your eventful operations will be attended with fewer obstacles.”

At Easton, on Saturday, June 12, 1779, three soldiers belonging to the 11th Pennsylvania Regiment were hanged for highway robbery and

* See “Pennsylvania Archives,” First Series, VII: 473.

murder. They had been tried before the Northampton County Court, found guilty, and sentenced to death eleven months previously. At four o'clock in the afternoon of the 12th all the troops in Easton were paraded and marched to the place of execution. Sergeant Thomas Roberts, referring to this incident, states in his journal of the Sullivan Expedition: "I never saw so many spectators in my life, I think. According to my opinion there were 4,000."

A day or two later Mrs. Washington, the wife of the Commander-in-Chief, arrived in Easton from her husband's camp, en route to her home in Virginia. The following is an extract from one of the diaries preserved in the Moravian archives at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.*

"[Bethlehem] 15 June, 1779. Early this morning Lady Washington arrived here from Easton in company with Generals Sullivan, Poor and Maxwell, and some twenty other officers. After dinner Brother Ettwein escorted Lady Washington through the large buildings [of the Moravians], and in the evening, with her suite, she attended the service—Brother Ettwein speaking in English. 16 June.—Lady Washington set out for Virginia this morning."

On June 17th all the troops at Easton received orders to prepare to march for Wyoming on the 18th. On that day, at three o'clock in the morning, a cannon was fired; a half hour later the generale was beaten, and at four the assembly was sounded. Whereupon, all the tents having been struck, and, with the baggage of the troops, loaded upon pack-horses and wagons, the head of the column was put in motion. The first day's march extended only to "Heller's," a halt being made on the way there for breakfast. At four o'clock in the morning of the 19th the march was continued to Brinker's Mills, or "Sullivan's Stores," where, at seven o'clock, a halt was made and four days' provisions were drawn. The march was then continued to "Learn's," where the command bivouacked until the next morning—Sunday, June 20th—when, at eight o'clock, the march was resumed and continued for about six miles to "Rum Bridge." (This locality, situated in Tobyhanna Township, Monroe County, has been known for many years now as "Hungry Hill.") The Rev. Dr. Rogers, in his account of this day's march and bivouac, in his journal of the Sullivan Expedition, states:

"Marched this morning in the following order: General Maxwell's brigade in front. Next Colonel Procter's regiment; then Poor's brigade; afterwards the baggage. Halted at Rum Bridge for the night, six miles from the last inhabited house towards Wyoming. The camp is called 'Chowder Camp,' from the Commander-in-Chief dining this day on chowder made of trout. The artillery soldiers killed two or three rattlesnakes, and made, as I understand, a good meal of them. Owing to Pocono Mountain and other eminences, found this day's march very fatiguing to the horses belonging to the artillery."

The march of June 21st was the longest and severest experienced on the route from Easton to Wilkes-Barré. Sergeant Moses Fellows makes the following reference to it in his journal:

"Marched twenty miles through a rough country and a new road—the land covered with pine, hemlock, spruce, etc. We ate breakfast at a small river called Tunkhanna; passed another stream called Tobyhanna, and another the Lehigh. We passed what is called the Shades of Death—a gloomy, thick part of the swamp."

Maj. James Norris describes this day's march as follows:

"This day's march of twenty-one miles was as severe as it was unnecessary, through a wilderness where there had been only an Indian path till the troops cut a road this Spring for the passage of Sullivan's army. The fatigues of this day might have been prevented by a longer march yesterday; but after crossing two considerable streams called Tunkhanna and Tobyhanna, there is no proper ground for an encampment till we get through the swamp. After we had crossed the creek we came to the Lehigh, the

* See the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, XIII : 87.

western branch of the Delaware; and having passed this we enter a gloomy grove of cypress, hemlock, pine, spruce, &c., called the Shades of Death. The growth of timber in the swamp is amazing."

In the journal of the Rev. Dr. Rogers we find the following account of the march of June 21st:

"This day we marched through the Great Swamp and Bear Swamp.* The Great Swamp, which is eleven or twelve miles through, contains what is called in our maps the 'Shades of Death,' by reason of its darkness. * * The roads in some places are tolerable, but in other places exceedingly bad, by reason of which, and a long though necessary march, three of our wagons and the carriages of two field-pieces were broken down. This day we proceeded twenty miles, and encamped late in the evening at a spot which the Commander named 'Camp Fatigue.' The troops were tired and hungry. * * In the Great Swamp is Locust Hill, where we discovered evident marks of a destroyed Indian village.† * * The army continued at Camp Fatigue until two o'clock P. M. [Tuesday, June 22d], on account of their great march the preceding day—many of the wagons of the rear guard not getting in until midnight. A bear and a wolf were seen by a New Hampshire sentinel, and several deer by a scouting party; but none were shot."

On June 22d the troops moved only five miles, to "Bullock's," where they found large meadows and plenty of grass for their horses, as the diarists of the Expedition have recorded. They were now within seven miles of Fort Wyoming, on the River Common, at the foot of Northampton Street, Wilkes-Barré, by way of the newly-completed road from "Bullock's," and early in the morning of June 23d General Sullivan issued his orders relative to the last stage of their six day's march. Finally the column moved forward, crossed over Wilkes-Barré Mountain and on down into the Valley, and about midday went into camp at the bend of the river, about half a mile below Fort Wyoming. The following extract from the journal‡ of the Rev. Dr. Rogers relates to the incidents of June 23d.

"The troops prepared themselves for Wyoming, from which we were now distant only seven miles. This day we marched with regularity, and at a distance of three miles came to the place where Captain Davis and Lieutenant Jones, with a Corporal and four privates, were scalped, tomahawked and speared by the savages, fifteen or twenty in number. Two boards are fixed at the spot where Davis and Jones fell, with their names on each—Jones' being besmeared with his own blood. In passing this melancholy vale, an universal gloom appeared on the countenances of both officers and men without distinction, and from the eyes of many, as by a sudden impulse, dropped the sympathizing tear. Colonel Procter, out of respect to the deceased, ordered the music to play the tune of 'Roslin Castle,'§ the soft and moving notes of which, together with what so forcibly struck the eye, tended greatly to fill our breasts with pity, and to renew our grief for our worthy departed friends and brethren. * *

"Getting within two miles of Wyoming, we had from a fine eminence|| an excellent view of the settlement. * * At present there are a few log houses, newly built, a fort, one or two stockaded redoubts, and a row of barracks. * * Thursday, June 24th,

* This is an error. The troops marched through the Great Swamp and the Shades of Death, and almost, if not quite, to the eastern border of Bear Swamp, where they bivouacked. They were then within about twelve miles, by the Sullivan Road, of Fort Wyoming.

† See the reference to "Indian Field" on page 1172.

‡ See "Journals of the Military Expedition of Maj. Gen. John Sullivan," page 248.

§ The castle of Roslin is an ancient ruin near Edinburgh, Scotland. It was the seat of the St. Clair family, Lords of Roslin, and Sir Walter Scott, in one of his poems, refers to it thus:

"O'er Roslin all that dreary night
A wondrous blaze was seen to gleam;
'Twas broader than the watch-fire's light,
And redder than the bright moonbeam."

A song entitled "Roslin Castle," written by Richard Hewitt, was first published in Herd's Collection, in 1776. One of its stanzas is as follows:

"Of Nannie's charms the shepherd sung;
The hills and dales with Nannie rung;
While Roslin Castle heard the swain,
And echoed back his cheerful strain."

The tune of "Roslin Castle," mournful in its character, was always (up to at least seventy years ago) played by a military band, with muffled drums, when a dead soldier was borne to his grave. After the reading of Washington's Farewell Address to the army in 1783, the bands struck up "Roslin Castle," and as the sad strains were wafted to the ears of the listeners, the Continental soldiers broke ranks for the last time.

|| PROSPECT ROCK, undoubtedly.

I was introduced to Col. Zebulon Butler, the gentleman of whom much has been said on account of his persevering conduct in opposing the savages. Had an interview with Mr. Ludwig, baker-in-chief for the army, who was sent on from Easton to this post to prepare bread for the troops. Owing to his activity a bake-house was built in eleven days, and a large quantity of bread was in readiness for delivery on our arrival."

In the journals of several of the other officers of the Sullivan Expedition there are some brief, but interesting, paragraphs descriptive of Wilkes-Barré as it appeared at that time to the writers. Lieut. William Barton states :

"The land level, but not so good whereon the town stood, as in many other places adjacent. It is on the Eastern Branch of the river, sixty-six miles above Sunbury. This Branch is an exceedingly fine, pretty river, and opposite the town, in midsummer, five or six fathoms of water, as clear as it can be. Some places, above and below, shoal enough to be forded; about 150 yards wide, and in times of great freshets said to rise fifteen feet, overflowing a great part of the lowlands. * * The mornings and evenings at this place very cool, and notwithstanding heavy fogs till eight and nine o'clock in the morning, yet the place is said to be very healthy."

Lieut. Col. Adam Hubley wrote :

"Wyoming [Wilkes-Barré] is situated on the east side of the East Branch of the Susquehanna, the town consisting of about seventy houses, chiefly log buildings. Besides these buildings there are sundry larger ones which were erected by the army for the purpose of receiving stores, etc.; a large bake-house, and smoke-houses. There is likewise a small fort erected in the town, with a strong abattis around it, and a small redoubt to shelter the inhabitants in case of an alarm. * * I cannot omit taking notice of the poor inhabitants of the town; two-thirds of them are widows and orphans, who, by the vile hands of the savages, * * are left totally dependent on the public, and are become absolute objects of charity."

Maj. James Norris wrote :

"About twelve o'clock we entered the town of Wyoming [Wilkes-Barré], which exhibits a melancholy scene of desolation, in ruined houses, wasted fields, and fatherless children and widows. * * * All the houses along this river have been burnt, and the gardens and fields—the most fertile I ever beheld—grown over with weeds and bushes, exhibit a melancholy picture of savage rage and desolation."

During their stay in Wyoming Valley the officers of the Expedition—as we learn from the journals of several of them—whiled away the time not devoted to drills, inspections, and other military duties, by engaging in various pastimes and diversions. Dinners were frequently given at the different brigade and regimental headquarters, and upon several evenings there was dancing on the River Common—styled by the officers the "Green." A number of the officers played shinney at times, or took part in "a hearty game" called "bandy-wicket"—a sport akin to cricket. Fishing in the river, both with a seine and hook and line, was frequently engaged in, and garfish, pike, salmon-trout, chubs, suckers, bass, rock, shad, and common trout were "pretty plenty." Chaplain Rogers records the catching of a rock-fish on June 25th which measured two feet and nine inches in length, and weighed twenty-seven pounds. Under the date of June 29, 1779, at Wilkes-Barré, Thomas Roberts (of Middletown Point, New Jersey), a Sergeant in the 5th New Jersey Regiment, wrote: "The shad lays in the river and on the shore as thick as moss-bunkers at Middletown shore." Upon several occasions men went out gunning for deer and wild turkeys, with which the region abounded; but as a rule this sport was, for several reasons, prohibited. Lieut. Colonel Dearborn recorded under the date of July 1st: "A number of us discovered a fine buck to-day on an island, which we surrounded and killed." Thomas Roberts (previously mentioned) states that at Lackawanna, on July 31st, the wild turkeys were "very plenty—the young ones yelping through the woods as if it was inhabited ever so thick."

On Thursday, June 24th, the 1st New Jersey Regiment set out from Wilkes-Barré to march to Fort Jenkins, to meet at that point, and convey up the river, a fleet of boats which had been sent down to Sunbury from Wilkes-Barré on June 20th (in charge of a detachment from the 2d New York Regiment) to be loaded with flour and beef.

During the Revolutionary War military, or army, lodges of the Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons existed in the American army, charters, or warrants, for such lodges being granted by the Provincial Grand Lodges of Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and New York. These "traveling" lodges were organized at various times, and accompanied the regiments to which they were attached in all their expeditions and encampments. According to the records of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania a warrant was granted May 18, 1779, for a "Military Lodge, No. 19, in the Pennsylvania State Regiment of Artillery," or "Procter's Artillery Regiment," as it was usually denominated. In that warrant—which was the first one granted by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania for a military lodge in the American army—Col. Thomas Procter* (in command of the regiment mentioned) was named as Worshipful Master, Charles Young as Senior Warden, and John Melbeck as

* THOMAS PROCTER was born in county Longford, Ireland, in 1739, and settled in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, prior to 1772. The Committee of Safety of Philadelphia adopted on October 16, 1775, a resolution providing for the raising of an artillery company, to be placed on Fort Island, and to serve the Province for twelve months. On October 27th, upon his own application, Thomas Procter was appointed and commissioned Captain of this company. (In December, 1778, Procter wrote to President Reed of Pennsylvania: "I claim the honor of having enlisted the first company appointed to be raised by the Council of this Commonwealth in October, 1775.") November 3, 1775, Procter's company was received into the barracks at Philadelphia, and furnished with the bedding "late belonging to the Royal Artillery Company." Under a resolution of the State Executive Council adopted August 14, 1776, Procter's force was augmented to 200 men, to be formed into two companies—each officered by a Captain and three Lieutenants—the whole to be commanded by a Major, to which rank Captain Procter was forthwith promoted. The organization remained at Fort Island until late in December, 1776, when part of it was ordered to New Jersey, and assisted in the capture of the Hessians at Trenton. Major Procter joined this detachment of his command, and took part in the battle of Princeton, where he captured a brass 6-pounder, which he presented to the State of Pennsylvania. January 17, 1777, Brig. Gen. Henry Knox left New Jersey for New England, leaving Major Procter, at Morristown, in command of all the Continental artillery.

February 6, 1777, the Pennsylvania Council of Safety resolved to organize a regiment of artillery for the defense of the State, with Procter's command as a nucleus. Major Procter was immediately promoted Colonel, and appointed to the command of the regiment, which was designated as the "Pennsylvania State Regiment of Artillery." It comprised eight companies and, in addition to eight drummers and eight fifers, a band of twelve musicians. By a resolution of the Council of Safety adopted February 28, 1777, the regiment was to serve in any part of the United States. Its first disaster occurred at Bound Brook, New Jersey, April 13, 1777, where two Lieutenants, twenty privates, and two pieces of artillery were captured by the British. Its next disaster was at the battle of the Brandywine, where Procter bravely maintained his position at Chadd's Ford, until the defeat of the right wing forced his retreat, with the loss of some guns and ammunition. At Germantown, in October, 1777, a part of the regiment was engaged—being stationed in the street nearly opposite Chew's house. The regiment spent the Winter of 1777-'78 at Valley Forge.

The battle of Monmouth, New Jersey, was fought June 28, 1778, and the regiment of Colonel Procter participated in it. One of his gunners, John Hays by name, was killed during the engagement. His wife, known in history and to fame as "Molly Pitcher," who had accompanied the regiment thither, continually carried water from a nearby well to her husband while he worked at his gun. Finally, when he was shot down by a sharpshooter, an order was given for the gun to be removed to the rear. "Molly," overhearing the order, declared that she would take the place of her husband and avenge his death. Thenceforth, then, till the close of the battle, she assisted in loading and firing the piece, and by her heroic work inspired those about her to deeds of fearlessness and courage. We are told that on the following morning, after the battle had been won by the Americans, "Molly" was presented to General Washington, who complimented her for her bravery, and dubbed her a Sergeant. Shortly afterwards she left the camp and went to Carlisle, Pennsylvania, where she lived until her death in January, 1823.

In September, 1778, Procter's regiment was, by resolution of Congress, made a part of the quota of troops to be furnished by Pennsylvania for the Continental army. In December, 1778, the regiment numbered 208, including all the officers, and in March, 1779, the total "effective force" of the regiment was only 142 men. When the regiment came to Wilkes-Barré its guns consisted of two 6-pounders, four 3-pounders, two howitzers, carrying five and one-half inch shells, and one cohorn. March 29, 1780, the regiment numbered 189, including Colonel Procter, Lieut. Colonel Forrest, eight Captains and eight Captain-Lieutenants. In the Spring of 1780 the regiment became the "Fourth Regiment of Artillery, Continental Line," and on the 21st of April Procter was commissioned Colonel by Congress. He resigned from the service April 9, 1781, and returned to his home in Philadelphia. In 1783 he became a member of the Pennsylvania Branch of the Society of the Cincinnati. He was a member of the Carpenters' Association of Philadelphia from 1772 until his death. In 1785 he became a member of the Society of the Sons of St. Tammany of Philadelphia.

Colonel Procter was active and prominent as a Free Mason, and as early as February, 1779, was a Knight Templar. He served as Master of Military Lodge, No. 19, from its constitution until his retirement from the military service, when he was succeeded in "the East" by Brig. Gen. Edward Hand, previously mentioned. As narrated in the note following this, Colonel Procter became one of the original members of Montgomery Lodge, No. 19, F. and A. M., in 1784. For several years about that time he was Grand Marshal of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, and upon the death of General

Junior Warden, of the new lodge. A considerable number of the officers, not only of Procter's regiment, but of some of the other organizations which formed the Sullivan Expedition, became members of Lodge No. 19.*

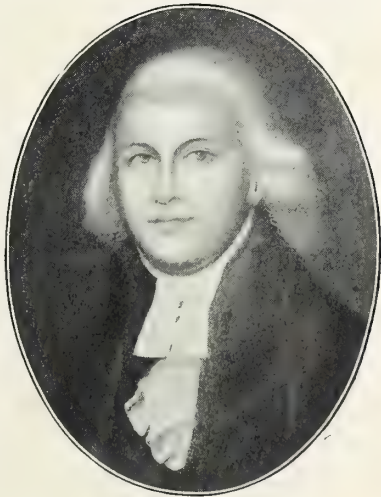
June 24, 1779, was the anniversary of St. John the Baptist—it being the first festival-day in the Masonic calendar that had occurred since the constitution of Lodge No. 19. In conformity, therefore, with the usual custom of Free Masons at that period, the day was duly observed by the Brethren of the lodge; their meeting being held in the marquee of Colonel Procter, on the bank of the river below the bend, within the present limits of the Tenth Ward of Wilkes-Barré—almost, if not exactly, on the spot where, twenty years before, the Indian village of *Teedy-uscung* had been located. (See page 371, Vol. I, and, in Chapter XXVIII, the "Map of Wilkes-Barré and its Suburbs in 1872.") By invitation of Worshipful Master Procter the Rev. William Rogers,† D. D., Washington, a Brother of the Craft, he acted as "Master of Ceremonies" at the impressive Masonic funeral ceremonies and procession held in Philadelphia December 26, 1799.

Colonel Procter was High Sheriff of the county of Philadelphia from October, 1783, till October, 1785, and a few years later he became a Brigadier General in the Pennsylvania militia. About the year 1800 he owned certain large tracts of land in the county of Luzerne, and made a business visit to Wilkes-Barré. The records of Lodge No. 61 show that at the meeting of the lodge held March 3, 1800, "Bro. Gen. Thomas Procter, a visiting Brother," was present. General Procter died in Philadelphia March 16, 1806, and was buried in the yard of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, where a monument was erected to his memory by the Carpenters' Association.

* During the first year of the existence of Lodge No. 19 Colonel Procter paid from its fees to the charity fund of the Grand Lodge £150 sterling; which shows that the work and the membership of the lodge must have been considerable. In December, 1779, Colonel Procter's regiment was encamped at Morristown, New Jersey, and on St. John the Evangelist's Day (December 27th) a meeting of Lodge No. 19 was held, at which Generals Washington and Lafayette, Colonel Procter, and other prominent members of the Craft were present. At that meeting a petition was presented, and considered, calling for the appointment of a committee to take into consideration "the existing state of Masonry in our infant Republic;" and out of that meeting and its proceedings grew the movement which ultimately brought about the severance of the connection between the Grand Lodge of England and the Provincial Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, and led to the establishment of the independence of the present Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, F. and A. M., in September, 1786. In the year 1784, the 4th Regiment of Artillery, Continental Line, having ceased to exist (in November, 1783), the Charter of Military Lodge No. 19 was surrendered, and the number of the lodge was transferred to a new lodge, organized in Philadelphia about that time by General Procter and other Brethren. This lodge, under the name of Montgomery Lodge, No. 19, F. and A. M., exists to-day.

† The Rev. WILLIAM ROGERS, D. D., whose name is several times mentioned in this chapter, was born in Newport, Rhode Island, July 22, 1751, the son of William Rogers, a merchant there. He was graduated at Rhode Island College in 1769, and in 1771 was called and licensed to preach the gospel by the Baptist Church in Newport. In the latter part of the same year he was called as pastor to the Baptist Church in Philadelphia, where he served until June, 1775. The "Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment" (commanded by Col. Samuel Miles) was organized in March, 1776, under a resolution passed by the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, and April 6, 1776, the Rev. William Rogers was appointed Chaplain of the regiment. In the following August the regiment was ordered over to New York, where it took part in the battle of Long Island (August 27th) and lost, by death and capture, many officers and men. Among those captured was Colonel Miles. In June, 1778, Mr. Rogers was promoted Brigade Chaplain in the Pennsylvania Line, and in the following December was assigned to duty at the Philadelphia Garrison. There he remained until June 1, 1779, when he was ordered to join the Sullivan Expedition as Chaplain of the 3d Brigade (General Hand's). He left Philadelphia June 15th, and two days later arrived at Easton—one day prior to the marching of General Sullivan and the troops from there for Wilkes-Barré.

Chaplain Rogers retired from the military service January 16, 1781, and returned to Philadelphia, where, shortly afterwards, he became pastor of the Baptist Church. In 1789 he was appointed Professor of English and Oratory in the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, which position he held until 1792, when he was appointed to the chair of English and *Belles Lettres* in the same institution. In 1812 he resigned from the faculty. In 1816 and '17 he was a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature from Philadelphia. Many years before this the colleges of Yale and Princeton had each conferred upon him the degree of A. M., and the University of Pennsylvania had made him a Doctor of Divinity. He died in Philadelphia April 7, 1824, being, at the time of his death, the last surviving Chaplain of the Revolutionary army.



(From an original oil-painting.)

Rogers

Chaplain of the 3d Brigade (General Hand's) of the Sullivan Expedition, was present, although not a member of the Craft, and read to the assembled Brethren the sermon which had been preached by the Rev. William Smith, D. D., Grand Secretary of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, at the St. John's Day celebration in Philadelphia in December, 1778, as narrated in the note on page 784, *ante*. The text of this sermon was from *I Peter, II: 16*—"As *Free*, and not using your *Liberty* for a cloke of maliciousness, but as the servants of God." We are able to print the following paragraphs from this sermon.

" * * The doctrine delivered in my text for the enjoyment and exercise of Liberty, among Christians in general, is what the members of this Ancient Society (by whose appointment I appear in this place) have bound themselves by the strongest obligations to follow in the several relations they sustain, viz.: First, in all their meetings and communications with each other; Secondly, in society at large; Thirdly, in private life—as individuals glowing with the love of their species, and seeking to promote their happiness, as far as opportunities can reach, or the wide wish of Benevolence extend. Upon these three grand pillars, founded on the adamant rock of Eternal Truth, we profess to support the fabric of our labours; convinced that other foundation, than what the great Master Builder hath laid, can no man lay. * *

"Whatever curiosity might have at first prompted me to pry into the secrets of this science, the most solemn obligations could not have engaged my adherence to it, when found repugnant to antecedent obligations, which are indispensable, and therefore more solemn. * * * As to you, Brethren, I hope I need not remind you that, if none be accepted among us but such as strive daily, through the Grace of Heaven, to lay aside those evil passions condemned by the Apostle, then shall the Lodge be truly denominated a 'Spiritual House,' and all its members 'Living Stones,' hewn out of the Rock of Ages and adorned with jewels of unspeakable value. Then shall they be *Free*, indeed, for the great Spiritual Master shall have set them free from the turbulence of Passion, the stings of Guilt, and the thralldom of Slavery, both of body and mind. In Wisdom, Strength and Beauty shall they ever appear. * * *

"From the bosom of the Lodge, seated on an eminence, its foundations reaching the centre and its summit the sky, we have beheld, as upon a turbulent ocean at an immense distance beneath us, the States of this world alternately mounted up and cast down as they have regarded or neglected the principles described above; while, supported by them, the sublime fabric of our Constitution has remained unshaken through ages—and, thus supported, it shall still remain while the Sun opens the Day, to gild its cloud-capped towers, or the Moon leads on the Night, to chequer its starry canopy. * * The doctrine that one man's grandeur, or the grandeur of a few, is to be the misery of all, can have no reception among us. * * In our estimation, therefore, no government can be of Divine original but as it resembles God's own government—round whose eternal throne Justice and Mercy wait. And all governments must be so far Divine, as the Laws rule, and everything is ordered, under God, by free and common consent. To contend for such governments with a holy, enlightened and unquenchable zeal is the highest temporal glory. * *

"They who—from a sense of duty to God and their country, seeking that liberty and peace which Heaven approves—have thus acted their part (whether in more elevated or inferior stations), form the first class in the roll of worthies. And when they descend again into private life, casting behind them vain pomp and fastidious pride, to mingle with their fellow-citizens, * * their characters become, if possible, still more illustrious. Their very maims and scars are nobly honorable. Such, to name no more, was the character of a Cincinnatus in ancient times, rising 'awful from the plough' to save his country; and, his country saved, returning to the plough again with increased dignity and luster. Such, too, if we divine aright, will future ages pronounce to have been the character of a—but you all anticipate a name [WASHINGTON] which delicacy forbids me, on this occasion, to mention. Honoured with his presence as a Brother, you will seek to derive virtue from his example; and never let it be said that any principles you profess can render you deaf to the calls of your country, but on the contrary, have animated you with intrepidity in the hour of danger, and humanity in the moments of triumph."

With the army there came from Easton to Wilkes-Barré four Stockbridge, or Mohegan, Indians, who had been engaged by General Sullivan to act as guides and scouts. The journalists of the Expedition refer to one of these Indians as "Captain Jehoiakim." This was the same Indian who had come from Stockbridge to Wilkes-Barré with his family in 1772, as narrated on page 731. It is probable that on the breaking out of the Revolutionary War Jehoiakim had returned to

Stockbridge. Schoolcraft states* that "the ancient tribe of Mohicans of the Housatonic, whose history has been impressed upon popular memory by their long residence at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, had been for a long period classed among the followers of the gospel; but, as the martial spirit of the [Revolutionary] era aroused all their warrior feelings, they enlisted themselves on the side of the Colonies and furnished an efficient company of spies and flankers for the American army."

From the journal of Chaplain Rogers we learn that on June 26th "Captain" Jehoiakim, two other Stockbridge Indians, and five soldiers of Colonel Cilley's regiment were sent forth from the camp at Wilkes-Barré on a scout. On the same day several court-martial sentences were carried out, in pursuance of the following order issued by General Sullivan on June 25th.

"At a general court-martial held on the 8th *inst.*, whereof Major Fish was President, Oliver Arnold of the 2d New York Regiment was tried for desertion, found guilty, and sentenced to be shot to death. The General approves the sentence and orders it to be executed at the head of the regiment to-morrow afternoon at six o'clock. Edward Tyler of the same regiment, tried by the same court for desertion, found guilty, and sentenced to run the gantlet through Cortlandt's, Spencer's and Cilley's regiments, with a sentinel at his breast to regulate his pace. The General approves the sentence, and orders it executed to-morrow afternoon at five o'clock. John Stevens of the same regiment, tried for desertion, found guilty, and sentenced to receive one hundred lashes. The General approves the sentence, and orders it executed at the head of the regiment to-morrow afternoon at six o'clock."

The three men mentioned in this order, together with four others, had deserted from Van Cortlandt's regiment at "Learn's," on May 16th.

On Sunday, June 27th, the Rev. Andrew Hunter,† Chaplain of the 1st Brigade, preached a sermon to the men of that brigade in a woods near their camp, while Chaplain Rogers preached to the men of the 3d Brigade (including the artillery regiment) near Fort Wyoming, at ten o'clock in the morning. General Sullivan and his staff attended Dr. Rogers' services. On the same day, in pursuance of orders, the 2d and 3d New Hampshire Regiments crossed the river at Wilkes-Barré and marched up to the remains of Forty Fort, where they established their camp—in the fort and along the bank of the river. Brig. General Poor moved his headquarters to the same locality at the same time. This change was made in order that all the regiments of Poor's brigade might be located near together—the regiments of Colonels Van Cortlandt and Cilley, which formed a part of the brigade, being encamped about two miles off from Forty Fort, on Jacobs' Plains, on the east side of the river, as narrated on page 1176.

In the morning of June 29th thirty-four boats, laden with flour, beef, and military stores, arrived at Wilkes-Barré from Sunbury, conveyed by the troops that had been detached for the purpose, as mentioned on page 1184. Dr. Ebenezer Elmer, Surgeon of the 2d New Jersey Regiment, in referring to the arrival of these supplies, states in his journal:

"This was very fortunate, as there was not one day's provision for the campaign. Through neglect and carelessness in the Commissaries, great quantities of beef was so

* In "History of the Indian Tribes of the United States," p. 277.

† The Rev. ANDREW HUNTER, the son of a British officer, was born in Virginia, and in 1773 was licensed to preach by the First Presbytery of Philadelphia. In 1788 he was elected a Trustee of Princeton College, and in 1804 was appointed Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy in that institution. About 1809 he was appointed a Chaplain in the United States Navy, which office he held until his death in February, 1823.

damaged that the men could not possibly eat it. Such rascally conduct ought to meet with the severest punishment. The horses purchased for this Expedition, for want of care in the Conductors, are many of them lost."

On June 29th two soldiers of Colonel Spencer's regiment were punished for having dressed up and painted themselves as Indians, and then threatened the lives of two officers of their regiment. One culprit received one hundred lashes at the whipping-post, and the other was required to run the gantlet through three regiments, each man of which was provided with a whip.

On this same day orders came out for the execution on July 1st, between the hours of two and four o'clock in the afternoon, of Lawrence Miller and Michael Rosebury, inhabitants of Phillipsburg, New Jersey, opposite Easton. (See page 1180.) Chaplain Rogers states in his journal, under the date of June 29th: "Mr. Kirkland* accompanied me in paying these two unfortunate men a visit. Found them ignorant and stupid. Our endeavors were upon this occasion to open unto them the nature of man's fall, and the dreadful situation of those who died in a state of impenitency and unbelief." The next day Messrs. Rogers and Kirkland visited the condemned men again. Says Rogers: "Miller appeared much softened, distressed and anxious about his future state. Rosebury said but little. I enlarged, particularly, at this time on their awful condition by nature and practice; their amazing guilt in the sight of an holy God, * * * and the great importance of a due preparation for another world."

Before breakfast on Thursday, July 1st, Messrs. Rogers and Kirkland paid another visit to the condemned Jerseymen. "We spoke to them," says Rogers, "on the realities of heaven and hell, and the justice and mercy of God. Miller appeared still more penitent, and freely confessed the sentence of death passed against him to be just. The other excused himself and insisted much on the innocence of his life. Mr. Kirkland and myself waited on the Commander-in-Chief [Sullivan], in order to recommend Miller to mercy. His Excellency was so obliging as to inform us that it was his purpose, on account of Miller's wife and numerous family, his decent behavior on trial, the recommendations of the court, and his former good character, *to pardon him under the gallows*, fifteen minutes after the execution of Rosebury; and requested that it might remain a secret with us until it was publicly known." Towards four o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday Miller and Rosebury, with their arms pinioned and hempen halters around their necks, were marched under guard from the fort to the place of execution, attended by Chaplains Rogers, Kirkland and Hunter. Says Rogers, in his journal: "In walking to the gallows we of course conversed with them on the most serious subjects. Upon arriving there, the military being under arms, and a number of the inhabitants present, it fell to my lot to address the spectators; after which Mr. Kirkland prayed. Rosebury was then turned off. He died to all appearances the same stupid man he was at the first of our visiting him. Poor Miller was much agitated at the sight, expecting every moment the same punishment. He was employed in commending himself to God, and upon hearing his pardon from the Commander-in-Chief read, was greatly affected. On recovering himself, he expressed the utmost thankfulness for his great deliverance. The scene throughout was very affecting."

* The Rev. SAMUEL KIRKLAND, referred to more at length on page 1190.

Armand's Corps (see page 1162), having been ordered by General Washington to repair to his headquarters at New Windsor, New York, marched from Wilkes-Barré, over the "Sullivan Road," in the morning of July 2d. The corps was accompanied as far as the Delaware River by Lieut. Col. David Brearly of the 1st New Jersey Regiment, who, but a short time previously, had been appointed Chief Justice of New Jersey. (The name of Judge Brearly appears again—in Chapter XX—in connection with an event bearing importantly on Wyoming affairs.)

Early in the morning of Sunday, July 4th, some thirty boats were sent down the Susquehanna from Wilkes-Barré for provisions for the troops. The boatmen who had been enlisted to man these boats having deserted, a detachment from the rank and file of the troops was detailed for the work. In Wilkes-Barré, at ten o'clock in the morning of this day, Chaplain Hunter preached "a very good sermon" from Hebrews, XII : 13, to the troops of the 1st Brigade ; and at the same hour Chaplain Rogers preached to the troops of the 3d Brigade, taking as his text the tenth verse of the XXXIId Psalm. At five o'clock in the afternoon Chaplain Kirkland preached to the inhabitants of Wilkes-Barré, and a number of officers and soldiers who attended the service. In the morning of this day the regiments of Colonels Van Cortlandt and Cilley struck their tents on Jacobs' Plains, crossed the Susquehanna opposite their place of encampment, marched down to Forty Fort, and went into camp there with the other regiments of the 2d Brigade. Later in the day a sermon, "adapted to the occasion," was preached to the assembled troops at Forty Fort by the Rev. Israel Evans, Chaplain of the 2d Brigade.

At Forty Fort, on July 5th, Brig. General Poor gave an elaborate entertainment "in celebration of the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence." He extended a general invitation to the officers of his brigade to be present, and also invited a number of officers from other commands. Among the latter who attended were Brig. General Hand and his staff. Also, several of the principal inhabitants of Wilkes-Barré were there by invitation. Eighty-seven gentlemen in all attended, and a bountiful dinner was served in a booth, or arbor, about eighty feet long, constructed of spruce and hemlock boughs and having a marquee pitched at either end. A number of good songs were sung, and the day was spent in mirth and jollity. According to Lieut. Colonel Dearborn, of the 3d New Hampshire Regiment, the whole affair "was conducted with such joy and festivity as demonstrated an independent elevation of spirit on this important and interesting occasion." After the dinner the following toasts were drunk. (1) "The United States." (2) "The 4th of July, 1776—the ever memorable patriotic era of American Independence." (3) "The Grand Council of America." (4) "General Washington and the Army." (5) "The King and Queen of France." (6) "General Lincoln and the Southern Army." (7) "General Sullivan and the Western Expedition." (8) "May the Counsellors of America be wise, and her Soldiers invincible." (9) "A successful and decisive campaign." (10) "Civilization or Death to all American savages." (11) "The immortal memory of those Heroes that have fallen in defense of American Liberty." (12) "May the New World be the last Asylum for Freedom and the Arts." (13) "Vigor and Virtue to all the sons and daughters of America."

At Wilkes-Barré, under the date of July 5, 1779, the Rev. Samuel Kirkland,* Chaplain of the Sullivan Expedition, and, as such, a mem-



THE REV. SAMUEL KIRKLAND.

(Photo-reproduction of an old engraving.)

Johnson (in 1774) Mr. Kirkland—who, in religion and politics, was true to the spirit and principles of the Puritans from whom he descended, and was, therefore, a dissenter and an American patriot—soon incurred the dislike and opposition of Col. Guy Johnson (see note on page 300, Vol. I). The latter attempted, in various ways, to destroy Mr. Kirkland's character and influence among the Indians, and to drive him from his post; and for this purpose he encouraged, and gladly received, accusations against the missionary, which he sent up to the Oneida villages with threatening messages and injunctions of his own. Colonel Johnson, however, was foiled in his designs, for the head men of the Oneida nation, after holding a council upon the subject, sent him a belt of wampum, and a speech, in which they declared: "We love and esteem our father, the minister; he lives in great peace among us; he does no one any harm; he meddles not with State affairs; * * we therefore beg you will desist from any further attempts to drive him off."

By a vote of the Continental Congress passed July 18, 1775, it was recommended to the Commissioners of Indian Affairs "to employ the Rev. Samuel Kirkland among the Indians of the Six Nations, in order to secure their friendship and to continue them in a state of neutrality with respect to" the controversy between Great Britain and the Colonies. (See pages 490 and 830.) Mr. Kirkland was charged personally by Washington to impress upon the Oneidas, in particular, the importance of pursuing a neutral line of policy—for then, no matter which party proved triumphant, the Indian interests would not receive injury; while, on the other hand, if the Indians were involved in the struggle, their interests would be likely to suffer. This reasoning prevailed with the Oneidas, under their energetic and popular chief, *Skenandoah*, whose voice was heard in favor of the rising Colonies. As a consequence, Sir Frederick Haldimand (see page 963) some time later sent a special written message to the Oneidas, threatening them with vengeance for deserting, as he termed it, the British cause, and thus forgetting the wise counsels of their old and respected, but deceased, friend, Sir William Johnson.

In the Autumn of 1776 Mr. Kirkland was at Fort Schuyler (formerly Fort Stanwix) where, under a commission from the Continental Congress, he was performing the duties of Chaplain to the American troops. At that time his family was residing at Stockbridge, Massachusetts. Upon the organization of the Sullivan Expedition Mr. Kirkland was appointed Chaplain on the staff of Major General Sullivan. He arrived at Easton prior to June 17th, and marched thence to Wilkes-Barré with the army on the 18th. In December, 1783, the War of the Revolution being a thing of the past, and the Oneidas having repaired to their ancient country, Mr. Kirkland returned to them as a missionary. In 1785 he received from Congress a grant of £250, "in consideration of special services rendered" during the Revolutionary War. He also received his pay for services as a Brigade Chaplain during the war. The Corporation of Harvard College, who, for some time, had considered Mr. Kirkland "as in part their missionary," voted April 7, 1786, to allow him the sum of £313, 6s. 8d., in full for his services to March, 1784; and they further voted that he "be continued a missionary among the Oneida Indians till the further orders of the corporation," and that there be allowed to him, annually, the sum of £50 sterling.

In the Summer of 1788 Mr. Kirkland was sent by Governor Clinton of New York on a mission to the Indians at Kanadesaga (see page 967) and at Buffalo Creek (where now the city of Buffalo is located). The journey was performed by water, in a small bateau, from Fort Schuyler to Kanadesaga, and thence by land to Buffalo Creek, where Mr. Kirkland arrived June 26, 1788. There he found a large assemblage of Indians—principally of the Six Nations, with some Delawares, Cherokees, and other western and southern Indians. Among them he met *Sayenqueraghta* and other old friends of the Seneca nation, with whom he had lived at Kanadesaga more than twenty years before. He also met "Red Jacket," "Big Tree," "Farmer's Brother," and other noted Indian chiefs. At a council held at Buffalo Creek he had a conference—so he reported—"with Indians from every settlement in the Six Nations." On July 7th he had a long interview with Joseph Brant, the Mohawk, and several Seneca chiefs. They told him that they had been for a long time "consulting the good of the Indians; that it appeared to them that the Indian interest must be one; that they must all unite as Indians, independent of white people." They expressed their confidence in Mr. Kirkland, although he was a white man, and believed he would not abuse their confidence. They then proposed to him that he should set up a school for educating their children.

In December, 1788, the State of New York and the Oneida Indians, conjointly, made a grant to Mr. Kirkland and his two eldest sons of some 4,700 acres of land in the neighborhood of old Oneida.

* The Rev. SAMUEL KIRKLAND was born at Norwich, Connecticut, December 1, 1741, the tenth child of the Rev. Daniel and Hannah (*Perkins*) Kirkland, of Scottish descent. In 1760 and '61 he was a student at the Rev. Dr. Wheelock's school (previously mentioned in these pages) at Lebanon, Connecticut, and in 1762 he entered the Sophomore class at Princeton College—receiving his A. B. degree in the Summer of 1765; although at that time he had already entered upon his life's work, having become in January, 1765 (as mentioned on pages 290 and 968), an "apostle to the Indians." Mr. Kirkland left the Seneca nation—to which he went first as a missionary—in May, 1766, and on the 19th of the following June he was ordained to the gospel ministry at Lebanon, Connecticut. The same day he received, from the "Connecticut Board of Correspondents of the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian knowledge," a general commission as an Indian missionary, and in the following July he took up his residence among the Oneidas, at *Kanoalohale*, their "Lower Castle" and principal town. As narrated on pages 449, 453 and 745, Mr. Kirkland attended the treaty held with the Indians at Fort Stanwix, New York, in October, 1768.

Mr. Kirkland continued his residence and labors among the Oneidas with such success as the turbulent state of the times permitted. After the death of Sir William

ber of Maj. General Sullivan's staff, wrote to his wife at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, as follows :

"I am at present, in many respects, happily situated ; have part of a large marquee to myself, and live in the General's [military] family. Conversation in the family, for some days past, has been chiefly on religious subjects, such as the authenticity of the Scriptures, the nature and consequences of Deism. The General has undertaken to convince any Deist (of which there is no want in the army), from principles of reason, that the Scriptures are of divine original ; at least the doctrinal and perceptive parts. In less than a day he has wrote thirty pages in quarto to prove the existence of a Supreme Being, the truth of the Bible, and that Jesus is the promised Messiah and Saviour of the world. He has read the greatest part to me last evening and this morning. I cannot but admire the ingenuity of the man, and the justness of many of his sentiments. He frankly owned to me that he was once a perfect Atheist, then a complete Deist ; but at length became convinced, by fair and impartial reasoning, of the existence of the Supreme Being, and the perfection of His character. * * *

"The necessity of a just and speedy retaliation for British and savage barbarity prompts the army to encounter every fatigue and surmount every difficulty. Marks of havoc, devastation and wrath salute our eyes wherever we walk over the fields of this once flourishing but now desolated country ; and these objects awaken strange feelings in my breast—a just indignation and a deep abhorrence of pretended British clemency (once so much boasted of), now blended with savage barbarity. Upwards of 150 widows were here made upon this ground in the short space of one hour and a-half, about a year ago. Are these the fruits and effects of thy clemency, O George, thou tyrant of Britain and scourge of mankind? May He, to whom vengeance belongeth, put forth His righteous indignation in due time! These once flourishing, but now devastated, fields are now cultivated by the feeble hands of disconsolate widows and helpless orphans. But why dwell on the dark side! This devastation is undoubtedly a necessary link in the grand chain of events to bring about the enjoyment and establishment of the liberties and privileges of this land, that we may be a happy people, and the gospel extend its benign influence over every State, and the Redeemer reap a glorious and rich harvest. Indeed, if we look into God's moral government, we shall find that it is not without cause that He hath done all these things, these terrible things, in righteousness."

In the morning of July 6, 1779, a soldier named Winslow, of the 3d New Hampshire Regiment, while bathing in the Susquehanna was drowned. About midday an uncommonly black and heavy cloud appeared in the eastern sky and soon overspread the Valley. Unusually loud and distinct claps of thunder—like the report of a cannon—were heard, and ere long a deluge of rain and hail came down, while the wind blew furiously. Many of the hailstones which fell were as

The next year Mr. Kirkland took possession of a portion of the land, cleared seven acres of it, and built thereon a log house. In December, 1790, at the urgent request of many Indian chiefs, and of several distinguished individuals among the white people, Mr. Kirkland went to Philadelphia to assist "Cornplanter," and other Seneca chiefs, in their mission to the Government—referred to more at length in the note on page 164, Vol. I. In 1791 Mr. Kirkland removed his family from Stockbridge to Oneida. In January, 1792, in compliance with the wishes of the War Department, Mr. Kirkland corresponded with Joseph Brant and endeavored, unsuccessfully, to induce him to accompany a large delegation of Six Nation Indians to Philadelphia. This delegation, consisting of forty chiefs and warriors representing all the tribes of the Six Nations, reached Philadelphia in the following March, in charge of Mr. Kirkland. (For a fuller reference to this occurrence, see Chapter XXV.)

In 1795, on his land on the margin of Oriskany Creek, near the village of Clinton, and several miles from old Oneida, Mr. Kirkland erected a large country house, which is still standing, and is owned by the Hon. Elihu Root, Secretary of State of the United States. Early in 1793, through the earnest efforts of Mr. Kirkland, a charter was granted by the New York Legislature for the "Hamilton Oneida Academy," an institution intended for the education, chiefly, of Indian youths. In April, 1793, Mr. Kirkland made a valuable donation of land to this new corporation, and became, practically, the founder of the institution. A large and convenient building was erected on the tract of land given by Mr. Kirkland, the services of an able preceptor and assistant were secured, and at length the Academy became an important literary institution, which received support from men of prominence in America and England. But after a time the palefaces came to outnumber the redskins, and the Academy became the Hamilton College of to-day.

Mr. Kirkland was married (1st) September 19, 1769, to Jerusha Bingham of Windham, Connecticut, a niece of the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock, D. D., previously mentioned. She died at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, January 23, 1788, and Mr. Kirkland was married (2d) in 1796 to Mary Donnelly. Mr. Kirkland died at his home at Clinton February 28, 1808, and he was buried in an orchard—the trees of which he had planted with his own hands—on his estate. On one side of his grave his old and faithful friend *Skenandoah*, the Oneida chief, was subsequently buried, and on the other side, the remains of one of Mr. Kirkland's daughters, and also those of his widow, who died in August, 1839.

The children of the Rev. Samuel and Jerusha (Bingham) Kirkland were as follows: *Jerusha*, who in 1797 became the wife of John H. Lothrop of Utica, New York; *Sarah*, who in 1804 was married to Francis Amory of Boston; *Eliza*, who in 1818 was married to Professor Edward Robinson of Hamilton College; *Samuel*, who died, unmarried, in November, 1805; *George Whitefield*, graduated at Dartmouth College in 1792, and died at Jamaica in 1806; *John Thornton*, twin brother of the last mentioned, who was graduated at Harvard in 1789, and some years later became President of the College.

large as hen's eggs, but irregular in shape. In the evening of this day Colonel Procter gave "an entertainment for a number of officers, and a truly merry career was the consequence."

On July 9th forty-three boats, large and small, loaded with stores, provisions, etc., for the troops, arrived at Wilkes-Barré from Sunbury. However, as these supplies were found to be insufficient for the Expedition, the small boats of the flotilla were unloaded and immediately sent down the river to Cox's Town,* in charge of a detachment under the command of Capt. John N. Cumming of the 2d New Jersey Regiment, to procure a quantity of flour. The boats which arrived on the 9th were convoyed† from Sunbury by several companies of the 11th Pennsylvania Regiment, in command of Lieut. Col. Adam Hubley, Jr., mentioned on page 1178. The other companies of this regiment were already at Wilkes-Barré, where they had been on duty since the latter part of April. A return of the state of this regiment, made by Colonel Hubley at Sunbury, June 25, 1779, shows‡ that there were then on duty, at Sunbury, Fort Jenkins and Wilkes-Barré, twenty-three commissioned officers (including Colonel Hubley), forty-two non-commissioned officers, drummers and fifers, and 249 "effective rank and file." The regiment went into camp at Wilkes-Barré on or near the River Common, between the present Market and Union Streets.

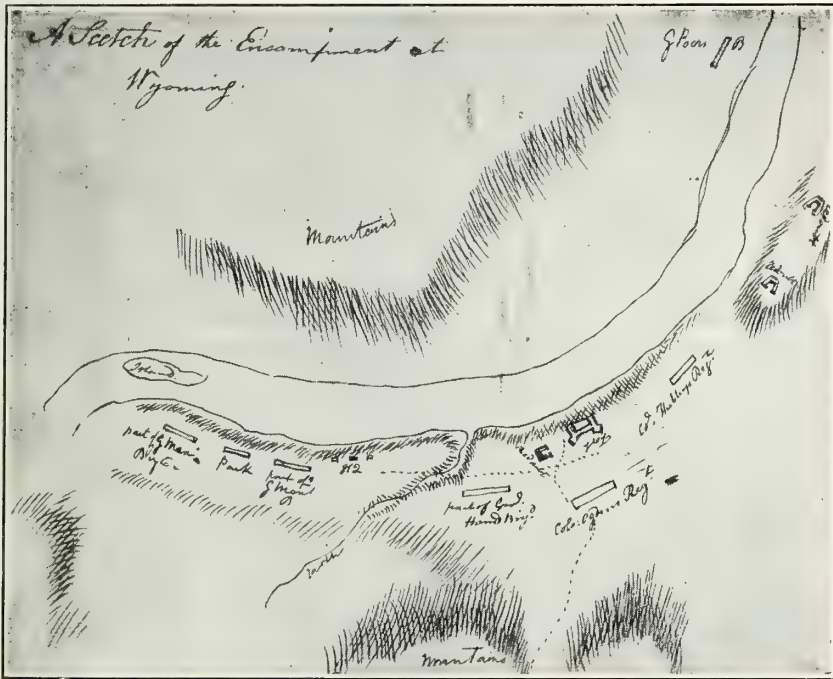
Of all the "journals" of the officers of the Sullivan Expedition which have been preserved, the one which is the most complete and detailed, the most interesting, and, apparently, the most accurate and authentic, is that of Colonel Hubley. Interspersed throughout the diary are some fourteen pen and ink sketches, executed by Colonel Hubley contemporaneously with the writing of the pages of the diary. The latter has been published in the Appendix of Miner's "History of Wyoming," in Vol. II of "Pennsylvania in the War of the Revolution," in "Journals of the Military Expedition of Maj. Gen. John Sullivan," and perhaps in other books; but in no instance (so far as the present writer is aware) have the sketches referred to been reproduced heretofore. By the courtesy of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania—in whose collections Colonel Hubley's diary is now preserved—the present writer is able to present in these pages photo-reproductions of several of the abovementioned sketches.

* "Cox's Town" and "Coxtown" (mentioned on pages 1162 and 1169) were undoubtedly one and the same place, having received its name from Cornelius Cox, Deputy Quartermaster General of the army in 1779. Some writers of Pennsylvania history have stated that Coxtown was situated where the present borough of Selinsgrove is located; and, not doubting the correctness of that statement, we have repeated it herein, on page 1162. From evidence which has quite recently been brought to our attention it appears certain that "*Cox's Town*" and "*Estherton*," or "*Esthertown*," were one and the same place; it being located in 1779 on the Susquehanna River, some seven or eight miles above Harris' Ferry (now Harrisburg)—or about where the town of Dauphin, in Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, now stands. It is possible that there may have been two or more places on the Susquehanna which were known in 1779 as Cox's Town; or, in other words, that wherever Deputy Quartermaster General Cox was stationed, engaged in his official duties—whether at Estherton, or at what is now Selinsgrove, or somewhere else—the place was conveniently and commonly referred to by army officers as "Cox's Town."

† According to the maps of Lieut. Benjamin Lodge (see page 1171), under whose direction the road from Northumberland to Wilkes-Barré was surveyed and plotted, the road started from Northumberland (opposite Sunbury) and ran northward along the right, or west, bank of the Susquehanna, at a distance of from one-half to three-quarters of a mile from the stream. Near the road, at a distance of five and three-quarters miles from Northumberland, was the residence of William Scull. Colonel Montgomery's plantation was twelve and a-half miles from Northumberland. James McClure lived one mile above Fishing Creek, which was twenty-two and one-fourth miles from Northumberland. Fort Jenkins was thirty and three-fourths miles from Northumberland, and about one-fourth of a mile from the river. "Shickohinna" (Shickshinny) Creek was noted as being at forty-eight and three-fourths miles from Northumberland. From Shickshinny to Wilkes-Barré the course of the road was as described (reversely) on page 1090. The distance from Northumberland to Fort Wyoming, Wilkes-Barré, was sixty-seven and one-fourth miles, and it was over this route that the 11th Regiment marched when convoying the boats up the river.

‡ See "Pennsylvania in the War of the Revolution," II : 5.

The sketch shown below—reduced to about one-half the size of the original—is, from a historical stand-point, both valuable and interesting, for it makes clear several matters which heretofore have been either misunderstood or erroneously described by all writers of Wyoming history. Beginning at the left-hand side of the sketch we note that part of General Maxwell's brigade was encamped opposite the upper end of Wilkes-Barré (later Fish's) Island; next came the park of Colonel Procter's artillery; then the remainder of Maxwell's brigade; and then, near the edge of the river bank, the headquarters of the Expedition—indicated in the sketch by the letters "H. Q." These camps were all located on the ground where the Indian village of *Teedyuscung* had stood twenty years before. (See page 371, Vol. I, and, in Chapter XXVIII, the



A SKETCH OF SULLIVAN'S ENCAMPMENT AT WILKES-BARRÉ IN JULY, 1779.

(A reduced photo-reproduction of the original sketch drawn by Lieut. Colonel Hubley.)

"Map of Wilkes-Barré and its Suburbs in 1872.") The Commander-in-Chief and his staff were admirably placed, as from their quarters the whole of the River Common was within sight, and there was an unobstructed view up the river for a distance of more than a mile and a-half.*

A short distance to the right of Headquarters was the ravine through which ran the brook mentioned on page 492, Vol. I; and beyond this

* From the diary of Col. Timothy Pickering, under the date of January 20, 1787, we get the following account of the condition, at that time, of the river bank at the "bend," where, some eight years before, General Sullivan and a part of his command were encamped: "Took a walk along the bank of the river, beginning at the bend and going down as far as Buttonwood [later Richards'] Island. The bank along the bend is in a ruinous condition, tumbling in and washing away at every thaw after frost, and at every fresh. The earth is extremely tender, and without any gravel or stones for perhaps ten or twelve feet in depth. Many acres have already been washed away since the New England people settled here. There is not a tree or bush along the bend for upwards of half a mile. I see no chance of preserving the lots along that bank from destruction. * * * After turning the point, the bank downward seemed pretty secure—both grass, trees and bushes growing on it; though here and there was a breach."

ravine (on the right bank of which Fort Durkee had stood from 1769 till 1771) a part of General Hand's brigade was encamped, at some distance from the river. Next in location was the camp of Colonel Ogden's regiment—more remote from the river than any of the camps. Fort Wyoming is shown in the sketch as standing on the brink of the river bank, while to the south-west of the fort a redoubt is noted, and to the north-east of it the camp of Colonel Hubley's regiment is noted. The location of General Poor's brigade, at Forty-Fort, is shown in the upper right-hand corner of the sketch. At the right-hand side of the sketch the location of two redoubts on elevated ground is indicated.

These last-mentioned works of defense were constructed by the troops by order of General Sullivan after his arrival at Wilkes-Barré. They were located on the rocky ridge described on pages 697 and 698, and the more southerly redoubt was erected on the site of old "Fort Defiance." The other, and the larger, of these two redoubts—which subsequently was known as "the Sullivan redoubt"—stood on the crest of the ridge, at the rear of the present German Catholic Cemetery on Darling Street, in the 1st Ward of the city of Wilkes-Barré. (See the "Map of Wilkes-Barré" in Chapter XXVIII.) Its site is exactly determined by information derived from a certain deed* executed by the Rev. Jacob Johnson about the year 1792. Remains of the two abovementioned redoubts were still in existence in the Spring of 1830, as is shown by the following extract from the article by Professor Siliman mentioned on page 698, *ante*. "The redoubts, an admirable lookout station, are still visible on the hill at the north of the village, and near them the solitary grave, without a monument, of the first clergyman—the Rev. Mr. Johnson—who was buried there by his own request." (See page 747, *ante*.)

The two small block-houses which had stood on the north-easterly side of Fort Wyoming—as described on page 1098—were demolished by order of General Sullivan after his arrival at Wilkes-Barré, and in their stead a substantial redoubt was erected on the River Common south-west of the fort, a short distance below Northampton Street. The location of this redoubt is indicated in the Hubley sketch.

Early in the morning of July 10, 1779, a detachment of 150 men from the 1st and 2d New Hampshire Regiments, under the command of Colonel Reid, was sent towards Easton to repair the road, and to escort in a train of wagons laden with army stores. At the same time Brig. General Hand, accompanied by Lieut. Jonathan Snowden, his aide-de-camp, and escorted by a company of light-horse, set out for Harris' Ferry (now Harrisburg) in order to hurry on supplies, the detention of which, "owing to the unaccountable neglect of those having the superintendence of the same, occasioned the army to continue at" Wyoming longer than had been planned. At Wilkes-Barré, under the date of July 11, 1779, General Sullivan wrote as follows to Brig. Gen. James Clinton, assigned to the command of the 4th Brigade of the Sullivan Expedition, and then at Canajoharie, New York.

* By the deed in question the Rev. Jacob Johnson conveyed to Ezekiel Brown a portion of the "50-Acre Lot" which had been granted to Mr. Johnson by the town of Wilkes-Barré; and the land conveyed is described in the deed in part as follows: "Beginning at the north corner of Capt. Samuel Bowman's land whereon his house now stands, and running westerly along his line until it intersects a redoubt built by Sullivan's army on the top of a hill—supposed to be about sixteen rods; thence along the course of the hill five and a-half rods; thence east, on a line parallel with Bowman's fence, until it intersects the main road leading from Wilkesbarre town-plot to Pittstown."



LOOKING NORTH-WEST FROM THE SITE OF THE OLD SULLIVAN REDOUBT.

"I have been disappointed and delayed respecting provisions and stores in the most surprising manner. I hope, however, to march in a few days. * * * It is agreed in Council that this army is to reach Tioga by the day prefixed for your march, that we may be ready to move up the Susquehanna to meet and cover you. * * * General Washington wrote me, as he has you, but I have undeceived him by shewing him that in case you depended on our magazine for stores, *we must all starve together*, as the Commissaries have deceived us in every article."

Word having been received by General Sullivan from General Clinton on July 12th that a body of 300 hostile Indians had been sent out from the Indian country, "to distress and harass as much as possible" the Sullivan Expedition while on its march, 150 men and a field-piece were despatched from Wilkes-Barré to reinforce Colonel Reid on the "Sullivan Road." The same day a request was received from General Hand to have all the large bateaux at Wilkes-Barré sent down the river, as the boats there were not sufficient in number to carry the stores which were ready. Thereupon the boats referred to were despatched, in charge of Lieut. Col. John Conway, commanding a detachment of infantry and Capt. Joseph Rice's company of Procter's Artillery, having two field-pieces and a howitzer. In the evening of this day thirty-three men of the German Regiment deserted, under the plea that their time was up and that they should be paid off and discharged. They marched from their camp in a body, fully armed and equipped, and headed by a drummer and a fifer. One of the Stockbridge Indian scouts was afterwards sent out by General Sullivan to ascertain the route taken by the deserters; which having been learned, a detachment of fifty soldiers on horseback was sent in pursuit of them. A few days later twenty-nine of the deserters having been apprehended in the neighborhood of the Wind Gap, they were marched back to Wilkes-Barré and confined in the guard-house. At Wilkes-Barré, under the date of July 14, 1779, Lieut. Colonel Hubley wrote to President Reed at Philadelphia as follows* :

* * * "Our Expedition is carrying on rather slow, owing to the delay of our provisions, etc. I sincerely pity General Sullivan's situation. People who are not acquainted with the reasons of the delay I'm informed censure him; which is absolutely cruel and unjust. No man can be more assiduous than he is. Unless some steps are taken to find out and make an example of the delinquent Quartermasters and Commissaries, I fear our Expedition will be reduced to a much less compass than was intended."

On July 20th Captain Bowman arrived at Wilkes-Barré from Brinker's Mills, bringing with him 270 head of cattle for the Expedition. A number of horses also arrived. On July 21st, at Wilkes-Barré, General Sullivan wrote to the Continental Congress in part as follows† :

"My duty to the public, and regard to my own reputation, compel me to state the reasons why this army has been so long delayed here without advancing into the enemy's country. In April last it was agreed that the army should be put in motion the 15th of May and rendezvous at Easton on the 20th, to proceed immediately on the expedition. The necessary preparations were to be made in the Quartermaster and Commissary Departments, that no delay might take place—success, in a great measure, depending on secrecy and despatch. I immediately detached parties to clear a road from Easton to Wyoming, which was done in season. * * * General Washington, in consequence of my letters, wrote the Executive Council of Pennsylvania for Rangers and Riflemen. They engaged 720, and the President [Joseph Reed] frequently wrote me that they would be ready in season. Not a man of them has joined us, nor are any about to do it. The reason assigned by them is, that the Quartermasters gave such extravagant prices to boatmen that they all enlisted in the boat service. But this is evidently a mistake, for we have not one hundred boatmen engaged for the army, and but forty-two pack-horsemen."

On the same day that General Sullivan wrote and despatched the foregoing letter, he issued the following general order, a copy of which he enclosed in his letter to the Congress.

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, VII : 554.

† See *ibid.*, 568.

"The Commander-in-Chief acquaints the army that, had the Board of War complied with his requisitions, and even their own engagements respecting clothing, the numerous brave and virtuous soldiers at this post would not now be suffering through want of any articles in that way. Although he has been disappointed from time to time, and has almost despaired of receiving suitable supplies, yet, from late advice, he promises himself the satisfaction of relieving the absolute necessities of the troops before they move from hence."

A copy of this order ultimately came into the possession of the Board of War, and was sent to the Congress, accompanied by a letter representing that the characters of the Board were "made very free with in General Sullivan's army, who, being under a deception," censured the members of the Board with great bitterness. The Congress was requested to appoint a committee to examine into the conduct and proceedings of the Board of War in the matters complained of—which request was acceded to.

On the same day that General Sullivan issued the foregoing order at Wilkes-Barré, Col. Timothy Pickering, at Philadelphia, by direction of the Board of War, wrote to General Sullivan as follows:

"We have received your favour of the 18th *inst.* We cannot but regret exceedingly the delay of an expedition whose success greatly depended on secrecy and dispatch. Your remarks on the Staff Department have undoubtedly but too much foundation. At the same time we must observe that there are in many cases almost insuperable difficulties in their way. Among these may be reckoned the want of men and proper materials. Of the former, the country is much drained, and of the latter, the old stocks are generally worked up or used, and no provision made for future wants. Hence, in particular, they have sometimes been obliged to use green stuff for casks, which in Summer is ruinous to whatever is put in them. To this cause may be imputed the badness of some of the salted provisions destined for your army; for we have, upon inquiry, received satisfactory evidence that no care was wanting in the salting and repacking of the far greater part of them."

On Saturday, July 24, 1779, General Hand arrived at Wilkes-Barré from Sunbury with a fleet of 134 boats, loaded with provisions of all kinds. Chaplain Rogers, in his journal, recorded the arrival of the boats in these words: "On the river they appeared beautiful as they approached the village in proper divisions. Those with field-pieces on board discharged several rounds* for joy, which in the surrounding woods produced a pleasing echo. The Commander-in-Chief, in public orders, returned his cordial thanks to General Hand, Major Conway, Captains Rice and Porter, and others, for their great exertions in thus bringing forward the stores of the army with such expedition. Also expressed his grateful acknowledgments to Commissary General Steele for his attention and activity in the business. The troops were directed to be in readiness to march on Wednesday morning [July 28th] next."

The deserters from the German Regiment having been tried and found guilty on July 24th by a general court-martial, whereof Brig. General Poor was President, were sentenced as follows: Five to be shot, two Corporals to be reduced to the ranks, and the remaining twenty-two men to run the gantlet through the brigades of Generals Hand and Maxwell—the respective punishments to take place on Monday, July 26th, at four o'clock in the afternoon. On that day, on account of rainy weather, orders were issued that the execution of these sentences should be postponed till July 27th. Chaplain Rogers states that he "visited the criminals, and found them greatly dejected on account

* Sergeant Thomas Roberts, of the 5th New Jersey Regiment, made the following entry in his journal relative to the arrival of the fleet on July 24, 1779. "The stores arrived with 150 boats for our army. At their return there was twenty-six rounds of cannon fired—13 from the boats and 13 from the camp. These boats had three 4-pounders, and one howitzer that threw bums [*sic*], for their security on the river."

of their approaching dissolution." The following is an extract from Chaplain Rogers' journal, under the date of July 27, 1779.

"Visited the convicts twice. In discussing with them upon a future state, they appeared much affected and very penitent. Represented their situation to General Sullivan, who told me that in consequence of a petition received from them he had ordered a board of General officers to sit. On the issuing of this day's orders the following sentence was read with pleasure by myself and the other Chaplains: 'The Commander-in-Chief having received a petition from the prisoners of the German Battalion now under sentence, manifesting their consciousness of the crimes for which they have been condemned, and promising in case of pardon to distinguish themselves in future as brave and obedient soldiers; which petition being laid before a board of General officers—in hopes that an act of lenity may have a proper effect on their future conduct, as well as that of others—they have unanimously advised a pardon of all the offenders without discrimination. The General, wishing to extend mercy where it can be done without injury to the public service, has accordingly consented to pardon each and every one of the offenders tried and sentenced by a general court-martial, whereof Brig. General Poor was President; and directs that they be immediately released and restored to their duty. Lest this unparalleled act of lenity should be abused, and any soldiers take the same unjustifiable measures hereafter, the Commander-in-Chief absolutely declares *he will not in future pardon a deserter*, or one who, though his time be expired, shall quit his corps without a proper discharge from his commanding officer.' Instantly after the above was made known to the criminals, I called in to see them, and found them calm, composed and thankful. Agreeably to the above order the whole twenty-nine were dismissed the main guard, and joined their regiment."

At Paxtang, Pennsylvania, July 26, 1779, William Maclay (see page 759) wrote to President Reed as follows:

"I am just returned from Sunbury. The whole of the troops have left that place a week ago, and I am satisfied that General Sullivan will move forward with the Expedition perhaps this very day. A more happy incident could not have happened than *the rise of the Susquehanna* at this critical and unexpected time."

On July 27th, by order of General Sullivan, General Poor's brigade broke camp at Forty Fort and moved down to Wilkes-Barré, erecting their tents near the village. On July 28th the detachment in command of Lieut. Colonel Reid, which had been sent to Brinker's Mills on July 10th, returned to Wilkes-Barré convoying eighty wagons loaded with supplies for the Expedition. On Thursday, July 29th, orders were given for everything to be put in readiness for the marching of the army on the morning of the 31st.

In pursuance of arrangements previously made by Military Lodge No. 19, the remains of Captain Davis and Lieutenant Jones—who had been members of that Lodge—were raised from their rude graves on Wilkes-Barré Mountain and re-interred in the Wilkes-Barré grave-yard, near the corner of the present Washington and Market Streets, with appropriate military and Masonic ceremonies on July 29th. The members of the Lodge met at five o'clock in the afternoon at the marquee of Colonel Procter, Master of the Lodge, and marched thence in procession to the marquee of General Sullivan, where they were joined by him. Then, escorted by the 11th Pennsylvania Regiment (Lieut. Colonel Hubley's) and Colonel Procter's artillery regiment, with drums and fifes and the band of the last-mentioned regiment, they proceeded three-quarters of a mile to the grave-yard, where the remains of the dead soldiers—previously exhumed, encoffined, and brought down from the mountain—awaited their coming. "The afternoon was very rainy," it is stated in one of the journals of the Expedition, "otherwise the appearance [of the Free Masons] would have been tolerably grand, as they all marched in order, with the band of music playing." Arriving at the grave-yard, an exceedingly heavy shower of rain came down, which prevented the delivery of a discourse appropriate to the occasion which had been prepared

by the Rev. Dr. Rogers. Instead, a short prayer was made by the Chaplain, and then the bodies were interred in one grave, in regular Masonic form, after which three volleys of small arms were fired over the grave.

The following account of this, the first Masonic and military funeral in Wyoming Valley of which we have any record, was prepared at the time by a member of Lodge No. 19, who forwarded it to John Carter of Providence, Rhode Island, by whom it was published in the *Providence Gazette and Country Journal* of September 18, 1779.

"WYOMING, July 31, 1779.

"On Thursday last, the 29th *inst.*, agreeable to previous determination, the bodies of our Brethren, Capt. Joseph Davis and Lieut. William Jones, who were massacred by the savages near this Post on the 23d of April last, were reinterred. This mark of respect we thought necessary for the following reasons: It being expressive of our esteem, and their not being buried in the proper grave-yard. The form of procession being fixed on by Lodge No. 19, was as follows: Twenty-four musketeers with reversed arms; two Tylers, bearing their swords; a band of music; two Deacons, with wands; two Brethren bearing orders;* the Holy Bible and the Book of Constitutions, supported by two Brethren; the Reverend Brethren; the Worshipful Master, with the Honorable Major General Sullivan; the Senior and Junior Wardens, bearing their columns; the Treasurer and the Secretary; Past Masters; the Brethren [of the Lodge], two and two; Brothers of the army,† two and two; two corps of drums (muffled) and fifes, playing a solemn dirge.‡

"The Brethren were neatly clothed, with jewels, etc., and were, in number, odds of 150. Just as we arrived at the grave, an exceedingly heavy gust of rain coming up prevented the delivery of a discourse which had been prepared by Brother [*sic*] Rogers. A short prayer being by him offered up, we then committed their bodies in Masonic form to the dust; afterwards, three volleys of small arms were discharged. The Brotherhood were attended by the Pennsylvania Infantry, commanded by Colonel Hubley, as likewise by a great concourse of people—both inhabitants and soldiery. The melancholy scene was closed with that decorum usual among the Brethren, and the satisfaction of all the bystanders. A stone being prepared by our Brethren Forrest§ and Story,|| with a suitable inscription, was fixed at the head of their grave."

The stone thus referred to as having been erected over the double-grave in the Wilkes-Barré burial-ground was a red-stone slab, upon which were chiseled certain Masonic symbols and the following inscription:

"In Memory of Capt. J. DAVIS of the 11th Penna. Regt. also Lieut. WILLIAM JONES who were massacred by the savages on their march to the relief of the distressed inhabitants of Wyoming April 23, 1779. Erected by the Brotherhood July 25,¶ the same year."

A good many years later, at the instance of George M. Hollenback of Wilkes-Barré—whose paternal grandmother had been closely related to Lieut. William Jones—the above-described head-stone was replaced by a marble slab bearing the following inscription:

"In memory of Capt. J. DAVIS, of the 11th Pennsylvania Regt., also of Lieut. WILLIAM JONES, who were massacred by the savages on their march to the relief of the distressed inhabitants of Wyoming, on the 23d of April, 1779. Erected by a friend."***

* The jewels, or "working-tools," of the Lodge.

† That is, those Free Masons in the army who were not members of Lodge No. 19.

‡ Undoubtedly "Roslin Castle."

§ THOMAS FORREST, commissioned Captain, in the Pennsylvania Artillery Battalion commanded by Major Procter, October 5, 1776; promoted Major, Pennsylvania State Regiment of Artillery (Procter's), February 5, 1777; promoted Lieutenant Colonel, December 2, 1778; resigned from the service October 7, 1781; Member of Congress, 1819-'23; died in Germantown, Pennsylvania, March 20, 1825, aged eighty-three years.

|| SAMUEL STORY was an Englishman, who joined the American army after the British evacuated Philadelphia, and was commissioned Third Lieutenant in the Pennsylvania State Regiment of Artillery, commanded by Colonel Procter. Later he was promoted Second Lieutenant, and May 13, 1779, he was promoted First Lieutenant. He was appointed Adjutant of the regiment February 13, 1780, and was promoted Captain-Lieutenant October 7, 1781. He died in service in South Carolina, October 4, 1782.

¶ Sunday, July 25th, had been fixed upon as the day for the reinterment of the bodies of Captain Davis and Lieutenant Jones, but as it rained very hard on that day as well as the next, the ceremonies were postponed to the 29th.

*** The remains of Captain Davis and Lieutenant Jones rested in the old Wilkes-Barré burial-ground until 1867, when, in view of the fact that the ground was to be abandoned as a place of interment, and the remains of all the dead buried there were to be reinterred elsewhere (see, as to this, a subsequent chapter), it was decided by Lodge No. 61, F. and A. M., of Wilkes-Barré, to remove the remains of those two long-deceased Free Masons to Hollenback Cemetery. A committee of members of the Lodge, consisting of Edmund L. Dana, Sharp D. Lewis, Elisha B. Harvey, Hendrick B.

A detail of 600 men was employed at Wilkes-Barré on Friday, July 30, 1779, from six o'clock in the morning until nine o'clock at night, loading boats and pack-horses with supplies for the Expedition. On this day General Sullivan received from Col. William Cook (see note, page 818) at Northumberland, Pennsylvania, a letter dated at seven o'clock in the morning of July 29th and reading as follows:

"The enemy yesterday [July 28th] made themselves masters of Freeland's fort, upon the West Branch of the Susquehanna, upon terms of capitulation, viz.: The men to remain prisoners of war; the whole garrison to be plundered by the Indians; the women to go free. The number of the enemy appearing before the fort, about 250—one-third British. The residue were savages, together with a *Corps de Reserve* of 100 more, at some distance. The whole under the command of Captain McDonald.* We have now at Northumberland about 150 to oppose the enemy and protect the women and children, whom it is impossible to get off. We expect to be attacked every hour, as we are the most frontier garrison, and fear [that] without some speedy assistance [we] must fall a prey to Savage Tyrants. The enemy have collected all the cattle and everything valuable as they came on. We beg leave to give it as our opinion that a party of men thrown across the country will retake the plunder and everything else. * * The number killed in action were Capt. Hawkins Boone and forty men, after the capitulation, who were out on a scout and had not heard of the surrender of the Garrison."

About the same time General Sullivan received from Col. Samuel Hunter, Lieutenant of the County of Northumberland, a communication (dated July 28th) similar in purport to the foregoing letter. He also received by a messenger a letter written July 28th at Minisink, on the Delaware, and reading as follows†:

Wright, George Urquhart, Albert M. Bailey and William L. Stewart, was appointed to prepare a program of ceremonies, and make the necessary arrangements for carrying out the same. St. John the Baptist's Day (June 24th), 1867, was fixed upon for the ceremonies, and invitations to unite and take part in the same were extended to all the Masonic Lodges in Luzerne County, and to some others in neighboring counties. Sidney Hayden, of Rural Amity Lodge, No. 70, Athens, Pennsylvania, was invited to deliver the address on the occasion.

The day selected for the carrying out of the program proved a most favorable one, and Wilkes-Barré was filled with strangers drawn hither to witness the solemn and peculiar ceremonies that were to take place. At two o'clock in the afternoon a procession was formed on West Market Street (near the Hall of Lodge No. 61) with the right resting on River Street. Capt. Charles C. Plotz acted as Chief Marshal, assisted by Capt. O. K. Moore and Walter G. Sterling of Wilkes-Barré, Bryce R. Blair of Plymouth, Captain Gordon of Shickshinny, and George Parton and Julius Josephson of Scranton. The formation of the procession was as follows: (1) Veteran Zouaves (Capt. W. W. Ellis commanding) and drum corps, of Wilkes-Barré. (2) Officers and soldiers of the War of 1861, in full uniform. (3) Officers and soldiers of the Mexican War. (4) Officers and soldiers of the War of 1812. (5) The Scranton Cornet Band. (6) Lodges of Free and Accepted Masons of Pennsylvania, in the following order: *Sylvania*, No. 354, Shickshinny; *Schiller*, No. 345, Scranton; *Hyde Park*, No. 339, Hyde Park; *Plymouth*, No. 332, Plymouth; *Peter Williamson*, No. 323, Scranton; *Waverly*, No. 301, Clark's Summit; *Union*, No. 291, Scranton; *Carbondale*, No. 249, Carbondale; *St. John's*, No. 233, Pittston; *Lodge No. 61*, Wilkes-Barré. (7) The clergy. (8) Hearse. (9) Pall-bearers: Gen. Henry M. Hoyt, Col. Samuel H. Sturdevant, Col. William Brisbane, Lieut. Col. Edwin S. Osborne, Lieut. Col. Thomas C. Harkness, Lieut. Col. George N. Reichard, Maj. Charles M. Conyngham, Maj. Oliver Parsons, and Maj. George Smith—all in full uniform.

The procession moved down River Street, and thence through several other streets to the old grave-yard on East Market Street. There the remains of the two officers and Brethren (previously disinterred and laid in a new coffin) were placed in the hearse, and the procession moved on to Hollenback Cemetery, the band and the drum corps playing "Roslin Castle" (referred to on page 1182). Arriving at the cemetery—where a large concourse of citizens had gathered—the following program was carried out: (1) Prayer by the Rev. Thomas P. Hunt. (2) Dirge, played by the band. (3) Masonic burial services, conducted by Edward H. Chase, Worshipful Master of Lodge No. 61. (4) Music. (5) Introduction of the orator of the day, by Gen. Edmund L. Dana, a Past Master of Lodge No. 61. (6) Oration, by Sidney Hayden. (See the present writer's "History of Lodge No. 61, F. and A. M.," pages 600-608, for this oration.) (7) Music. (8) Remarks, by Gen. Edmund L. Dana and the Hon. Hendrick B. Wright, members of Lodge No. 61. (9) Benediction, by the Rev. John G. Eckman. (10) Firing, by the military escort. The procession then returned to Masonic Hall, where it was dismissed. Some 500 Free Masons took part in the ceremonies of the day.

The marble slab, which had stood for a number of years at the head of the Davis-Jones grave in the old burial-ground, was removed to Hollenback Cemetery and set up over the grave there—where it still stands—while the original red-stone slab is said to have been placed in the grave with the remains of the two officers.

In the Summer of 1896 Mrs. Martha (Bennett) Phelps of Wilkes-Barré caused to be erected, at her expense, and on her property near her Summer residence on Wilkes-Barré Mountain, a substantial stone monument to mark the spot where Captain Davis and Lieutenant Jones and their companions fell. This monument, which was dedicated with very interesting ceremonies on September 12, 1896, in the presence of a large company of invited guests, bears upon one face the following inscription: "Near this spot, April 23, 1779, Captain Davis, Lieutenant Jones, Corporal Butler, and two privates, belonging to the advance guard of the Expedition under Major General John Sullivan, were scalped, tomahawked and spared by the Indians. Their bodies were buried here. Those of the two officers were reinterred in Wilkes-Barré, July 29, 1779." On another face of the monument the following inscription appears: "This Stone is given to the care of the Sons of the Revolution and Daughters of the American Revolution of Wilkes-Barré, Pennsylvania."

* Capt. JOHN McDONNEL of Butler's Rangers.

† See the *Pennsylvania Packet*, August 19, 1779.

"I embrace this earliest opportunity to inform you that on the 20th *inst.* Joseph Brant, with a party of Tories and Indians—twenty-seven whites and sixty Indians—made an attack on Minisink and killed four men; took fifteen prisoners; burnt ten dwelling-houses, one church, eleven barns, one grist-mill, a large quantity of hay and grain; took a great quantity of horses, cattle, and other plunder. The militia soon collected and pursued them, overtaking them about twenty-five miles up the Delaware, upon which a most bloody engagement began, continuing four hours. We lost forty of our best men, including one Colonel, six Captains, and seven or eight Lieutenants. * * We believe the enemy are at Cochection, almost forty miles from this place and about the same distance from Wyoming. * * They left Chemung the 8th of July."*

To Colonel Hunter General Sullivan replied on July 30th as follows (see "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, VII:594):

* The following account of the British and Indian forays against Minisink and Fort Freeland (and the immediate reasons for the same) is taken from Ernest Cruikshank's "The Story of Butler's Rangers" (page 63), previously referred to. "On the 2d of May [1779] Maj. John Butler left Niagara with 400 men, including a few Indians. He was directed to advance no farther than Kanadesaga, the principal village of the Senecas, and keep a sharp lookout towards Fort Pitt and Wyoming. * * Everywhere he found the Indians on the very brink of starvation—many of them were actually living on roots and leaves. Cattle and grain could scarcely be purchased at any price. Scouts confirmed the report that an overwhelming army was assembling on the Susquehanna, and said that the frontier settlements were everywhere protected by a girdle of strong stockades. * * Lieutenant Thompson, with forty 'Rangers,' accompanied by Roland Montour and a few Indians, was detached to the Susquehanna to obtain cattle; Lieutenant Johnson made a raid upon Schoharie and brought off eighteen prisoners. One bold recruiting officer had gone within sight of Albany and brought in twenty men belonging to Burgoyne's army. Another actually penetrated beyond the Hudson and enlisted seventy men.

"Butler urged the Indians to plant as much corn as possible, and every 'Ranger' not otherwise employed was set at work to assist them in the fields on the fertile Genesee flats. By the beginning of June his stock of provisions was exhausted, the 'Rangers' were living from hand to mouth, and the starving Indians were wasting his scanty supply of ammunition by firing at every wretched bird they saw in the woods. It seemed impossible to remain much longer at Kanadesaga. * * On the 3d of July a deserter came in from Wyoming, bringing, as it proved, very reliable information. He stated that when he left, General Hand was encamped there with 600 men, and Generals Sullivan and Maxwell were daily expected with nine regiments and nine cannon. Another army was to advance from North River, and a third from Fort Pitt. They intend to cut off the Indians as they come along, and then join and attack Niagara. They had 600 pack-horses, and were to have 400 more. A great number of boats were lying in the river."

"There could no longer be any doubt that a very serious invasion was contemplated, although it was still generally supposed that the numbers of the enemy were much exaggerated. To distract their attention as much as possible, and occupy them in the defense of their own frontiers, as well as to procure supplies, McDonnell, with sixty 'Rangers,' a few volunteers from the 8th [Regiment], and 100 Indians, was sent to the West Branch of the Susquehanna, while Lieut. Barent Frey and [Joseph] Brant marched against Minisink, on the Delaware. Meanwhile, scouting parties returning from the Mohawk, discovered an encampment of troops at 'Cochran's Lake' [Lake Otsego], supposed to be the advance-guard of the army coming from the North River. They likewise brought the doleful news that Lieut. Henry Hare and Sergeant Newberry of the 'Rangers' had been taken by the enemy and executed as spies. Hare had been recognized while 'viewing the stores as they passed up the river,' and was hanged on a gallows—erected with a refinement of cruelty—in front of his own house. Their comrades were bitterly exasperated, and made fierce threats of retaliation in like manner.

"By the 19th of July every expedient that ingenuity and experience could suggest for the maintenance of the remainder of his battalion at Kanadesaga had been exhausted. Lieutenant Thompson wrote from Tioga that he had been unable to procure any cattle, and must either return or starve. The Indians were continually begging [Butler] for food, which it was not in his power to supply. * * 'To add to all this,' Butler continued, 'there is not the same opportunity of driving cattle from the enemy's frontier as there was the preceding Summer.' * * Genesee Falls, two days' march from Kanadesaga, was selected as a suitable place for an encampment, where the 'Rangers' could be supplied with provisions by boats from Niagara, and the abundance of fish in the river would afford a welcome change of diet to men who had been living, for many weeks, on stale salt meat imported from Ireland. He [Butler] himself still remained at Kanadesaga to sustain the spirits of the Indians, and vigilant officers were stationed in all their outlying villages with instructions to keep scouts out in every direction.

"While Butler was so employed both the parties he had sent out against the frontiers had struck damaging blows. After a 'very fatiguing and tedious march over mountains and through woods almost impenetrable,' McDonnell gained the West Branch of the Susquehanna. On the 27th of July he marched all night, and at day-break came in sight of Fort Freeland, the frontier post. Before noon the garrison capitulated, after having two men killed. Thirty-one prisoners were taken, including a Commissioner of the County [of Northumberland]. Of the besiegers, only John Montour, who led a party of the Indians, was wounded, while scalping a man under the walls. Two hours later the 'Rangers' were unexpectedly attacked by a party of seventy or eighty men from a neighboring fort, who, having heard the firing, had advanced to the relief of Fort Freeland. The Indians had dispersed in search of cattle, and allowed them to approach unperceived until within gunshot. McDonnell hastily formed his men and engaged them in front until the Indians assembled and took the enemy in the flank, when they were quickly routed, leaving three Captains and thirty men dead on the field. McDonnell said that very few would have escaped if their flight had not been favored by thick underwood. He lost only one Indian killed and another wounded. After this skirmish he attempted to induce the Indians to follow up their success, but 'they were glutted with plunder,' and insisted on retreating a few miles to enjoy themselves overnight. In the morning he returned with 100 men and destroyed five forts and thirty miles of settled country, advancing within a short distance of Shamokin [Sunbury]. Eighty women and children were taken during the day and released uninjured. A hundred cattle were driven off, but half of them were subsequently stolen by the Indians. On the 5th of August McDonnell was again at Tioga, awaiting the approach of the enemy from Wyoming.

"Brant and Frey had a very similar experience. They destroyed several small forts, or stockades, and many other buildings at Minisink, with little opposition. On their retreat they were pursued by a much superior force of militia, which outmarched them and formed an ambush at the Lackawaxen ford. Quickly recovering from his surprise, Brant quietly led a party of Indians around a hill, and suddenly attacked his assailants in the rear. They dispersed, and were remorselessly slaughtered in their flight. More than a hundred were killed, and but one taken prisoner."

"Your letter of the 28th I received to-day, announcing the loss of Fort Freeland. * * I could wish to assist you, but the good of the service will not admit it. The object of this expedition is of such a nature, and its consequences so extensive, that to turn the course of this army would be unwise, unsafe and impolitic. * * To-morrow morning I shall march with the whole army for Tioga, and must leave you to call upon the Council of your State for assistance. *As Pennsylvania has neglected to furnish me with the troops promised for this expedition*, she certainly will be enabled to defend her frontiers without much inconvenience." * *

At Wilkes-Barré, under the date of July 30, 1779, Lieut. Col. Adam Hubley, Jr., wrote to President Reed of Pennsylvania as follows* :

"In my humble opinion I think it would answer an exceedingly good end if a detachment of 500 men from this army were detached and sent on the Western Branch, as they would have it in their power effectually to scour that country, and be at Tioga nearly as soon as the main body. This would give relief to the poor inhabitants, and would by no means delay the expedition. * * * I don't mean by giving my opinion so freely to throw the least reflection on the Commander [Sullivan]. I am confident he acts from pure principle, and for the good of the public in general. No man can be more vigilant and assiduous. I sincerely wish his labors may be crowned with laurels. To-morrow we march, and, I am sorry to say, exceedingly ill provided to carry through the extensive Expedition. The same unparalleled conduct of those employed in supplying this army seems still to exist. I hope to see the day when the delinquents will be brought to proper punishment. My regiment, I fear, will be almost totally naked before we can possibly return. I have scarcely a coat or blanket for every seventh man. The State stores are all issued and delivered to the regiment."

At "Camp Wyoming," Wilkes-Barré, under the date of July 30, 1779, General Sullivan wrote to General Washington as follows :

"I have the honour to inform your Excellency that I have at length surmounted every obstacle, and shall commence my march to-morrow morning."

At the same time General Sullivan wrote to Gen. James Clinton as follows :

"I shall leave this [place] to-morrow morning. I wish you to set out the 9th of next month [August, 1779]. On my arrival at Tioga I will immediately detach a considerable body of Light Troops to favour and secure your march."

On the same day General Sullivan placed in the hands of Col. Zebulon Butler the following letter of instructions,† now published for the first time.

"HEAD QUARTERS, WYOMING, July 30th [1779].

"*Sir.*—Relying *with great confidence* on your Zeal and Activity, I have thought proper, to charge you, with the defence of this *very* important Post, and when you consider the extent of my Confidence, which bears an exact proportion to the greatness of the Trust, I flatter myself, that every manly Motive will intimately interest you in its defence. Your Conduct will be regulated by the following orders —

"Immediately after my leaving this Post, you will turn your attention to its Security. You will have the Abattis repaired, and any other Improvement made, which may tend to strengthen the Works. A subaltern and 25 Men must be immediately thrown into the little Work,‡ with positive injunctions to be vigilant, and not to suffer his Men to straggle, but to keep his Force collected. You must be convinced of the necessity of this, as well as of the propriety (should the enemy approach) of *removing such Houses* as wd interrupt your line of Fire, or favor their Attack. You will have Sentries in advance of each flank of your Works, and *Patroles* will tend greatly to prevent a surprize. Should this duty be rather fatiguing, small Fires, built at some distance from your Works, will, in cloudy Nights, enable your Sentries to distinguish an Enemy at a very considerable Distance. The Inhabitants will (no doubt) if call'd upon, contribute their Assistance to your support, as their future Existence in a great measure depends upon it. You will, if necessary, make the Experiment, and in short you are to practice every Precaution which a Garrison expos'd as this is, can *for its safety* require.

"In addition to the above orders, you are hereby instructed to favor the Passage of all Letters, Cloathing, &c., which may hereafter arrive, or in future be directed to me; so far as it can be done, with that Prudence which I have heretofore recommended to you. I wish you likewise to collect as much Forage as possible, of every kind, and you will

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, VII : 596.

† The original letter is now in the possession of the present writer.

‡ The "Sullivan Redoubt," situated on the crest of the ridge, north-east of the town-plot of Wilkes-Barré, as described on page 1194.

keep the Saw-Mill constantly employ'd in cutting Plank with which you will repair the Meeting House* *as an Hospital* for such soldiers as are incapable of Duty.

"Thus far I have thought advisable to instruct you. But as it is impossible to enumerate every particular of your Duty, and local Circumstances must in a great measure determine it, I rely much on your Prudence, and sincerely wish you an agreeable Command.

[Signed] "JNO. SULLIVAN, Maj. Gen."

"To Colonel BUTLER.

During the whole of the morning of Saturday, July 31st, every department of the army at Wilkes-Barré was busy with preparations for the advance northward. The completing of the loading of the boats and pack-horses occupied a good deal of time and employed a large number of men, and the work was very fatiguing. There were 1,220 pack-horses, allotted as follows: Twenty for the use of the Commander-in-Chief and his staff; 300 for Maxwell's brigade; 300 for Poor's brigade; 200 for Hand's brigade; 100 for Procter's regiment, and 300 for the public stores—all in charge of a corps of "conductors," under the direction of Col. William Bond of New Jersey. In addition, of course, to these horses were those ridden by the various mounted officers of the Expedition. The boats, 214 in number,† were loaded with the guns of the artillery regiment, ammunition, salted provisions, liquors, heavy baggage, and all the flour—excepting some carried in kegs on the pack-horses—required for the Expedition. This fleet was manned by the men of Colonel Procter's regiment, 250 soldiers detailed from other regiments, and 450 enlisted boatmen, and the boats were propelled against the current of the river by these men with the aid of setting-poles. Colonel Procter was in command of the fleet.

According to orders issued by General Sullivan on July 25th the line of march of the army was fixed as follows: General Hand's brigade, acting as light-troops, to move in three columns and keep about a mile ahead of the main body of troops. General Maxwell's brigade to advance with its right in front, to be followed by General Poor's brigade with its left in front. The pack-horses and cattle to follow in the rear of General Poor's brigade. The flank-guard on the right of the column to consist of a field-officer, and 200 men in two divisions. The flank-guard on the left to consist of a Captain, and sixty men in two divisions. The rear guard to consist of a complete regiment, taken one day from Maxwell's brigade and the next day from Poor's—and thus alternating during the progress of the Expedition. (It was the duty of this guard to look after straggling men and cattle.) The main body of the army was ordered to keep as nearly abreast of the fleet as possible; and the horns, with which the boats were provided, were to be frequently sounded, in order to give notice of the location of the boats. It was ordered that a Captain and sixty men should advance a mile in front of the boats on the west, or right, bank of the river, to scour the country and give notice of ambuscades. In case of their being attacked by a superior force they were to retreat across the river; and, to enable them to do this, four light boats were to keep ahead of the fleet, nearly abreast of the members of the party. These boats were to be manned by a trusty officer and twelve armed soldiers, who were "to be answerable for their conduct."

* This was a small and unpretentious frame edifice, which stood in the south-west corner of the public grave-yard in Wilkes-Barré—on the spot where the City Hall is now located. It was erected there in 1773, and was only partly destroyed when the village was burned by the British and Indians in July, 1778.

† See "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, IV : 557.

Two Captains, six subalterns and 100 rank and file were ordered to remain at Wilkes-Barré to constitute the Wyoming garrison, under the command of Col. Zebulon Butler. This left an effective force of from 3,200 to 3,400 men—including officers, boatmen and “conductors”—to set off up the river; a force smaller, by several hundred men, than it had been all along intended and expected by both Washington and Sullivan should compose the main division of the army. With the Expedition marched, as a part of Hand’s brigade, the Westmoreland Independent Company (commanded by Capt. Simon Spalding), in the Continental service, and a company of Westmoreland militia organized for the occasion and commanded by Capt. John Franklin. The latter company numbered only a few men, and, so far as is known, there is no roll of the organization now in existence. During the greater part of the campaign Captain Franklin, together with Lieut. John Jenkins, Jr., of Spalding’s company, and “Captain” Jehoiakim, the Mohegan Indian previously mentioned, served in the important capacity of a guide. Lieut. Obadiah Gore, Jr., Serg’t Asa Chapman, Corporal Thomas Park, and the other men of the 3d Regiment, Connecticut Line, mentioned in the second paragraph on page 834 as being on duty at the Wyoming post in 1779, also took part in the Expedition.

On the eve of leaving Wilkes-Barré General Sullivan made a requisition on the Board of War for clothing, stores, etc., which were greatly needed for his army. This reached the Board about the 2d of August, and drew forth a letter to Congress, written under the date of August 4, 1779, by Col. Timothy Pickering, in behalf of the Board. At that time no member of the Board had yet seen a copy of the General Order issued by General Sullivan at Wilkes-Barré, July 21, 1779. (See page 1196.) In his communication to the Congress Colonel Pickering recited in detail the various requisitions which had been made by General Sullivan, and stated how far the Board had honored them. He then wrote :

“General Sullivan has now made a demand of 1,000 blankets and 5,000 shirts, which at present ’tis not possible to comply with. Could we have formed any certain judgment of the quantity of clothing requisite for General Sullivan’s army, we should have spared no pains to supply it. * * * Moreover, General Sullivan’s demands being usually on a large scale, we deemed some caution necessary in granting him supplies. He asked for 1,000 spare muskets at a time we had but a single one in store. We communicated the matter to General Washington, at the same time informing him that we had some time before ordered 200 stand of spare arms and accouterments complete for the troops under General Sullivan; and these his Excellency, in his answer, judged adequate to the service.”

Everything being in readiness at Wilkes-Barré for the advance of the army, a cannon was fired at Fort Wyoming at noon of July 31st as a signal for the troops to set out. General Hand’s brigade was immediately put in motion, and marched in the following order: The 11th Pennsylvania Regiment and Captain Spalding’s company constituted a column to march on the main road (the present North Main Street) leading northward from the town-plot of Wilkes-Barré. The German Regiment and Schott’s Independent Corps (the latter temporarily commanded by Capt. Anthony Selin) formed the right column, and marched on the right of the first-mentioned, or center, column. The right flank of the right column was covered by one-third of the *light-infantry* of the 11th Regiment, and all the *riflemen* of Schott’s Corps, marching in single file, and the whole commanded by Captain Schott; while two-thirds of the *light-infantry* of the “11th,” and all the *riflemen* of Spalding’s com-

pany, marched in single file on the left flank of the center column, and answered the purpose of a third column. Sixty men, under Capt. William Gifford of the 3d New Jersey Regiment, marched on the west, or right, bank of the river, abreast of Hand's brigade and a mile in front of the boats, as ordered.

About one o'clock in the afternoon the firing of a cannon from Colonel Procter's flag-boat, "The Adventure," was the signal for the boats of the fleet to weigh anchor. "In a few moments the whole of the main body of the army was in motion, with flags flying, drums beating, fifes screaming, and Colonel Procter's regimental band playing a lively air. Passing the fort, a salute of thirteen guns was fired, which was answered by a like number from the fleet." In pursuance of the orders previously mentioned General Maxwell's brigade marched first, followed by General Poor's—each in column formation. Then came the pack-horses of the Expedition, strung along for a distance of a mile; and then came a drove of 600 or 700 beef cattle. The 1st New Jersey Regiment (commanded by Col. Matthias Ogden) constituted the rear-guard for the first day's march.

The route pursued by the center column of Hand's brigade, and by the main column of the army, was the highway running from Wilkes-Barré to Pittston. According to the maps of Lieutenant Lodge (previously mentioned) the road was a continuation of Main Street in the town-plot of Wilkes-Barré. It crossed Mill Creek, by a bridge, about a mile from the Susquehanna, and then, at a distance ranging from one-quarter to three-quarters of a mile from the Susquehanna, ran a course generally north-north-east to the Lackawanna River. At a distance of four miles from Fort Wyoming (near the present village of Plainsville) the road crossed the little brook described on page 213, Vol. I. Chaplain Rogers, describing this day's march in his journal, says:

"The country we came through to-day, though generally a wilderness, affords a pleasing prospect of great improvement in a future day. We passed several plantations [on Jacob's Plains], with no houses of any kind standing—being all burnt by the enemy. From the road we occasionally saw the river, which excited agreeable sensations. Crossing Lackawannick Creek, which is in breadth about sixty yards, and fordable at all times of the year, we encamped for the night near the same, on a beautiful plain—having marched from Wilkesbarre ten miles, and reaching the plain between the hours of five and six."

Lieut. Colonel Hubley made the following entry in his journal relative to the march of July 31st.

"I was struck on this day's march with the ruins of many houses, chiefly built of logs, and uninhabited. * * Arrived at a most beautiful plain, covered with an abundance of grass, through which runs a delightful stream of water known by the name of Lackawanna. Crossed the stream, and encamped about one mile on the northern side of it—advanced [i. e. the "light-troops"] about one half mile in front of the main body."



While the head of the army arrived at the camping-place at Lackawanna about five o'clock

in the afternoon, the rear-guard did not reach there until nine o'clock the next morning.

The illustration on the opposite page is a reduced photo-reproduction of an original sketch of the Lackawanna encampment made by Colonel Hubley at the time. (See page 1192.) In the Susquehanna, near the head of Scovell's Island, the fleet of boats is noted. Opposite the center of the fleet, on the left bank of the river, the letters "H. Q." indicate General Sullivan's headquarters. Then, to the right, is seen the location of the camp of the light-troops, or Hand's brigade, and then the camps of the brigades of Generals Maxwell and Poor. On the right bank of the river, nearly opposite Campbell's Ledge (see page 47, Vol. I), the camping-place of Captain Gifford's "party of sixty men" is noted, with their boats lying near by in the river. A chain of sentinels was stationed around the entire encampment on the left bank of the river. Owing to the fact that some of the boats were not properly loaded, and that it was difficult to get the majority of all the boats past the rapids known as "Wyoming Falls" (see page 36, Vol. I), the last of them did not reach the mouth of the Lackawanna until about two o'clock in the afternoon of Sunday, August 1st. Two boats—one loaded with ammunition and the other with provisions—were sunk at the "Falls," but their contents were saved.

At three o'clock in the afternoon of the 1st, upon the firing of a cannon, the tents of the army were struck and the march was continued. The route of the marchers lay along the base of Campbell's Ledge, through the narrows beyond, and then onward to a large, level and open tract of land near the river, known as *Quilutimack*,* where formerly there had been an Indian settlement. The distance was about seven miles from the previous camping-ground, but as the way was rough the march was attended with many difficulties. Several of the pack-horses gave out, while the packs on many others kept continually falling off, scattering the contents all along the path. A considerable number of the flour kegs burst, and the flour was lost. The boats all arrived in good order and time at *Quilutimack*, but the rear-guard (Colonel Cilley's regiment) did not arrive at the camping-ground until after sunrise on August 2d. Orders having been issued for the continuance of the camp at that place over the 2d, the light-troops began their march at six o'clock in the morning of the 3d, and the main body set off at seven. The march this day covered twelve miles, and is described by Chaplain Rogers in his journal in these words :

"The major part of the way we met with trifling difficulties. We had to encounter a few bad places, such as swamps, steep hills and thickets; however, in comparison with Sunday's march, it deserves the appellation of excellent. On an exceedingly high spot we had the pleasure of viewing many adjacent mountains. * * Tunkhannunk is a beautiful creek eight poles in breadth. The place where we crossed it, about three-quarters of a mile from the Susquehannah, into which it empties, was very rapid. On the path along which we came, and on each side of it as far as we could see, wild grass had grown in abundance. * * * The country all along abounds with snakes—particularly the rattlesnake and blacksnake. At two o'clock P. M. we arrived at Tunkhannunk, and encamped on the banks of the Susquehannah, about a mile from where we crossed the creek of the same name."

The camping-ground of the light-corps at Tunkhannock was near the abandoned plantation of Adam Wortman, mentioned on page 948. The army was again in motion at five o'clock in the morning of August 4th, and moved up the river for three miles—"chiefly on the beach,

* Mentioned on page 813, and now known as Keeler's.

close under an almost inaccessible mountain." They then ascended the same with great difficulty, and continued along on it for nearly



SKETCH OF THE TUNKHANNOCK ENCAMPMENT.
(From Colonel Hubley's journal.)

In his journal Chaplain Rogers describes the march of the light-troops on August 5th, as follows :

"We soon entered another defile, or narrows, three-quarters of a mile in length. * * Leaving the narrows we ascended a steep but short hill, and traveled over a considerable open part of the country—the land in some places very indifferent, in others rich and fit for meadow. * * After we left this height, having marched over a low and swampy piece of ground, we came to Wyalusing Mountain. The ascent was gradual, and at the top we had a pleasing view of the Susquehanna. * * From the top of the mountain the plains of Wyalusing settlement are also visible. * * The mountain is two miles over. On reaching the foot we entered a thicket containing the largest trees of the sycamore, or button-wood, kind my eyes ever beheld—being in circumference (take one with another) between twenty and thirty feet, and in diameter between nine and twelve feet. Notwithstanding these trees the bottom is called Sugar Bottom, on account of the sugar-maple. * * On the mountain and in the bottom we saw several spots where the Indians had encamped. Fresh Indian tracks were discovered, and one of their canoes was taken by Mr. Lodge [the Geographer]; also, by some of our soldiers, a raft with a pair of moccasins. An engagement was expected throughout the day; but, granting that the enemy had a fair view of us—of which we had not the least doubt—they suffered us to pass unmolested, notwithstanding the many advantageous posts they might have occupied in annoying us. From the foot of the mountain to Wyalusing the distance is one and a-half miles.

"Wyalusing, which we reached in good season, consists of about 1,000 acres of clear land, amazingly fertile and containing beds of extraordinary fine English grass. Since the present contest the town, which was inhabited by Moravian Indians,* has been partly destroyed by our people and partly by the Indians. It contained upwards of eighty good square log houses, and a fine ornamented Moravian church in the center, with a bell. The minister resided in the town; there was also a tavern and other public buildings—all of which, without exception, were demolished or tattered down the Susquehanna. No sign of even the smallest hut was left standing. * * On this fine, open plain, like a bed of down, the main army encamped. The light-troops marched a mile farther on, contiguous to an excellent spring, the place abounding with good pasture and distant from the river about half a mile, where we made our fires and took up our abode for the night. * * Wyalusing plains are exactly fifty miles from Wyoming, agreeably to the actual survey of Mr. Lodge."

In the afternoon of August 9th the army arrived at the upper plains of Sheshequin, on the left bank of the Susquehanna, and, erecting their tents, remained there until the morning of August 11th. In the mean-

* See page 733, *ante*.

seven miles. The march this day covered about fourteen miles, and the main body of the army went into camp on the abandoned plantation of Frederick Vanderlip (a Tory, who had joined Butler's Rangers, as herein-before mentioned), while the light-troops encamped about a mile farther up the river on the abandoned farm of one Williamson. By reason of the boats not arriving at the encampment until late in the morning of August 5th, the light-troops did not march until half past eight o'clock.

time General Sullivan, accompanied by his three Brigadiers and escorted by two regiments of troops, reconnoitered the country in the vicinity of Tioga Point.* Agreeably to orders the army moved at eight o'clock in the morning of the 11th, the usual formation being adhered to. Says Lieut. Colonel Hubley in his journal :

"The light-corps moved half an hour before the main army, and took post on the banks of the river near the fording place. On the arrival of the main army and boats, Colonel Forrest† drew up his boat at the fording place and fixed several 6-pounders on the opposite shore, in order to scour the woods and thickets and prevent any ambuscade from taking place. In the meantime the light-corps marched by platoons, linked together, on account of the rapidity of the water, and forded the same, and effected a landing about nine o'clock. They immediately advanced about 100 yards from the river and formed in line of battle, in order to cover the landing of the main army, which was safely effected about ten o'clock A. M., after which came on pack-horses, cattle, etc., covered by a regiment which composed the rear-guard. Previous to our arrival on the [Tioga] Flats‡ we had to pass about one and a-half miles through a dark, difficult swamp, which was covered with weeds and considerable underwood, interspersed with large timber, chiefly but-tonwood. We then entered the flats near the place on which Queen Esther's palace stood,§ and was destroyed by Colonel Hartley's detachment last Fall. * * We continued along the same for about one mile, and arrived at the entrance of Tioga Branch into the Susquehanna about one o'clock. We crossed the same and landed on a peninsula of land (which extends towards Chemung, and is bounded on the east by the Susquehanna and on the west by the Tioga Branch), and continued up the same for about two miles and a-half and encamped."

Chaplain Rogers gives in his journal the following account of the march of the army from Sheshequin to Tioga Point.

"Proceeding about one mile and a-half we arrived at a fording place on the Susquehanna *unknown to any of our guides*, but found out on the preceding day by the General officers. The troops, pursuant to orders, taking off their overalls and tying them about their necks, crossed in platoons, under cover of the fleet, each soldier grasping the hand of his comrade next to him for support. The current being strong, and the water for a considerable distance coming up to the middles of the men, some considerable difficulties were encountered ; but notwithstanding every impediment the whole body got over without suffering any peculiar disadvantage. General Hand, in order to animate his brigade, dismounted and marched through on foot at the head of his soldiers. Such an army, crossing a river with so much regularity at a place so rapid, and in width 330 yards, afforded the spectator a pleasing sight, and must have struck our enemies with awe. I must doubt whether the army of Alexander the Great encountered as many difficulties with as much good humor as ours has evinced.

"The river being forded, we entered upon what is properly called the Indian country. * * The army being formed as usual we proceeded, sometimes in single files, and then in double, through a thicket, till we entered those beautiful plains where the Tioga Branch unites itself with the main river. On this level spot stood Queen Esther's palace, burned by Colonel Hartley last Fall. Over those plains our army marched towards the mouth of the Tioga in order of battle, the light-troops being joined by two 3-pounders from the regiment of artillery. The view of this was grand beyond description, as the ground for a great circuit was level, and the grass high and green. Drums were beating, fifes playing, colors flying. Getting to the mouth of the Tioga we found it in width 142 yards, and the water much deeper than had been imagined. * * Possessing ourselves of the north side of the Tioga, and passing through a swampy piece of ground, we entered upon other plains, pleasing to the eye, though not so grand as those on the south. Here the main body encamped. The light-troops proceeded farther on—one column on the bank of the Susquehanna, and another on the bank of the Tioga. Having advanced a mile and better, our [the light-corps'] tents were pitched from river to river—judged to be about 200 yards. Just below our encampment we took a view of the Indians' carrying-place, thirteen yards across ; so called from their carrying or dragging their canoes from river to river to save themselves the trouble of paddling round the neck [point]."

In the night of August 12th a considerable detachment of the army, under the command of General Sullivan himself, marched from the camp at Tioga Point for the Indian town of Chemung—mentioned on page 972—intending to surprise and destroy it. Arriving about five o'clock the next morning at the town—consisting of fifty or sixty log houses—it was found to be deserted. Thereupon, in order to make, if

* See page 34, Vol. I.

† Lieut. Col. Thomas Forrest of Procter's Artillery.

‡ On the right, or west, bank of the river.

§ See page 1091.

possible, some discoveries as to the whereabouts of the enemy, a portion of the detachment was ordered to advance up the river a few miles farther. They had proceeded about a mile when they were fired upon by a party of forty Indians under the command of Roland Montour, ambushed on a high hill. Two Captains, one Adjutant, one guide (Capt. John Franklin) and eight privates of the detachment were badly wounded, and one Sergeant, one drummer and four privates were killed—the first to fall by the enemy's bullets in this campaign. The survivors, taking with them their dead and wounded, returned to Chemung, and thence (having first destroyed the town and the growing crops near by) marched with the remainder of the detachment back to Tioga Point. While the troops were destroying the crops near Chemung they were fired upon by Indians in ambush, and one man was killed and four men were wounded. On Saturday, August 14th, the seven soldiers who had been killed on the previous day were buried at Tioga (in one grave) with military honors—Chaplain Rogers preaching a funeral sermon.

In pursuance of orders issued on August 12th the erection of a fortification was begun at Tioga, for the protection of the stores and boats to be left there during the absence of the army. The site selected for this work of defense was at the narrowest part of the Tioga peninsula, where the two rivers approach very near each other. The work, which was built of logs, and was surrounded by a ditch, was diamond-shaped, with a strong block-house at each corner, or angle. It was so near completion on August 16th that it was then named "Fort Sullivan," in honor of the Commander-in-Chief of the Expedition.

At the encampment of the light-troops (General Hand's brigade), on Wednesday, August 18, 1779, the Rev. Dr. Rogers preached the funeral sermon, "in Masonic form," which he had prepared to deliver at Wilkes-Barré at the time of the burial of Captain Davis and Lieutenant Jones, but which had to be postponed on account of a heavy rain-storm. (See page 1197.) The sermon was preached at eleven o'clock in the morning, at the request of Military Lodge No. 19, and was listened to by the members of that lodge, by other Free Masons belonging to the Expedition, and by General Sullivan and his staff, the 11th Pennsylvania Regiment, and Procter's Artillery Regiment. The text of the Chaplain was from Job, VII: 7—"Oh! remember that my life is wind."

As previously mentioned, the Northern, or Right, Division of the Sullivan Expedition (constituting the 4th Brigade of the army) was commanded by Brig. Gen. James Clinton,* and it had not yet joined the forces under the Commander-in-Chief. The troops under Clinton in the Spring of 1779 were stationed at Schenectady, New York, and there, in preparation for the Sullivan Expedition, they built over 200 small boats. From Schenectady these troops proceeded with their boats up the Mohawk River to Canajoharie. Thence, by the aid of many teams of horses and oxen, the boats and stores of the brigade were transported a distance of twenty miles, over a rough and hilly road, to the head of Lake Otsego—the source of the Main, or North, Branch of the Susque-

* Brig. Gen. JAMES CLINTON, a brother of Gov. George Clinton of New York, was born in Orange County, New York, August 9, 1736, the son of Col. Charles Clinton. When only twenty years of age he was an officer under Bradstreet in the French and Indian War. With the rank of Colonel he was with Montgomery in the invasion of Canada in 1775. He was commissioned Brigadier General August 9, 1776, and was in command of Fort Clinton when in October, 1777, it was captured by the British. After the war he held various important offices in New York. He died in Orange County, New York, December 22, 1812. DeWitt Clinton, well known at a later period as Governor of New York, and the "father" of the Erie Canal, was a son of Gen. James Clinton.

hanna River. With the exception of one regiment, that marched overland by way of Cherry Valley, the entire brigade came down the lake in their boats; the last of the troops reaching the site of the present Cooperstown about July 5, 1779. There the brigade went into camp, and awaited orders from General Sullivan. In the meantime General Clinton had found that the outlet of the lake was too narrow and shallow for the passage of his boats. Therefore, being a practical engineer, he devised an ingenious plan to overcome this difficulty; which was accomplished by damming the small gorge through which the Susquehanna flows as it leaves the lake. By this simple means the lake level was raised two or three feet, and an increased flow of water was insured when the dam, or dike, should be removed.

Clinton and his brigade remained in camp at the foot of Lake Otsego for a little more than a month. On their last Sunday there (August 8, 1779) the Brigade Chaplain, the Rev. John Gano, preached to them from the text, "Ready to depart on the morrow"—from The Acts of the Apostles, XX: 7. Later in the day orders were issued for the departure of the troops on Monday, and at six o'clock in the evening of Sunday—the fleet of 220 or more boats being loaded and ready to proceed down the river—the dam was knocked out and, according to the journal of Lieut. William McKendry, "the water filled the river immediately, where a boat could pass, which was almost dry before." It is said that the Indians along the banks of the Susquehanna, miles away from its source, beholding the overflow of the river in Summer, without any apparent reason, thought that it was caused by an interposition of the Great Spirit, and fled in terror. Besides the invalids of the brigade who were placed in the boats with the stores and baggage, three men went in each boat. All the rest of the troops marched—some on one side, and some on the other, of the swollen river—the advance southward from the lake beginning at ten o'clock in the morning. "So they proceeded through the hot August days, destroying various Indian villages along the route, and keeping a sharp lookout lest Brant, with his whooping retinue, should surprise them, as they had heard that he meant to do." At three o'clock in the afternoon of August 12th the troops arrived at Unadilla (mentioned on page 971), and on the 14th they reached Oghwaga (mentioned on pages 257 and 667).

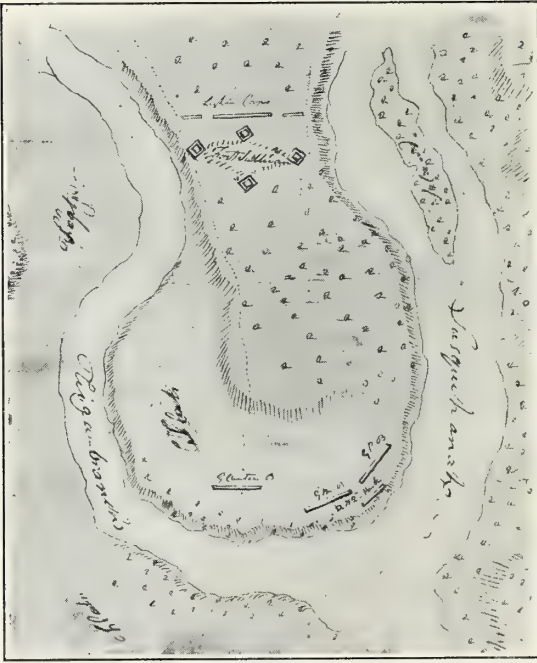
At Tioga Point, on Sunday, August 15, 1779, General Sullivan ordered that a detachment of 1,084 men—including field and line officers and musicians—to be commanded by Generals Poor and Hand, and to be supplied with ammunition and provisions for eight days, should march at six o'clock the next morning, to go up the Susquehanna to meet the forces of General Clinton. In pursuance of these orders the detachment marched late in the morning of the 16th—General Poor being first in command. A distance of eleven or twelve miles having been covered, the detachment bivouacked at *Macktownunk*, or Red Bank. Thence Serg't Asa Chapman and Justus Gaylord, Jr. (of the Westmoreland contingent), were despatched up the river by General Poor to inform General Clinton of the approach of the detachment. In the evening of August 18th General Poor's command bivouacked at Choconut, or Chugnuts (mentioned in the note on page 421, Vol. I). "Here," states Lieut. Colonel Dearborn in his journal, "we found plenty of cucumbers, squashes, turnips, &c.; and we found about twenty houses,

which we burnt. * * At sunset we were very agreeably alarmed by the report of a cannon up the river, which we supposed to be General Clinton's evening gun."

Having burned what there was of Chugnuts, General Poor's troops—with the exception of a few who remained on the south side of the river—pitched their camp on the north side of the river, where the present village of Union is located. At this place the main body of Clinton's brigade joined Poor's detachment in the morning of August 19th. After a few hours the combined forces moved forward about twelve miles to Owego, a deserted Indian village of nineteen houses, which Clinton ordered burned, to make "a bonfire to grace the arrival of the united forces." On Sunday, August 22d, between ten and eleven o'clock in the morning, the head of General Clinton's column and the foremost boats of his fleet arrived at Tioga Point. As the boats passed down by the camp of the light-corps they were saluted by thirteen rounds fired from two 6-pounders. As the detachment commanded by Generals Poor and Hand marched down the peninsula, it was received by that part of Hand's brigade which had remained at Tioga, under arms, and with the fifes and drums and Procter's band playing alternately. General Clinton's brigade—which numbered from 1,600 to 1,800 men, including

the boatmen—went into camp on the right of General Maxwell's brigade, not far from the southern extremity of the "Point."

The accompanying reduced photo-reproduction of Lieut. Colonel Hubley's sketch of Tioga Point encampment (taken from his journal, mentioned on page 1192) shows the location of the camp of the light-corps (Hand's brigade) at the narrow neck of the peninsula; then, next below, Fort Sullivan, with its four block-houses; then, near the extremity of the "Point," the camp of Clinton's brigade; next, the camp of Maxwell's brigade, in front of which is noted the location of General Sullivan's headquarters; then, lowermost of all, the artillery park, and then the



TIOGA POINT.

Reduced photo-reproduction of the sketch made by Lieut. Colonel Hubley in August, 1779.

camp of Poor's brigade. The dotted lines in the sketch indicate the routes, or roads, traversed by the troops.

After the arrival of General Clinton and his command at Tioga Point a rearrangement of the several brigades of the army was made by order of General Sullivan, and then preparations were begun for an

immediate advance into the enemy's country. Colonel Shreve, of the 2d New Jersey Regiment, was appointed to command Fort Sullivan; the garrison to be composed of about 250 officers and men, provided with two brass 6-pounders. The "flying hospital" and the reserve stores of the Expedition were moved to the fort, and the various women who accompanied the army were ordered to take up their quarters there. On August 26th the army, numbering upwards of 4,000 men, marched to the upper end of Tioga flats, about three miles above Fort Sullivan, and there bivouacked. In the morning of the next day the march was resumed, the bounds of the town of Westmoreland were passed, and about seven o'clock in the evening the army went into camp at the lower end of Chemung flats—three miles distant from the site of the town of Chemung, which had been destroyed two weeks previously. After encamping, the troops "had an agreeable repast of corn, potatoes, beans, cucumbers, watermelons, pumpkins, squashes and other vegetables, which were found growing in great plenty and the greatest perfection in the extensive fields at that point." One of the journalists of the Expedition states: "We sat up until between one and two o'clock, feasting on these rarities." On Saturday, August 28th, the army destroyed sixty or eighty acres of growing corn on the Chemung flats, and then moved forward to the site of Chemung, where they erected their tents about sunset.

Now, turning our attention to Fort Sullivan, for a brief space, we glean from the journal of Chaplain Rogers (who did not accompany the Expedition beyond Tioga Point) the following items of information concerning the situation there.

"Captain Bush, Dr. [William] Kinnerly [Surgeon of the 3d Brigade] and myself erected our living abode within the lines of Fort Sullivan [August 26th], proposing to spend our time as comfortably as possible together until some of the boats set off for Wyoming. The command of the garrison being committed to so vigilant and worthy an officer as Colonel Shreve, affords much confidence and good humor in all those who are to continue with him, although their sufferings may be great and duty must be hard. * * *Friday, August 27th.*—* * The garrison at Fort Sullivan is very short of provisions; the salted beef much tainted. Divers cattle, which, since our arrival at this post have strayed away, were this day discovered by a scouting party sent out by the commandant. The party could bring none in, as they were apparently as wild as deer. * * *August 28th.*—A party which was directed to search after strayed horses and cattle, early this morning drove into the fort twenty-four of the latter. A great blessing, indeed, as there are in the garrison about 1,200 [*sic*] souls, men, women and children included, and previous to the twenty-four cattle being drove in, but five were left, and those but poor. About dusk sixty boats, most of them having many of the garrison on board, set off for Wyoming for provisions and other necessities. Took passage, myself, with Captain Bush, on board 'The Adventure,' where were fixed, as conveniently as circumstances would permit, Captain Carberry and Adjutant Huston, who, owing to their wounds and much pain, were exceedingly uneasy."

On Sunday, August 29th, the battle of Newtown was fought near the present city of Elmira, New York. Full and complete accounts of this battle are to be found in the book entitled "Journals of the Military Expedition of Maj. Gen. John Sullivan" (previously mentioned), and it is unnecessary, therefore, to describe in these pages—from an American standpoint—the event in question. But the following paragraphs, taken from "The Story of Butler's Rangers," by Ernest Cruikshank, may be fitly introduced here.

"Leaving a strong garrison at Tioga Sullivan deliberately resumed his advance, warily feeling every step with swarms of riflemen in front and on the flanks, and cutting a wide road through the woods for the passage of his artillery and pack-horses. Panic-stricken by the appearance of such an overwhelming army, a majority of the Indians thought only of removing their families and moveable property to a place of safety. The

number of warriors that joined [Maj. John] Butler never exceeded 300, although he had expected 1,000. The Delawares had promised 200, and sent only 30. He had less than 300 'Rangers,' and only fourteen men of the 8th [Regiment]. * * He kept up an appearance of confidence, however, and attempted to reassure the Indians by telling them he would defeat the invaders with the 'Rangers' alone, assisted by their brethren under Brant. Unfortunately, runners then came from the Seneca villages on the Allegheny to announce that their country was invaded by a large force from Pittsburg [under Col. Daniel Brodhead]. On this, Butler tried to persuade the Indians to retire to some more advantageous position, leaving small parties among the hills to harass the Americans on their advance; but the Delawares had pointed out the spot where they ought to meet the enemy, and the others were obstinately bent upon following their advice.

"Having sent away his baggage in charge of the sick, Butler accordingly marched forward and took possession on August 27th of the ground indicated to him. 'It was a ridge of about half a mile in length [reported Major Butler], to the right of which lay a large plain extending to the river and terminating in a narrow pass near our [the British and Indians] encampment, so that, having possession of the heights, we would have had greatly the advantage should the enemy direct their march that way. On our left was a steep mountain, and a large creek in our front at a little distance.' A rough breastwork was formed of logs, which they attempted to mask with freshly cut boughs. In some places shallow rifle-pits were dug, and a log building was occupied and loop-holed for musketry. McDonnell with sixty 'Rangers' and Brant with thirty 'whites and Indians' occupied the right of this position; Capt. [Walter N.] Butler, with the remainder of the 'Rangers' and the party of the '8th,' held the center, while the main body of the Indians, commanded by *Sayenqueraghta*,* was posted at the left, at the foot of the mountain.

"At sunset they were informed that the enemy was still encamped below Chemung, and they retired for the night to their own camp, about a mile distant. Next day the position was again occupied from sunrise until dark, without any appearance of the Americans. But Sullivan's scouts had heard the noise of their axes in the day and seen the glare of their camp-fires at night. Neither officers nor men of the 'Rangers' had a blanket or tent to cover them, and since their arrival at Chuckmet, two weeks before, they had neither meat, flour nor salt, but had been subsisting entirely upon a daily allowance of seven ears of green corn, which they had scarcely found time to cook. On the 29th [of August], at daybreak, they resumed possession of their lines, 'which,' Butler said, 'some officious fellows among the Indians altered, and turned the left wing along the mountain, quite the contrary way from its original situation, which was in a great measure the cause of our defeat, as it gave the enemy room to outflank us on that wing without opposition.' Here they remained exposed to the full glare of the sun until two o'clock, when a number of riflemen appeared in the skirt of the woods. The plain between them and the breastwork was covered with tall grass, rising nearly as high as a man's head.

"The affair at Chemung [on August 13th] had made the Americans more than usually cautious, and before advancing into the plain some of their scouts climbed trees, from which they discovered this entrenchment and saw a number of Indians, brightly painted with vermilion, lying on the ground behind it. They at once commenced a brisk fire, while their artillery was being brought forward and a brigade of light-infantry detached around the hill to turn the 'Rangers' position and gain the defile in the rear. When the skirmish had lasted for half an hour, with trifling loss on either side, Butler began to suspect the enemy's purpose, and urged the Indians to commence their retreat. His advice was warmly seconded by Brant and the Seneca chief, who had come together from the opposite flanks to point out the danger of remaining any longer where they were. One of the most powerful reasons for an immediate retreat was the wretched physical condition of the 'Rangers,' who were horribly enfeebled by exposure and the pooriness of their food, and at the very moment the action began three officers and several men were struck down by the ague. But the majority of the Indians were still obstinately bent on holding their ground, and would pay no attention to their arguments.

"By that time the Americans had got six guns and coehorns in position, and opened 'an elegant cannonade,' firing shells, round and grape-shot, and iron spikes, upon the main body of the Indians. This had an immediate and demoralizing effect. The sight of the shells bursting in their rear convinced them that they were already surrounded, and they sprang to their feet and ran away at full speed. The 'Rangers' and Brant's party being thus deserted, retired as rapidly as possible to the hill, which they found already occupied by the enemy's riflemen, with whom they kept up a running fight for nearly a mile, when they were obliged to disperse in every direction—some fording the river, others escaping along the wooded summit of the hill. Butler himself narrowly avoided capture. Many of the Indians never halted in their flight till they reached their respective villages, but the 'Rangers' assembled before dark at Nanticoketown, five miles distant, and continued their retreat until they overtook their baggage. Their actual loss had been miraculously small—only five men were killed or missing, and three wounded. The Indians reported a loss of five killed and nine wounded. Sullivan acknowledged a loss of forty-two killed and wounded among his regular troops, and at

* See page 968.

least one of his Oneida scouts was killed besides. His victorious troops amused themselves by scalping the dead, and in two cases actually skinned the bodies of Indians from the hips downward, to make boot-tops, or leggings.

"Next day Sullivan sent back to Tioga all unnecessary baggage and some of his heaviest cannon, and resumed his advance in the same deliberate and cautious but resistless manner, laying waste the scattered villages, cornfields and orchards he passed, in the most thorough-going fashion imaginable. * * Indian runners constantly watched his progress from the hill-tops, and warned their tribesmen of his approach, so that he found their houses always deserted and empty. Half of Butler's men were sick and absolutely unfit for duty, and he fell back to Kanadesaga, sending the sick to the mouth of the Genesee for removal to Niagara. The mass of the Indians were thoroughly dispirited, and even the influence and example of Brant and *Sayenqueraghta*—who behaved throughout with admirable courage and firmness—failed to rally many of them to his support. The Cayugas sent an Oneida to beg for mercy for their tribe, but Sullivan haughtily replied that Congress had 'instructed him totally to extirpate the unfriendly nations of Indians, to subdue their country, destroy their crops, and drive them to seek habitations where they would be less troublesome.' Captain Butler continued to watch Sullivan's motions with a few picked 'Rangers' and some Indians that were kept together by the tireless exertions of Brant and Roland Montour."

Relative to the battle of Newtown,* and certain subsequent incidents, we find the following in the journal of Lieut. John Jenkins, Jr., of Westmoreland.

* * "Soon after our cannon began to play upon them [the British and Indians], they ran off and left their breastworks in the most precipitous manner, leaving their packs, blankets, tomahawks, spears, &c., behind them. At the same time we took possession of the enemy's ground and fortifications. * * Poor's party took a Tory prisoner, and twelve Indian scalps. The riflemen took a negro prisoner in the evening, about two miles from the enemy's works, and then returned and encamped near a very beautiful flat, where the enemy had planted and tilled about 120 acres of corn. August 30th the army lay still and sent out reconnoitering parties, and buried the dead. Having destroyed about 120 acres of excellent corn, beans, &c., [we] prepared to proceed after the enemy. Our wounded, heavy-artillery and wagons were sent back to Tioga in boats. This day in examining the prisoners they said that Butler and Brant commanded, and that the enemy consisted of 700 men—500 Indians and 200 Tories—and they had lived for two weeks on green corn, without bread or salt."

In the journal of Lieut. Col. Adam Hubley, under the date of August 30, 1779, we find the following record:

"On account of the great quantities of corn, beans, potatoes, turnips, and other vegetables, in the destroying of which the troops were employed, and [on account of] the rain which set in in the after part of the day, obliged us to continue on the ground for this day and night. The troops were likewise employed in drawing eight days' provisions (commencing September 1st). The reason of drawing this great quantity at one time was (however inconsistent with that economy which is absolutely necessary in our present situation—considering the extensive campaign before us, and the time of consequence it will require to complete it), the want of pack-horses for transporting the same; and, in order to expedite this great point in view, are obliged to substitute our soldiery for carrying the same. From the great and unparalleled neglect of those persons employed for the purpose of supplying the western army with everything necessary to enable them to carry through the important expedition required of them, General Sullivan was at this early period under the disagreeable necessity of issuing the following 'ADDRESS TO THE ARMY,' which was communicated by the commanding officers to their corps separately, *viz.*:

"The Commander-in-Chief informs the troops that he used every effort to procure proper supplies for the army, and to obtain a sufficient number of horses to transport them, but owing to the inattention of those whose business it was to make the necessary provision, he failed of obtaining such an ample supply as he wished, and greatly fears that the supplies on hand will not, without the greatest prudence, enable him to complete the business of the Expedition. He therefore requests the several Brigadiers, and officers commanding corps, to take the mind of the troops under their respective commands, whether they will, whilst in this country—which abounds with corn and vegetables of every kind—be content to draw one-half [a ration] of flour, and one-half of meat and salt a day. And he desires the troops to give their opinions with freedom and as soon as

* The centennial anniversary of the battle of Newtown was celebrated on the battle-ground August 29, 1879, under the auspices of "The Newtown Monument Association." A monument, which had been erected on the ground by this association, commemorative of the battle, was duly dedicated by the Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons, and addresses and poems were delivered and read by various gentlemen of prominence—among whom were the Rev. David Craft, D. D. (previously referred to), the Hon. Steuben Jenkins of Wyoming, and the Hon. Edmund L. Dana and the Hon. Henry M. Hoyt (Governor of Pennsylvania) of Wilkes-Barré.

possible. Should they generally fall in with the proposal, he promises they shall be paid that part of the rations which is held back at the full value in money.

"He flatters himself that the troops who have discovered so much bravery and firmness will readily consent to fall in with a measure so essentially necessary to accomplish the important purpose of the Expedition, to enable them to add to the laurels they have already gained. The enemy have subsisted for a number of days on corn only, without either salt, meat, or flour, and the General cannot persuade himself that troops, who so far surpass them in bravery and true valor, will suffer themselves to be outdone in that fortitude and perseverance which not only distinguishes, but dignifies, the soldier. He does not mean to continue this through the campaign, but only wishes it to be adopted in those places where vegetables may supply the place of a part of the common ration of meat and flour, which will be much better than without any. The troops will please to consider the matter, and give their opinion as soon as possible."

"Agreeably to the above address the army was drawn up this evening, in corps separately, and the same, through their commanding officers, made known to them, and their opinions requested thereupon; when the whole [army], without a dissenting voice, cheerfully agreed to the request of the General, which they signified by unanimously holding up their hands and giving three cheers. This remarkable instance of fortitude and virtue cannot but endear those brave troops to all ranks of people, more particularly as it was so generally and cheerfully entered into without a single dissenting voice."

On August 31st the army marched from Newtown, and in the evening of September 1st arrived at Catharine's Town—mentioned in the last paragraph on page 207, Vol. I. The town was deserted, save by an aged squaw; but plenty of "plunder" was found and appropriated—horses, cows, hogs, corn, beans, etc. Having destroyed the town, the army marched thence on September 3d. In the evening of September 7th Kanadesaga (see page 967) was reached, and, like the other Indian towns lying in the path of the army, was found deserted by its inhabitants. Relative to the arrival of the army at Kanadesaga, Lieut. Erkuries Beatty states in his journal:

"We again filed off to the left and marched along the beach [of Seneca Lake] till we came to 'Butler's buildings,'* which is two or three houses on the banks of the lake, in a very beautiful situation. Here we again formed columns and marched through a corn-field near, where the men had orders to pluck corn as they marched through—which they did. We then proceeded on towards the town. * * This is the chief town in the Seneca nation. * * There is about seventy or eighty houses in it, and built very compact, and the chief of the houses very good. Likewise I heard there was two or three old block-houses in it; but I did not see them, as it was dark when we came in, and the men began immediately to pull down the houses for fire-wood. I believe the Indians had left it several days before, as there was not much appearance of their having been here lately. On the first entrance of our brigade a young child—I believe about three years old—was found running about the houses, which one of our officers [Capt. Thomas Machin] picked up and found it to be a white child; but it was so much tanned and smoked that we could hardly distinguish it from an Indian child. It could talk no English—nothing but Indian, and I believe but little of that. The officer took great care of it, and clothed it, as it was naked when he found it."

In some of the houses of the town were found a considerable number of deer and bear skins, some corn, and other plunder. A few horses and a cow were also found, running at large. The army destroyed the entire town, with all the growing crops of corn and vegetables, girdled the fruit trees,† burned the stacks of hay, and entirely devastated the place. Sergeant Moses Fellows states that, when the army marched from Kanadesaga on September 9th, "what corn, beans, peas, squashes, potatoes, onions, turnips, cabbages, cucumbers, watermelons, carrots, parsnips, etc., our men, horses, cattle, &c., could not eat, were destroyed." From this point all the sick and invalids of the army were sent back to Tioga Point, under an escort of a Captain and fifty men. On Septem-

* See page 967.

† A little to the north of Kanadesaga was a large peach-orchard, that was destroyed by the army; but in a few years it was again in a flourishing condition, and in 1797 one hundred bushels of peaches were sold from it to a neighboring distillery. The same year a farmer on one of the "Old Castle" farms sold cider to the amount of \$1,200., which was made from apples grown in the old Indian orchard, the trees of which had been girdled by Sullivan's army, but had sprouted from the roots and were again in full bearing.—"*Documentary History of New York.*"

ber 13th the army arrived at Kanaghsaws, Conesus, or Adjutsa, described in the note on page 1041. From this point Lieut. Thomas Boyd, of "Morgan's Riflemen," with eighteen riflemen, seven musketeers, "Captain" Jehoiakim (the Stockbridge Indian, previously mentioned), and *Hanyarry*, an Oneida Indian chief (who had served with the Continental army since the beginning of the war), was sent out at night to reconnoiter the country in front of the advancing army, with orders to return at day-break. The party having proceeded to within a short distance of Gathtsegwarohare—a small Indian town near Canaseraga Creek, some six or seven miles west of Kanaghsaws—four of the men were sent forward to the town. They found it abandoned, but near by, about sunrise, they ran across three or four Indians, one of whom (who was riding a good horse, and had three guns) they killed and scalped. They returned immediately to Lieutenant Boyd, who, with the remainder of his party, lay at some distance from the town. Boyd then moved slowly towards Kanaghsaws, but sent on, in advance, four of his men (including Jehoiakim) to report to General Sullivan relative to the results of the reconnoissance.

When within about two miles of the main army Boyd and his men were attacked by a body of several hundred Indians and "Rangers," under the command of Joseph Brant and Maj. John Butler. Eight of the party escaped and made their way to Kanaghsaws, but Boyd, *Hanyarry*, and fourteen of the riflemen, forming the center of the party, were shut in on all sides. Their defense against overwhelming odds was not less gallant than it was hopeless. In their extremity they posted themselves in a small grove, with a considerable open space around it, and there they continued to fight. Some of the enemy were so near that the powder from their muskets burned the clothing and persons of the Americans. The conflict was continued until all were killed save Lieutenant Boyd and Sergeant Michael Parker, who, being severely wounded, were made prisoners and conveyed to Genesee Castle, or "Little Beard's Town" (see pages 967 and 1042), where they were put to death with inhuman and incredible tortures. Lieut. Colonel Hubley states that "the savages massacred them in the most cruel and barbarous manner, having put them to the most excruciating torments possible, by first plucking their nails from their hands, then spearing, cutting and whipping them, and mangling their bodies; then cutting off the flesh from their shoulders by pieces, and then tomahawking and severing their heads from their bodies, and then leaving them a prey to their dogs." The Rev. Dr. Craft states (in his address hereinbefore referred to):

"It has been currently reported that, after his capture, Boyd approached Brant under the sign of a Free Mason—of which ancient Fraternity both were members;* that the chieftain recognized the bond of brotherhood and promised him protection, but, having been unexpectedly called away, the captives were placed in charge of Butler (probably Walter N.), who, becoming exasperated with Boyd's persistent refusal to disclose any information in regard to the army, handed them over to the Indians to be put to death. The whole story, however, is extremely doubtful, and it is now difficult to ascertain how much of it, if any, should be received as true. The most that can be said with certainty is, that the next day the bodies of the unfortunate men were found by our troops, horribly mangled, and bearing marks of having suffered unspeakable torture."†

* As to Brant, see note on page 299, Vol. I.

† As to the Masonic incident above referred to, Colonel Stone, in his "Life of Brant" (II : 31), deals with it at some length, while Sidney Hayden, in his "Washington and His Masonic Compeers" (page 336), tells the story in the following words: "Boyd was wounded, and with one of his party was taken prisoner. He had been captured once before, at the storming of Quebec, but then was

In the afternoon of September 13th the army advanced to Gathsegwarohare, where they bivouacked for the night. Early the next morning a force of 2,000 men was detailed to destroy the extensive corn-fields in the vicinity of the town—in performing which task six hours were consumed; the ears of corn being plucked and thrown into the creek. Towards noon the army began its march to Genesee Castle (previously mentioned), distant some five miles, in a north-westerly direction. Canaseraga Creek was forded, and then a swamp of considerable extent was traversed. Soon afterwards the troops forded the Genesee River—about twenty yards in width, but with such a rapid current that the men were obliged to cross in platoons, with locked arms, to resist the force of the current. “The route was down the Genesee Valley—then in its autumnal glory—covered with grass from six to ten feet high. Ascending the high land on the west side of the river, the scene was one of indescribable beauty. For miles not a hill nor bush could be seen—only here and there a clump of trees broke the monotony of the landscape.” “There was spread out a spectacle of beauty which was gazed upon with delight by the rudest soldier. The name of Genesee became thenceforth but a new appellation for the perfection of fertility and beauty.”

Genesee Castle was reached about six o'clock in the evening of the 14th, and was, of course, found to be deserted. It was learned later (as stated in the note on page 1106) that the Indians and Tories had set out from the town for Fort Niagara on the 13th, in great haste and confusion. They left behind them large heaps of husked and unhusked corn. The remains of Lieutenant Boyd and Sergeant Parker were found in the outskirts of the town, and were, without delay, interred with the honors of war.* Under the date of September 15, 1779, Maj. James Norris states in his journal:

“At six o'clock the whole army was turned out to destroy the corn in and about this town, which we found in great plenty. We were from six o'clock to two o'clock P. M. in destroying the corn and houses. It is generally thought we have destroyed 20,000 bushels of corn at this place. The method we took to destroy it was, to make large fires with parts of houses and other wood, and then piling the corn on the fire, which effectually destroyed the whole of it.”

Under the same date Lieut. Colonel Hubley states in his journal:

“This morning the whole army, excepting a covering party, were engaged in destroying the corn, beans, potatoes, and other vegetables, which were in quantity immense, and in goodness unequalled by any I have ever yet saw. Agreeable to a moderate calculation there was not less than 200 acres, the whole of which was pulled, and piled up in large heaps, mixed with dry wood taken from the houses, and consumed to ashes. About three o'clock P. M. the business was finished, and the immediate objects of this Expe-

exchanged. From the private ranks he had risen to that of Lieutenant of a rifle-company of the Pennsylvania division, and was about twenty-two years of age. He was the largest and most muscular man of his company, but, having been wounded, he was now in the power of the enemy. Lieutenant Boyd was a Free Mason, and, knowing the ferocity of the Indians after seeing their towns burned, he gave to Brant, who was also a Mason, a sign of the Fraternity, claiming protection. The dusky chief recognized it and at once promised him his life. But, being called away soon after, Boyd was left in the care of General [sic] Butler [Maj. John Butler, in command of the “Rangers”], who, as before stated, had formerly been a member of St. Patrick's Lodge, on the Mohawk.

“Butler demanded of the captive information which his fidelity to his own commander would not allow him to give. The scene became one of tragic interest. Enraged at the silence of Boyd, Butler had him placed before him, kneeling upon one knee, with an Indian on each side holding his arms, and another standing behind him with a tomahawk raised over his head. Butler inquired the number of Sullivan's men. ‘I cannot answer you,’ was Boyd's reply. He then inquired how his army was divided and disposed. ‘I cannot give you any information, sir,’ again replied the heroic captive. Again, for the third time, Butler harshly addressed him: ‘Boyd, life is sweet; you had better answer me.’ ‘Duty forbids,’ was the reply. ‘I would not, if life depended on the word.’ Reader, contemplate the scene! Both were Free Masons—the one haughty, imperious, and forgetful of his vows; the other a captive in his hands, with fortitude undaunted and fidelity unshaken, thrice refusing to betray his trust. His last refusal cost him his life, for, before Brant returned to his captive, and unknown to him, Butler delivered Boyd into the hands of the infuriated Indians about him; and, amidst tortures too horrid to describe, he fell a martyr to his trust.”

* In August, 1842, the remains of these two soldiers were exhumed and removed to Mount Hope Cemetery, Rochester, New York, where they were reinterred.

dition completed, *viz.*: the total ruin of the Indian settlements, and the destruction of their crops.

"The following is a part of the Orders issued this day: 'The Commander-in-Chief informs this brave and resolute army that the immediate objects of this Expedition are accomplished, *viz.*: Total ruin of the Indian settlements, and the destruction of their crops, which were designed for the support of those inhuman barbarians while they were desolating the American frontiers. He is by no means insensible of the obligations he is under to those brave officers and soldiers whose virtue and fortitude have enabled him to complete the important design of the Expedition, and he assures them he will not fail to inform America at large how much they stand indebted to them. The army will this day commence its march for Tioga.'"

From Cruikshank's "The Story of Butler's Rangers" we learn that, when the Americans appeared on the banks of the Genesee River, "all the Indians except forty at once deserted" Major Butler, and he abandoned Genesee Castle. "Before night he arrived at Buffalo Creek, on his way to Niagara. He then learned that Caldwell's company had been ordered down from Detroit, and that Sir John Johnson, with 380 men, was daily expected from Carleton Island, with instructions to proceed to his [Butler's] support, by way of Oswego. 5,000 famishing Indians had taken refuge at Niagara. Bolton, who was seriously alarmed for the safety of his post [Fort Niagara], sent the light-company of the 8th Regiment to Butler's assistance, followed by the 34th Regiment immediately on its arrival from Carleton Island. Many of the 'Rangers' who had been disabled by the ague had recovered sufficiently to bear arms again, and they cheerfully returned to join their comrades. Caldwell, with a small party, was sent to pursue Sullivan, who was reported to be already retiring."

At Fort Niagara, under the date of September 16, 1779, Lieut. Col. Mason Bolton wrote to Gen. Sir Frederick Haldimand in part as follows:*

"I enclose your Excellency an account of expenses incurred on Major [John] Butler's expedition; * * * also copies of letters from Major Butler, which will inform you of 4,000 Rebels being encamped at Genesee, within seventy or eighty miles of this Post. * * I have sent orders to the officers commanding at Forts Erie and Schlosser to hold themselves in readiness to join this Garrison at a moment's notice. I expect daily the detachments from Detroit, and hope the next vessels will bring a reinforcement from Carleton Island. The Rebels have destroyed most of the Indian villages and corn-fields; therefore I wish soon to see their [the Indians'] families come in. Otherwise, I shall give over all hopes of their assistance any longer. They are extremely dissatisfied that troops were not sent to Oswego or to this Post—notwithstanding all that Major Butler, *Sayenqueraghta*,† and Joseph [Brant] can say or do to keep them in temper. I have sent orders to the Major upon no account to suffer his retreat to be cut off, nor to risk the Light Infantry companies of the King's‡ or 34th Regiment, which would be no small loss to this Garrison. Captain Harris has also received private instructions how he is to act, as I have very little dependence on the Indians. Our works are almost finished, and I have no doubt will be defended with spirit, notwithstanding our weak Garrison. By the last accounts the 'Rangers' have not more than 150 men fit for duty, and we have forty sick in this Garrison.

"*September 17th.*—Joseph Brant, who, upon all occasions, deserves everything I can say in his favor, is just arrived, and informs me that a considerable number of Indians, with their families, are coming in to-morrow. *Sayenqueraghta* is with them, and has behaved extremely well. I could wish some handsome present was made to him, as he has great weight with the Six Nations. Joseph [Brant], some time ago, was not on the best terms with him. They had their quarrels like other great men. However, now they are perfectly reconciled, and determined to return in a day or two to take ample revenge. Major Butler is also under the necessity of coming in with the Light Infantry and 'Rangers' for want of provisions; but leaves a party, with several scouts, to watch the enemy's motions. * * * The Rebels have done all the mischief they can, therefore cannot remain long in the Indian country unless they intend to attack this Post, which I believe they will scarce venture to attempt without getting a supply of cannon

* See the "Haldimand Papers," B. M. 21,760, Vol. 100, p. 269.

† See page 968.

‡ Sir John Johnson's regiment, designated "The King's Royal Regiment of New York." See page 983.

and provisions by way of Oswego or Presque Isle. But without an enemy's approach I can now plainly foresee I shall have many difficulties to encounter, for the Indians are extremely attached to Major Butler. * * I have sent down to Montreal Lieut. Colonel Stacey and Lieutenant Holden, as the Indians are extremely enraged. They have been prisoners here since the affair of Cherry Valley, and in my opinion should not be exchanged for some time."

Having accomplished the principal object of his Expedition, Sullivan, at three o'clock in the afternoon of September 15th, commenced his homeward march over the same route by which he had come. Before leaving Genesee Castle many of the soldiers from "The Old Granite State" stowed away in their haversacks ears of corn from sixteen to twenty-two inches in length, to show their friends at home. When nearing Kanaghsaws, on September 16th, parties were ordered out to reconnoiter the woods in search of the bodies of the men of Lieutenant Boyd's detachment who had been killed on the 13th. Fourteen, including *Hanyarry*, the Oneidan, were found, "all tomahawked, scalped, and most inhumanly mangled." They were gathered up and buried together, with military honors. Fearing no large gathering of the enemy at any point along his line of march, Sullivan sent various detachments of his army around both sides of Cayuga and Seneca Lakes to destroy the Indian towns and crops there—thus carrying out Washington's orders to make the country uninhabitable for years to come. While these operations were in progress Capt. John Reed built a fort (named Fort Reed) at Kanawlohalla, at the junction of Newtown Creek with the Chemung River, where the present city of Elmira is located. There the different detachments rejoined the main body of the Expedition between the 25th and the 29th of September. At Fort Reed, under the date of Saturday, September 25, 1779, Lieut. Colonel Hubley made the following entry in his journal:

"In consequence of the accession of the King of Spain to the American alliance, and the generous proceeding of the present Congress in augmenting the subsistence of the officers and men of the army, General Sullivan ordered five head of the best cattle (one for the use of the officers of each brigade), with five gallons of spirits each, to be delivered to them respectively; thereby giving them an opportunity of testifying their joy on this occasion. In the evening the whole [army] was drawn up, and fired a *feu de joie*, thirteen cannon being first discharged. The infantry then commenced a running fire through the whole line, which, being repeated a second time, the whole army gave three cheers—one for the United States of America, one for Congress, and one for our new ally, the King of Spain.

"The army being then dismissed, General Hand, with the officers of his brigade, attended by the officers of the park of artillery, repaired to a bower erected for that purpose, where the fatted bullock was served up (dressed in different ways)—the whole [company] seating themselves around the same—which afforded them a most agreeable repast. The officers being very jovial, the evening was spent in great mirth and jollity. After dinner the following toasts were drunk, the drums and fifes playing at intervals. (1) 'The Thirteen States and their Sponsors.' (2) 'The Honourable, the American Congress.' (3) 'General Washington and the American Army.' (4) 'The Commander-in-Chief of the Western Expedition.' (5) 'The American Navy.' (6) 'Our Faithful Allies, the United Houses of Bourbon.' (7) 'May the American Congress, and all her legislative Representatives, be endued with Virtue and Wisdom; and may her Independence be as firmly established as the Pillars of Time.' (8) 'May the Citizens of America, and her Soldiers, be ever unanimous in the reciprocal support of each other.' (9) 'May Altercations, Discord, and every degree of Fraud be totally banished the peaceful Shores of America.' (10) 'May the memory of the brave Lieutenant Boyd and the Soldiers under his command, who were horribly massacred by the inhuman Savages, or by their more barbarous and detestable Allies, the British and Tories, on the 13th *instant*, be ever dear to their Country.' (11) 'An honourable Peace with America, or perpetual War with her Enemies.' (12) 'May the Kingdom of Ireland merit a Stripe in the American Standard.' (13) 'May the Enemies of America be metamorphosed into Pack-horses and sent on a Western Expedition against the Indians.'"

In the morning of September 29th the army marched from Fort Reed to Chemung, and early the next morning continued on to Tioga

Point. When within a mile of Fort Sullivan the troops were halted and formed in columns, the musicians and colors were brought to the head of the columns, and then, about three o'clock in the afternoon, with the musicians playing and the colors flying, the whole army marched down the peninsula. Each brigade moved to the ground it had formerly occupied, and erected its tents. When the troops passed Fort Sullivan the garrison was paraded and presented arms, thirteen rounds were fired from the cannon of the fort, and then the garrison gave three cheers. In response the returning troops gave three cheers, and Colonel Procter's artillery fired thirteen rounds. Relative to the return of the Expedition to Tioga Point Lieut. Colonel Hubley states: "Colonel Shreve, governor of the Garrison, had an elegant dinner provided for the general and field officers of the army. We regaled ourselves, and great joy and good humor was visible in every countenance. Colonel Procter's band and the drums and fifes played in concert the whole time." Lieutenant Beatty has recorded that "the officers of each regiment had a dinner provided for them in the Garrison, where they immediately repaired and dined and took a hearty drink of grog and went to sleep." On this same day General Sullivan wrote, and despatched to the Hon. John Jay, President of Congress, a report of the doings of the Expedition since August 30th. Among other things he stated:

"It is with pleasure I inform Congress that this army has not suffered the loss of forty men in action or otherwise since my taking the command; though perhaps few troops have experienced a more fatiguing campaign. Besides, the difficulties which naturally attend marching through an enemy's country—abounding in woods, creeks, rivers, mountains, morasses and defiles—we found no small inconvenience from the want of proper guides; and the maps of the country are so exceedingly erroneous that they serve not to enlighten, but to perplex. We had not a person who was sufficiently acquainted with the country to conduct a party out of the Indian path by day, or scarcely in it by night; though they were the best I could possibly procure. Their ignorance arose, doubtless, from the Indians having ever taken the best measures in their power to prevent their country's being explored. * *

"I feel myself much indebted to the officers of every rank for their unparalleled exertions, and to the soldiers for the unshaken firmness with which they endured the toils and difficulties attending the Expedition. Though I had it not in command, I should have ventured to have paid [Fort] Niagara a visit had I been supplied with fifteen days' provisions in addition to what I had; which I am persuaded, from the bravery and ardor of our troops, would have fallen into our hands. * * After leaving the necessary force for securing the frontiers in this quarter, I shall move on to join the main army. * * I flatter myself that the orders with which I was entrusted are fully executed, as we have not left a single settlement or field of corn in the country of the Five Nations; nor is there even the appearance of an Indian on this side of Niagara. * * The promise made to the soldiers in my address at Newtown [see page 1213, *ante*] I hope will be thought reasonable by Congress, and I flatter myself that the performance of it will be ordered. Colonel Bruen* will have the honor of delivering these despatches to your Excellency. I beg leave to recommend him to the particular notice of Congress as an officer who, on this as well as on several other campaigns, has proved himself an active, brave and truly deserving officer."

At Tioga Point, under the date of October 1, 1779, Lieut. Colonel Hubley wrote:

"This morning the horses belonging to the officers of the brigade [Hand's] were forwarded to Wyoming. We also sent *our cow* which we had along with us the whole expedition, and to which we are under infinite obligations for the great quantity of milk she afforded us, which rendered our situation very comfortable, and was no small addition to our half-allowance."

On Saturday, October 2d, General Sullivan gave an entertainment to all the general and field officers, which was followed in the evening by an Indian war-dance at headquarters. Lieut. Colonel Hubley states that many of the officers, putting on masks, or visors, joined in the

* Col. BRYAN BRUEN, General Sullivan's Private Secretary.

dance, which was "conducted and led off by a young Sachem of the Oneida tribe, who was next followed by several other Indians. Then the whole led off, and, after the Indian custom, danced to the music, which was [made by] a rattle, a knife and a pipe, which the Sachem continued clashing together, and singing Indian the whole time. At the end of each, the Indian whoop was set up by the whole." Maj. John Burrowes, writing of the incidents of October 2d, said: "We spend this day in wishing each other joy for our safe return, and convert the evening to celebrate, as usual, wives and sweethearts—which we do in plenty of grog. Heretofore have been obliged to keep in plenty of cold water."

Pursuant to orders issued on October 2d, Fort Sullivan was evacuated on Sunday the 3d—the members of the garrison rejoining their respective commands. A fatigue-party of 500 men then began to demolish the fort*—throwing the pickets, or stakes, which formed the stockade into the rivers. The stores and other baggage, together with the guns of the artillery, were loaded into the boats, and all preparations were made for moving down the Susquehanna on the following day. On that day (Monday, October 4th) the whole army, including Clinton's brigade—with the exception of all the sick, the lame, and those without shoes, who were ordered to go in the boats†—took up its line of march, and proceeded southward over the route which it had traversed in its progress from Wilkes-Barré to Tioga Point when advancing into the Indian country. During the 5th of October a good many pack-horses of the Expedition, being lame and otherwise useless, were killed. On the night of the 6th the army encamped at Tunkhannock, where orders were issued "to leave all horses that could not be got on, and for none to be killed." Major Burrowes records in his journal, under the date of October 6th (at Tunkhannock): "On this day's march we leave about sixty horses that are not able to come on. We leave them in the different pastures to recruit, so as they may be brought down in eight or ten days. Heretofore we have killed all that gave out—in number about 200—and lost as many more."

The army arrived at Wilkes-Barré on Thursday, October 7th—the first of the troops reaching here about ten o'clock in the morning, and the last of them about three o'clock in the afternoon. They went into camp on the River Common, and along the bank of the river at and below the bend—chiefly on the ground they had occupied just before setting out for Tioga Point. Upon their arrival here they were saluted by thirteen rounds fired from the cannon at Fort Wyoming, and shortly

* In the borough of Athens, at Tioga Point, on October 3, 1902—the 123d anniversary of the demolition of Fort Sullivan—a monument, marking the site of that work of defense, was unveiled with appropriate and interesting ceremonies, in the presence of a large and distinguished company of ladies and gentlemen, by Tioga Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution. This monument, standing near where the north angle of the fort was located, consists of a large granite boulder, having affixed to it a bronze tablet bearing the following inscription: "In Sullivan's Expedition—the march that destroyed savagery and opened the Keystone and Empire States to civilization—four brigades, furnished by the States of Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey and New Hampshire, with Procter's Artillery and Parr's Riflemen, took part. At this Tioga Point, along the southern door of the Iroquois Confederacy, 5,000 troops encamped. Manned by the Continentals, and garrisoned by 250 soldiers of the 2d New Jersey Regiment, under Col. Israel Shreve, here stood 'FORT SULLIVAN,' with four block-houses, curtains and abattis, from August 11 to October 3, 1779. This tablet is erected by the Tioga Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, 1902."

† In the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania there is an original document reading as follows: "This may certify that, by an order from Major General Sullivan to me directed, 145 raw hides were taken for the purpose of flooring the boats for the accommodation of the sick when sent from Tioga to this place, twenty of which [hides] were lost through the neglect of the boatmen."

[Signed] "STEPHEN MCCREA,
Senr. Surgeon."

"Wioming, 10 October, 1779."

afterwards a half pint of whisky was issued to each soldier. At Wilkes-Barré, under the date of October 7, 1779, Lieut. Colonel Hubley made the following entry in his journal* :

"Thus, by the perseverance, good conduct and determined resolution of our Commander-in-Chief, with the assistance of his council, and the full determination of his troops to execute, have we fully accomplished the great end and intentions of this important expedition ; and I flatter myself we fully surpassed the most sanguine expectations of those whose eyes were more immediately looking to us for success. The glorious achievements we have exhibited in extending our conquests so far, and, at the same time, rendering them so very complete, will make no inconsiderable balance, even in the present politics of America. Its future good consequences I leave to the eloquence of Time to declare, which will, in ages hence, celebrate the memory of those brave sons who nobly risked their lives, disdaining every fatigue and hardship to complete a conquest, the real good effects and advantages of which posterity will particularly enjoy.

"Whilst I revere the merit and virtue of the army, I am sorry I am under the necessity of mentioning that there was an unparalleled and unpardonable neglect (and which ought not to pass with impunity) in those whose business it was to supply them with a sufficient quantity of necessaries to carry them through the expedition ; instead of which not more than twenty-two days' flour and sixteen days' meat was on hand when it [the Expedition] commenced. And, although the army possessed a degree of virtue—perhaps unparalleled in the annals of history—in undertaking an expedition on half allowance (which was in every instance hazardous and imperious), yet, had we not been favored with the smiles of Providence in a continuation of good weather, the half allowance itself would not have enabled us to perform what, from that circumstance, we have performed."

At Wilkes-Barré, on October 8th, the army was entertained with a grand feast, prepared under the direction of Col. Zebulon Butler. On the 9th General Sullivan set off for Easton, leaving General Clinton in command of the army, which was ordered to prepare to march the next day. On Sunday, October 10th, Schott's Corps (see page 1164), Captain Spalding's Westmoreland Independent Company, the German Regiment and a small additional body of troops having been detached by order of General Sullivan to garrison Fort Wyoming under the command of Col. Zebulon Butler, the remainder of the army set out for Easton. Clinton's and Poor's brigades marched about noon, and proceeded as far as "Bullock's," where they bivouacked for the night. The remaining troops marched at three o'clock in the afternoon, and bivouacked over night in the woods at Laurel Run, about four miles from Wilkes-Barré. The following paragraphs are from the journal of Lieutenant Beatty of Clinton's brigade, under the dates of October 12, 13, and 14, 1779.

"12th.—Marched this morning at eight o'clock. Entered the Great Swamp, which is a very bad road. The wagons was sent on at day-break this morning, to halt at Locust Hill (about the middle of the Swamp) till the army came up. We arrived at Locust Hill about one o'clock, where we found the wagons. Here we halted and eat dinner. Passed the wagons, which came on in the rear. Just as the army got through the Swamp—which is twelve miles through—a very heavy shower of rain came on, which wet us very much. Marched three miles through the Swamp, and encamped a little before dark on a pretty little brook [White Oak Run, or "Rum Bridge"] thirty-two miles from Easton. A great many horses died in the Swamp to-day, and a great many wagons [were] broken to pieces, and the baggage of the army did not come up. To-day we met about fifty wagons in the Swamp going to Wyoming for what baggage of the army was left there. About one-half [of the wagons] was turned to fetch on our baggage ; the others went on to Wyoming.

"13th.—Marched this morning at nine o'clock ; those fresh wagons helped on the baggage middling well. In marching about five miles came to Larnard's tavern—it being the beginning of the settlement of a Christian country, which appeared to me very strange. Here we halted in a field one and a-half hours, to refresh. Then marched on very good roads nine miles through a thin-settled country, and about five o'clock arrived at Brinker's Mills, where we had a large store of provisions for this army ; and here they had a small picketed fort, where they had store-houses in which to keep their provisions, and a small garrison of militia. As soon as we was encamped I went out to a country house and got an *Elegant Dinner*, which I was very well pleased with. 14th.—Here we got a

* See the "Journals of the Military Expedition of Maj. Gen. John Sullivan," page 167.

few more wagons, almost sufficient to carry all the baggage. Marched to-day at eleven o'clock through a middling-good settled country; crossed the Blue Mountains, and encamped at Heller's tavern seven miles from Brinker's Mills about three o'clock. Here an officer from each regiment was ordered to attend at headquarters, after taking the minds of the officers of the regiments concerning the high prices of articles, whether they would give them or no. After a consultation of an hour or two they came to this resolution: That they would not purchase of any tavern-keeper any liquor or provision while on the march to headquarters—sickness excepted.”*

On Friday, October 15th, the troops marched into Easton, and beyond, and encamped near the Lehigh—General Sullivan resuming command of the army. On the previous day the inhabitants of Northampton County had presented a formal address to General Sullivan, congratulating him on the success of his Expedition. On the day following their arrival at Easton (to wit, October 16, 1779) the officers of the artillery formally congratulated General Sullivan “on the safe and happy arrival of himself and troops” at Easton. “We present our sincerest thanks,” they said, “for the care and attention you have taken in making a comfortable provision for your army in general, and in particular for your generosity to the corps in which we serve.”† On the same day the officers of the Corps of Light Infantry, through Lieut. Colonel Hubley, also extended their congratulations to the Commander-in-Chief. On Sunday, October 17th, all the troops at Easton were mustered by order of General Sullivan, and a thanksgiving sermon was preached to them by the Rev. Israel Evans, D. D., Chaplain of Poor's brigade. Also, at that time, it was announced to the army that the Congress, on October 14th, on motion of Elbridge Gerry, seconded by Robert Morris, had passed the following resolution:

“Resolved, That the thanks of Congress are voted to His Excellency, General Washington, for directing, and to Major General Sullivan and the brave officers and soldiers under his command for effectually executing, an important expedition against such of the Indian Nations as, encouraged by the counsels and conducted by the officers of His Britannic Majesty, had perfidiously waged an unprovoked and cruel war against these United States, laid waste many of their defenseless towns, and, with savage barbarity, slaughtered the inhabitants thereof.”

On the same day Congress voted that it would be “proper to set apart the second Thursday of December [1779], as a day of general thanksgiving in these United States;” and, in the official proclamation which was subsequently issued relative to the Thanksgiving-day thus appointed, the following was enumerated as one of the causes of gratitude to Providence: “That He hath gone out with those who went out into the wilderness against the savage tribes; that He hath stayed the hand of the spoiler, and turned back his meditated destruction.” In “General Orders” issued at West Point under the date of October 17, 1779, General Washington congratulated the whole army on General Sullivan's success, and declared that “the whole of the soldiery engaged in the Expedition merit and have the Commander-in-Chief's warmest acknowledgments for their important services.”

The Sullivan Expedition accomplished its purpose. Some had complained of the slowness of its preparation. Few realized the extent of the arrangements necessary to be made to move a large army, with its

* Lieut. Samuel M. Shute states in his journal: “Previous to our entering the town [Easton] the officers entered into a resolve not to eat or drink a penny's worth in a tavern on the march to headquarters; as they [the tavern-keepers] had frequently been heard to say, when buying liquors at high prices, that the western army was coming down, and the men were starved for victuals and drink, and would give any price for the same, and that they would make as much money as they pleased.” Lieutenant Beatty states that, after the arrival of the troops at Easton, he did not “see a single soul enter a tavern; which was a great disappointment to the inhabitants, as they had laid in great stores, and thought they would have a very fine market for them.”

† See the *Pennsylvania Packet* (Philadelphia), October 23, 1779.

provisions, equipments and appendages through a wide wilderness. Sullivan was wise in not starting until he was ready. Others complained that he did not carry havoc farther, and extend his march to Fort Niagara. But there were good and sufficient reasons for his stopping and returning when he did. The longer absence of so large a portion of the Continental army from the chief fields of its operations was not expedient. Upon the whole, this Indian campaign was most useful, and its entire conduct reflects the highest credit upon its commander and all under his orders.

"No part of the military history of the Revolution is less appreciated or more misunderstood than this," declares Charles W. Upham in his "Life of Timothy Pickering" (II : 228). "It is regarded as an eccentric diversion from the regular course of the war. It is looked upon as an unwarranted and needless devastation of Indian settlements. Some persons are horrified by the utter destruction Sullivan dealt upon the corn-fields and habitations of the tribes, forgetting that in this he pursued literally the instructions of Washington. No conqueror in the annals of history took fewer lives of an enemy, except on the battle-field; although he had the greatest possible provocation. A valuable officer [Lieutenant Boyd] and a private soldier fell, after a gallant resistance, into the hands of the Savages. From the condition of their bodies, found shortly afterwards, it appeared that they had been put to death, after tortures and mutilations such as have never been surpassed, if even paralleled, by even Indian cruelty. The forbearance and humanity of Sullivan's course deserve to be held in honorable remembrance; and there is no occasion whatever for the regret that has been expressed that 'the veil of forgetfulness cannot be drawn over it.'

"All these criticisms upon the expedition under Sullivan are in consequence of not understanding *its connection with the Wyoming massacre!* That was its occasion and its origin, and led Congress, the Board of War and General Washington to feel it necessary to strike just such a blow as Sullivan did upon the five tribes, usually designated as the 'Six Nations'—who, led by the British officers, and in concert with British regulars and Tories, had perpetrated the outrage upon Wyoming—and thus render them incapable of repeating it there or elsewhere. The march of Sullivan's army was not the expression of revenge, but an act of self-preservation. No Government is worthy of the name, which does not secure the safety and protection of its people. The alternative was whether the savage tribes in central and western New York, in alliance with the public enemy, should be disabled for further mischief, or families of civilized men, women and children, on the frontiers and within the limits of the American Confederation, be indiscriminately and brutally destroyed. The Congress of the United States did no more than its duty in choosing the first course.

"The Commander-in-Chief [Washington] was responsible for the Expedition. He probably designed it, and certainly superintended the preparations for it, with great care and interest. He saw that it was needed. It was one of those blows which Washington occasionally dealt, and it was not dealt in vain. The strong arm of the country, thus wielded by him, was felt through all the Indian tribes, and the name they thenceforth gave to him—'The Town Destroyer'—was expressive, not of resentment or reproach, but of wondering and admiring awe."

The following paragraphs relative to the Sullivan Expedition are taken from the "historical introduction," written by J. Watts de Peyster, to the "Orderly Book of Sir John Johnson," published in 1882. It seems to be unnecessary to state that their author was a descendant of a British Loyalist of the Revolutionary period.

"In 1779 occurred the famous invasion of the territory of the Six Nations by Sullivan. In one sense it was triumphant. It did the devil's work thoroughly. It converted a series of blooming gardens, teeming orchards and productive fields into wastes and ashes. It was a disgrace to developing civilization. * * * When white men scalp and flay Indians, and convert the skins of the latter's thighs into boot-tops, the question suggests itself—which were the savages, the Continental troops or the Indians? It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that, for every Indian slain and hut consumed in this campaign, 1,000 white men, women and children paid the penalty; and it is almost unexceptionally admitted that the inextinguishable hatred of the redskins to the United States dates from this raid of Sullivan. * * *

"Sullivan's ultimate military objective must have been Fort Niagara, the basis, for about a century, of inroads, French and British, upon New York. Why he did not make the attempt requires a consideration that would occupy more space than can be assigned in this memoir. There were adversaries in his front who did not fear *pop-gun artillery* like the Indians, and were not to be dismayed by an 'elegant' cannonade as at Newtown. Haldimand had sent Sir John Johnson to organize a body of white troops, besides the Indians, and these were rapidly concentrating upon Sullivan, when the latter counter-marched. American historians give their reasons for this retreat; British writers explain it very differently. In any event, this Expedition was the last military command enjoyed by Sullivan. The Scripture here affords an expression which may not be inapplicable—'He departed without being desired.'"

At Wilkes-Barré, under the date of October 13, 1779, Col. Cornelius Sheriff, Deputy Quartermaster General on the staff of Maj. General Sullivan, addressed to Col. Zebulon Butler, commanding the Wyoming Post, the following communication:

"*Sir*.—Whatever Continental horses, waggons, gears, and Quartermaster General's stores you shall find on the ground at your Garrison, you will be pleased to take a particular account of, and secure them for the use of the publick; and all you shall collect from any quarter—as there must be an account transmitted to General Greene, Quartermaster General, for his and the publick's satisfaction. The return of which publick property may be sent to Col. R. S. Hooper, at Easton, who will take an account of and transmit it to General Greene. The publick property boats you will secure at discretion, for future use; though I would recommend your sending what you don't want for the use of the Garrison to Sunbury. * * The Continental horses unfit for service you may dispose of to as much advantage as in your power."*

At a meeting of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania held at Philadelphia October 19, 1779, "a petition was read, signed by the principal *remaining* inhabitants of Northumberland County, representing their great apprehensions from the Indians, in consequence of the removal of General Sullivan's army and they being destitute of any troops for their defense. Sundry letters from General Hand were also read, acquainting the Board that 300 men had been left as a garrison at Wyoming, and it was deemed a greater number than was necessary for that post. Therefore the Council '*Resolved*, That the Board of War be requested to order 150 men from Wyoming to Sunbury.'"[†] In conformity with the foregoing resolution the German Regiment was subsequently ordered to proceed to Sunbury, and on October 29, 1779, it marched thither from Wilkes-Barré. This left at Fort Wyoming a garrison of less than 200 officers and men, comprising Schott's Corps, Spalding's company,[‡] Lieut. Obadiah Gore, one Sergeant, one Corporal

* According to an original document now in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, a public sale of Continental horses was held at Wyoming Post in November, 1779, by Lord Butler, A. D. Q. M. G. Benjamin Harvey bought one sorrel mare for £100, and one black horse for £500. Other purchasers were: Capt. John Paul Schott, George P. Ransom, Col. Nathan Denison, Capt. Simon Spalding, Peregrine Gardner and Nathan Bullock.

† See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," XII: 138.

‡ One of the privates in Captain Spalding's Westmoreland Independent Company in the service of the United States (see page 980, *ante*), was Asa Burnham. Document "No. 111," in the collection

and ten men belonging to the 3d Regiment, Connecticut Line (as mentioned on page 834), and a small body of militia (composed of Westmoreland inhabitants) officered by Capt. William Hooker Smith and Lieut. Daniel Gore. The duties devolving upon Colonel Butler, the commandant, made it necessary for him, in the circumstances of the situation, to afford protection to the returning inhabitants, to guard the approaches to the Valley, and exercise a surveillance over an extensive region of country.

At Wilkes-Barré, December 6, 1779, a town-meeting of the inhabitants of Westmoreland was held, Col. Nathan Denison being chosen Moderator. Lieut. Obadiah Gore was elected Town Clerk for the ensuing year, and the usual number of Selectmen, Constables, Surveyors of Highways, Fence Viewers, Listers (Assessors), and Branders of Horses were elected, as well as a Town Treasurer, a Tax Collector, a Key Keeper and a School Committee. Colonel Denison, who was already a Justice of the Peace, Judge of the Probate Court, a Representative to the State Assembly, and Moderator of the town-meeting, was further burdened with the offices of Town Treasurer, Selectman and School Committee-man.

The Winter of 1779-80 was the severest ever known (up to that time) in the middle States. The snow began to fall about the 10th of November, 1779, and continued almost every day till the middle of the ensuing March. In the woods and other sheltered places it lay for many weeks at least four feet upon the level. The weather was intensely cold during the greater part of that period, and harbors, rivers, creeks and brooks were all frozen over. The bay of New York, and the North River from thence up to Albany, were covered from shore to shore with solid ice. 200 sleds laden with provisions, with two horses to each sled, and escorted by 200 light-horse troops, passed in a body from New York City to Staten Island upon the ice. By the middle of December the snow was about two feet deep in central and northern New Jersey and eastern Pennsylvania; but the *great* snow-storm began on January 3, 1780, and the newspapers of the period refer to it as being terrific in its character. Dr. Thacher, who was with Washington's army at Morristown, New Jersey, at the time of this January storm, has

entitled "Susquehanna Settlers," mentioned on page 29, Vol. I, is a petition addressed to the General Assembly of Connecticut, dated at Litchfield, Connecticut, December 28, 1779, and signed by the said Burnham. This petition sets forth that the signer is a native of Hartford, and "now a soldier in the Continental army for said State;" that he lived with his family on the Susquehanna for some years before July, 1778; that after the massacre his family arrived at Hartford, where they were for some time provided for; that, in an unsuccessful attempt for their removal back to the Susquehanna, his wife and three small children were left at Litchfield, where, by the humanity of that town, they have been for some months supported; that said Burnham is now a garrison soldier at the Susquehanna, and has obtained a furlough in order to complete the return of his family to the Susquehanna, but "the poverty which his calamities have unavoidably reduced him to, utterly incapacitates him to effect the removal." The memorialist therefore "implores the Fathers of his Country to take his pitiful case into consideration," and afford him relief, etc., "which he is confident would free the public from their present burden of supporting his dear, helpless family, and invigorate his courage further to fight his country's battles." The memorialist suggests that he should be furnished "with a few necessities, a small pair of substantial steers, or a couple of horses, able to draw a light sleigh to the place of his destination."

The General Assembly acted on this memorial, and directed the Selectmen of the town of Litchfield to furnish Burnham with necessities most suitable, not exceeding £15 in value—"estimated at the rate of prices affixed in and by the Act of Assembly of November, 1776; taking the memorialist's receipt therefor as part of his dues from the State or Continent for his service in the army." At Litchfield, under the date of March 7, 1780, Burnham receipted to the Selectmen for "one good horse and furniture and provision to the amount of £15 *value in the old way*, or according to the prices of 1774, in part of what is now due or owing to me [him] on account of my [his] wages for service in the army of the United States." The Selectmen presented to the Assembly, March 10, 1780, their bill for the above horse, etc., "at the price of 2,000 dollars"—for which sum they had given an order for £600; to which should be added £30 for the amount paid the Secretary of State for copies, commissions, etc. June 6, 1780, the Selectmen received an order on the State Treasurer for £630.

given a particular account of it in his "Journal" (referred to on page 1070). He says:

"On January 3, 1780, we experienced one of the most tremendous snow-storms ever remembered. No man could endure its violence many minutes without danger of his life. Several marquees were torn asunder and blown down over the officers' heads in the night. * * The sufferings of the poor soldiers can scarcely be described. * * The snow is now from four to six feet deep, which so obstructs the roads as to prevent our receiving a supply of provisions."

The storm continued several days, and under the date of January 26, 1780, an officer wrote from the camp of the American army to the *New Jersey Gazette*:

"We had a fast lately in camp, by general *constraint*, of the whole army, in which we fasted more sincerely and truly for three days than ever we did from all the resolutions of Congress put together. This was occasioned by the severity of the weather and the drifting of the snow, whereby the roads were rendered impassable, and all supplies of provisions were cut off."

Concerning the "hard" Winter of 1779-'80, Dr. Benjamin Rush, of Philadelphia, wrote in 1789:

"The Winter was uniformly and uncommonly cold. The river Delaware was frozen near three months during this Winter, and public roads for wagons and sleighs connected the city of Philadelphia, in many places, with the Jersey shore. The thickness of the ice in the river, near the city, was from sixteen to nineteen inches, and the depth of the frost in the ground was from four to five feet—according to the exposure of the ground and the quality of the soil. * * Many plants were destroyed by the intenseness of the cold during that Winter. The ears of horned cattle and the feet of hogs exposed to the air were frost-bitten; squirrels perished in their holes, and partridges were often found dead in the neighborhood of farm-houses. In January the mercury stood for several hours at 5° below 0 (Fahrenheit), and during the whole of that month—except on one day—it never rose, in the city of Philadelphia, to the freezing-point."

The meteorological conditions in Wyoming Valley during the Winter of 1779-'80 were pretty much, if not quite, the same as those which prevailed in the localities hereinbefore mentioned. Lieut. John Jenkins, Jr., states in his diary, under the date of January 11, 1780: "A party of men set out [from Wilkes-Barré] to go through the swamp—across the Pocono range—on snow-shoes; the snow about three feet deep." Under the date of February 2d Lieutenant Jenkins records: "Two soldiers went to Capouse [Providence Township], and froze themselves badly." The soldiers and inhabitants in Wyoming Valley suffered in many ways during the Winter, through the discomforts and inconveniences resulting from the cold weather, the snow and the ice. The Susquehanna was frozen over solid and strong for many weeks.

Influenced by citizens of Pennsylvania who resided in the counties of Philadelphia, Northampton and Northumberland, and who laid claim to large bodies of land in the Wyoming region, the General Assembly of the State of Pennsylvania unanimously passed, November 18, 1779, a resolution to the effect "that a proposition be made without loss of time to the State of Connecticut to refer [to a third party], by mutual consent of the parties, the adjustment and decision of the claims of the two States" to the Wyoming territory; "such adjustment and determination to have effect and be binding on the parties." This resolution was in due time forwarded to Governor Trumbull, and by him was laid before the Connecticut Assembly at its meeting in January, 1780, when, by that body, it was voted:

"Whereas the territory referred to is within the charter bounds of Connecticut—granted long before that to Pennsylvania—and the aboriginal title of the Indians was purchased and obtained by the inhabitants of this State with the approbation of this Assembly; * * and inasmuch as the dispute concerning the territory was to have been heard in England antecedent to the present contest with the King; and whereas many

original papers and documents were carried to and lodged in Great Britain to be used in the case, * * and no time hath offered since to recover them—which papers are material, etc.—* * *Resolved*, That this State do not at present agree to the proposal made by the State of Pennsylvania, * * but will readily comply therewith at some reasonable and favorable time hereafter."

At the beginning of the year 1780 the garrison at Fort Wyoming numbered about 125 officers and men. According to an original return made January 12, 1780, Captain Spalding's company then numbered sixty men; Schott's Corps* numbered in the neighborhood of fifty, and the detachment from the 3d Connecticut Regiment, under the command of Lieut. Obadiah Gore, numbered thirteen. Efforts to increase the garrison, by having transferred thither from other posts an additional number of Continental troops, proving of no avail, Colonel Butler, in conjunction with the Selectmen of Westmoreland, called upon Capt. John Franklin† to enlist a company of militia from among the inhabit-

* The following is a copy of a muster-roll printed in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, XXVI: 477.

"Muster of the Corps commanded by Capt. John Paul Schott, taken from 1st October, 1779, to 1st April, 1780.

"John Paul Schott, Captain, September 6, 1776; Acting Paymaster. Antoni Selin, Captain, December 10, 1777. Lawrence Myers, First Lieutenant, April 9, 1777; Adjutant. Conrad Latour, Second Lieutenant, April 29, 1777. John Gedecke, Sergeant, February 25, 1777. *Privates*: Hugh Cromwell, March 1, 1777. Johnson Burwell, March 10, 1777. Christian Swanhiser, January 1, 1779. Jacob Reynert, March 10, 1777. Tobias Ritter, February 18, 1777. Peter Corback, March 1, 1777. Gabriel Kline, May 8, 1777. William Genner, November 24, 1777. *Captain Selin's Company*: Sergeants—Henry Seiders (Q. M. S.), April 15, 1777. Francis McGarran, July 18, 1777 (with D. Q. M. General). Henry Sifer, August 9, 1777. John Steinheiser, July 27, 1777. Martin Lantz, February 13, 1780. Frederick Liebe (Philadelphia), March 22, 1777. Corporals—George Marx (Reading), January 24, 1777; furlough, Reading. Samuel Ulett, March 8, 1777. Drummer—William Marks (Reading), March 22, 1777. *Privates*—James Ridgway, October 25, 1776. Christian Fels, February 9, 1777. John Levering (Chester), March 20, 1777; furlough, Yellow Springs. John Eirach (York), March 9, 1777. George Karsh, March 9, 1777. John Poorman (Philadelphia), August 7, 1778. Martin Brechell (Philadelphia), March 15, 1777. Jacob Frey (Northampton County), March 15, 1777. Owen Cooley (York), March 25, 1777. Henry Till (Chester), June 17, 1778. William Dorn (Philadelphia), March 22, 1777; furlough, Baltimore. John Brecker, February 13, 1780. Adam Sybert (Berks County), March 28, 1777. Henry Trachder, May 9, 1777; on command at Easton. John Bengell, February 6, 1777. Valentine Keyser, February 6, 1777. John Roch, February 6, 1777. Basil Lewis, April 14, 1777. Michael Track. *Vacant Company*: Jacob Hilpe, August 9, 1777; Sergeant. Andrew Hornberg, March 12, 1777; Corporal; discharged at Wyoming May 8, 1780. Daniel Sheetz (Northampton County), March 12, 1777; Corporal; discharged at Wyoming May 8, 1780. John Köhler (Philadelphia), September 6, 1777; discharged at Wyoming September 1, 1780. Adam Brandhefer (York), March 5, 1777. Henry Keck, March 6, 1777.

"Then mustered Captain Schott's Company as specified in the above roll.

[Signed] "ZEBULON BUTLER,
Colonel Commandant.

"By order of Maj. General Sullivan. Wyoming, 28 March, 1780."

† JOHN FRANKLIN (JR.) was born in Canaan, Litchfield County, Connecticut, September 26, 1749, the third child of John and Keziah (Pierce) Franklin. John Franklin, Sr., who was of English descent and was born in 1716, had early become a settler in Canaan, where he continued to reside until his death. He became a shareholder in the Susquehanna Purchase soon after the Wyoming region began to be settled by the New Englanders, but it is doubtful if he ever visited the new settlements. The John Franklin who was in Wyoming as early, at least, as June, 1769, and who in 1776, '77 and '78 was a resident of Hanover Township, or District, was not John Franklin of Canaan—as some local writers have stated—but was, at the time of his coming here, an inhabitant of New York. (See Vol. I, page 512.) John Franklin, Sr., died at Canaan, August 20, 1800.

The children of John and Keziah (Pierce) Franklin were as follows: (i) *Susanna*, married at North Canaan July 29, 1773, to Stephen Harrison; settled in Huntington Township (now in Luzerne County, Pennsylvania) in 1776, and died in 1804. (ii) *Abigail*, married to ——— Collander of Massachusetts, and died August 6, 1823, aged seventy-six years. (iii) *John*, the subject of this sketch. (iv) *Samuel*, born at Canaan May 10, 1759; married in 1791 or '92 to Mary Ransom (born May 20, 1772), daughter of Capt. Samuel and Esther (Laurence) Ransom, as more fully noted on page 895, *ante*. (v) *Amos*, born in Canaan; settled and died in Huntington Township, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania. (vi) A daughter, born in Canaan; married to ——— Tubbs, and lived and died in Huntington Township. (vii) *Mary*, married to ——— Fellows. (viii) *Abiah*. (ix) *Silas*, born and died in Canaan.

John Franklin, Jr., was married (1st) at New Canaan, Connecticut, February 2, 1774, to Lydia Doolittle (born at Canaan August 13, 1751), and one week later they set out for Wyoming Valley, where they located in the township of Plymouth.

Early in 1775, under the auspices of The Susquehanna Company, the township of Huntington was laid out in the town of Westmoreland, and Lots 12, 20 and 43 in the First Division thereof were duly allotted to John Franklin, Sr., as one of the original proprietors of the township. Shortly afterwards, leaving his wife and infant child in Plymouth, John Franklin, Jr., went single-handed and alone to the new township and began preparations to establish a home on one of his father's lots, on the banks of Huntington Creek, some seven or eight miles north-west of the mouth of Shickshinny Creek. During the next ten months he cleared three or four acres of land, erected a small log-house, and sowed some grain. Late in the Summer of 1776 he removed his family from Plymouth to his new home. (In the Westmoreland tax-lists for 1776, '77 and '78—see pages 877, 946 and 952, *ante*—John Franklin, Jr., is listed as an inhabitant and tax-payer of "Plymouth District." This is explained by the fact that the new township of Huntington lay within the bounds of "Plymouth District," as established by vote of the inhabitants of Westmoreland March 2, 1774—as noted on page 794, *ante*.)

During the next two years John Franklin was busily engaged in clearing up his land and carrying on farming in a small way. In October, 1776, as noted on page 908, he was established and commissioned Ensign of the Tenth Company of the 24th Regiment, Connecticut Militia; and was promoted and commissioned Captain of the same company at the May, 1778, session of the General Assembly

ants of the town, to aid in garrisoning the fort; but, more particularly, to do scouting duty. (It may be remarked here that the ranks of the 24th, or Westmoreland, Regiment, Connecticut Militia, were so decimated, and its organization was so completely destroyed, by the events of July, 1778, that no attempt was made thereafter to reorganize the regiment.) Captain Franklin immediately went to work, and in a very short time had organized a company of seventy-four officers and men. Without delay, and without raising any question as to the pay or remuneration for their services, these patriotic Westmorelanders entered upon the duties for which they had voluntarily enlisted.

The earliest authentic roll, or roster, of this company in existence, so far as known, is a pay-roll, in the hand-writing of Captain Franklin, now in the collections of the Tioga Point Historical Society, at Athens, Pennsylvania. A copy of this roll was printed, originally, in the *Wyoming County Record*, and was reprinted in the *Wilkes-Barré Advocate* on June 16, 1847. It was reprinted, also, in the *Wilkes-Barré Record* of January 10, 1899, with some comments and explanations by the present writer. A copy of the roll will be found, also, in "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, XIV:335. Excepting some corrections

of Connecticut. At this same session he was appointed and commissioned one of the Justices of the Peace in and for the county of Westmoreland for the ensuing year.

As to the whereabouts of Captain Franklin and the services performed by him at the time of the battle of Wyoming, full information is given the reader in various paragraphs on pages 994-1052, *ante*.

Having escaped from Forty Fort and the Valley on July 5th (as described on page 1052) Captain Franklin proceeded to Huntington Township, and, taking his wife and three little children (the youngest of whom was less than three months old), started for a place of safety. Going down the Susquehanna to Paxtang, Lancaster County, they remained there for a few days, and then went up to Windsor, in Berks County. Leaving his family there Captain Franklin made his way up to Fort Penn (the present Stroudsburg, Monroe County, Pennsylvania), where he joined the body of Continental troops and Westmoreland militia commanded by Lieut. Col. Zebulon Butler. With this detachment he marched to Wilkes-Barré at the beginning of August, 1778, and remained here continuously doing military duty until, at least, the first of the following October—except for the short time that he was absent from the Valley with the Hartley Expedition, as described on page 1090.

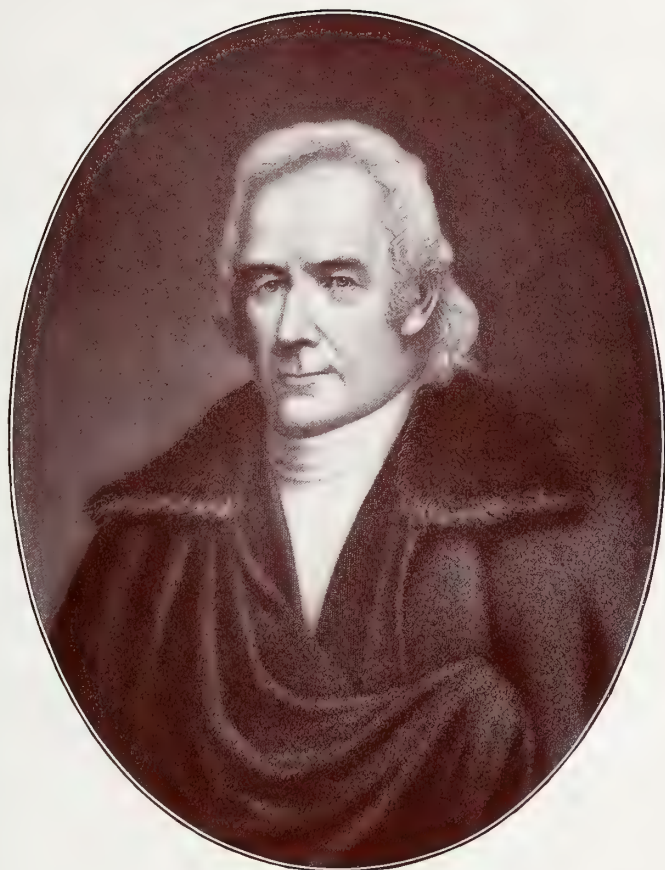
Towards the latter part of October, or early in November, 1778, Captain Franklin rejoined his wife and children at Windsor, and while he was there all the members of the family were attacked with small-pox, of which disease Mrs. Franklin died November 17, 1778. As soon as he had recovered his health Captain Franklin, realizing his inability to take proper care of his young children, determined to place them in the care of his relatives at Canaan. "Therefore, hitching a yoke of oxen to a little cart he put into the latter his three children, tied a cow by her horns to the tail-board of the cart, and drove on, having a cup into which, from time to time, he milked the cow and fed the babe. Thus he traveled the rough way, 260 miles, through forests, fording streams, and frequently sleeping under the canopy of the heavens." He reached in safety his destination, and leaving there his helpless children he hastened his return to Wyoming. Here he arrived early in 1779, rejoining the handful of settlers and Continental soldiers at Wilkes-Barré.

Thenceforward, for more than a quarter of a century, the name of John Franklin occupies a place of more or less prominence on nearly every page of Wyoming history—as a perusal of the following pages will show. As previously narrated (pages 1203 and 1208), he took part in the Sullivan Expedition. In May, 1779, and again in May, 1780, he was appointed by the Connecticut Assembly, and duly commissioned, a Justice of the Peace in and for the county of Westmoreland; and in May, 1781, and again in May, 1782, he was commissioned a Justice of the Peace and Quorum in and for the county of Westmoreland. In 1780 he was one of the Selectmen of Westmoreland, and for some time, at a later period, was Recorder of Deeds in and for Westmoreland. In October, 1781, he was one of the two Representatives from Westmoreland in the Connecticut Assembly.

During the Second Pennamite-Yankee War one of the most strenuous and efficient of the leaders of the Yankee party was John Franklin, and when, in the Autumn of 1785, the settlers organized a militia regiment within the bounds of Westmoreland, he was elected its Colonel. At that time Colonel Franklin made his home in Wilkes-Barré, and here he continued to live until his arrest at Wilkes-Barré and commitment to prison in Philadelphia, in October, 1787—as more fully narrated in a subsequent chapter. Upon his release from prison in September, 1789, he returned to Wilkes-Barré, but some months later removed to the new township of Athens (at Tioga Point), which had been located and laid out in May, 1786, and of which Colonel Franklin was one of the original proprietors.

In 1792 Colonel Franklin was elected Sheriff of Luzerne County, and in 1795 and 1796, and in each of the years from 1799 to 1803, inclusive, he was elected a Representative from Luzerne County to the Pennsylvania Legislature. Craft (in his "History of Bradford County") says of Colonel Franklin: "In the Legislature, on all those questions which related to the title of lands, he was earnest in his defense of the 'half-share men,' and unsparing in his reproaches and withering sarcasm of the land-jobbers. An attempt was made in the session of 1802-'03 to expel him from the Assembly on account of his indictment under the Intrusion Law, but, on account of political reasons, many in the land-holders' interest were induced to vote against his expulsion. Determined, however, to get rid of him, the Legislature, in 1804, passed an Act dividing the County of Luzerne, and setting off to Lycoming that part which contained the residence of Colonel Franklin. In 1805, however, much to the chagrin of his enemies, he was elected by the people of Lycoming, and appeared in triumph at Lancaster [then the seat of the State Government] and took his seat in the Assembly. As it was his crowning, so it was his closing victory. Old age had dampened his ardor and chilled his ambition and he spent the remainder of his days in the quiet of his own home.

"He possessed a most remarkable memory, which he retained to the last. He could tell the events, in their order and with great minuteness, which had occurred in the Valley from the period of its



John Franklin

COL. JOHN FRANKLIN.

Photo-reproduction of an engraved portrait in Craft's "History of Bradford County."

in the spelling of certain names, and the arrangement of the names of the rank and file in alphabetical order, the roll reads as follows :

"A Pay Roll of the Company of Militia commanded by Capt. JOHN FRANKLIN, in the service of the United States at the Post of Wyoming, for one month—*viz.* : from the 3d of April to the 4th of May, 1780.

John Franklin, <i>Captain.</i>		Henry Burney, <i>Sergeant.</i>	
Roasel Franklin, <i>Lieutenant.</i>		Christopher Hurlbut, <i>Sergeant.</i>	
Daniel Gore, <i>Lieutenant.</i>		James Sutton, <i>Corporal.</i>	
Daniel Ingersoll, <i>Sergeant.</i>		William Jackson, <i>Corporal.</i>	
Asa Chapman, <i>Sergeant.</i>		Andrew Blanchard, <i>Corporal.</i>	
Prince Alden.	Peleg Comstock.	John Hurlbut, Jr.	Sale Roberts, Jr.
James Atherton.	Joseph Elliott.	Naphtali Hurlbut.	David Sanford.
Richard Brockway.	Henry Elliott.	Joseph Hageman.	Caleb Spencer.
Nathan Bullock.	James Frisbie.	Elijah Harris.	Walter Spencer.
Ishmael Bennett.	Jonathan Frisbie.	Robert Hopkins.	Nathan Smith.
Ishmael Bennett, Jr.	John Fuller.	William Houck.	John Shearer.
Asa Budd.	Arnold Franklin.	John Hyde.	Daniel Sherwood.
Frederick Budd.	Jonathan Forsyth.	Joseph Jameson.	Thomas Stoddart.
Andrew Bennet.	Frederick Frey.	Turner Johnson.	Abraham Tillbury.
Solomon Bennet.	Roasel Franklin, Jr.	Abraham Nisbitt.	Jacob Tillbury.
Thomas Bennet.	Stephen Gardner.	James Nisbitt.	John Tillbury.
Ezekiel Brown.	John Gore.	Noah Pettibone.	Joseph Thomas.
Manasseh Cady.	Willard Green.	Asahel Pritchard.	Ephraim Tyler.
Jonathan Corey.	Benjamin Harvey.	Jonah Rogers.	Nathan Walker.
Joseph Corey.	Elisha Harvey.	Josiah Rogers.	Jonathan Washburn.
Nathaniel Cook.	John Hurlbut.	Sale Roberts.	William Williams.

first occupation by the white people. He knew every man and his history on The Susquehanna Company's Purchase, and the history of every tract of land which had been occupied. In all questions relating to settlement or occupancy his testimony was invaluable and conclusive. He was a ready writer, and his pen was constantly employed. He was earnest in his convictions, and ardent in maintaining them. He believed the claim of The Susquehanna Company was a valid one, and in writing the history of the Purchase, in taking copies of legal papers and documents, in writing letters, and in keeping a journal, the amount of writing done by him was enormous."

In the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society there is a MS. book of 106 pages, about 6x8 inches in size, in the handwriting of Colonel Franklin. This book, which contains extracts from the records of Connecticut and The Susquehanna Company, and also a brief statement of the purchase and settlement of Wyoming from the year 1762 to about 1787, was prepared by Colonel Franklin for the Hon. William Lewis of Philadelphia, one of the lawyers for the Connecticut settlers in the important law-suit brought for the purpose of determining the status of the conflicting Wyoming land-titles—as fully related hereinafter.

In 1885 there was in the possession of the late Steuben Jenkins, Esq., one of the Journals of Colonel Franklin covering the years 1780-1790. In 1871 this book had been loaned by Mr. Jenkins to the Hon. Hendrick B. Wright of Wilkes-Barré for use in the preparation for publication of the latter's "Historical Sketches of Plymouth." On a fly-leaf of the journal Mr. Wright wrote and signed the following statement: "Wilkes-Barré, June 15, 1871. This book loaned to me by Steuben Jenkins, Esq. I have carefully perused it, and come to the conclusion that JOHN FRANKLIN was the leading, controlling spirit of the Yankee settlers of Wyoming. The evidences spread out upon this, his diary, show that he was their general agent, adviser, representative—the man of all others upon whom they looked for counsel and advice. The diary should be carefully preserved in the archives of the Historical Society of this place."

In his "Historical Sketches of Plymouth" Colonel Wright refers to Colonel Franklin as being "one of the great and acknowledged leaders of the Connecticut settlers—the man of probably the largest intellect and most persevering energy. * * * No one questioned his bravery; no one doubted his integrity and honesty, while they all relied on his sound and well-balanced judgment. It is true that he differed with some of them as to the propriety of accepting the Confirming Law of 1787; but while there was this difference, the view that John Franklin took of the question was the one which ultimately prevailed. To it the opinions of statesmen, of jurists and of laymen were forced to give place."

Reference has already been made in these pages to the series of articles relative to the battle and massacre of Wyoming which Colonel Franklin wrote and published in the year 1828. In 1801 he wrote over the *nom de plume* "Plain Truth," and had published in the *Luzerne County Federalist* (a newspaper published in Wilkes-Barré), a series of five or six articles relating to the Pennsylvania-Connecticut controversy over the Wyoming lands. In 1804, and again in 1805, he published in the *Federalist* other "Plain Truth" articles on the same subject.

Mrs. George A. Perkins, in "Early Times on the Susquehanna" (published in 1870), writes of Colonel Franklin as follows: "Many in this town [Athens, Bradford County, Pennsylvania] still remember Col. John Franklin, a tall, patriarchal-looking man, bent with years and the cares and labors of early life; of a depressed though expressive countenance; his face pitted with small-pox; rather negligent of his personal appearance—though always the gentleman—and always commanding the respect and attention of those who knew him. He frequently wore a long blue cloak, and on public occasions a three-cornered hat, and small clothes, and always carried a little cane, used particularly on funeral occasions to preserve order in the procession, of which he was marshal in those days. Sometimes he visited the schools, giving a word of advice, and always presiding at town-meetings."

The following item was published in Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania*, July 26, 1828. "At a celebration of the 4th of July in Meansville [now Towanda], Bradford County, Pennsylvania, the Declaration of Independence was read by Colonel Franklin (now about eighty years of age) in a strong and impressive manner, after which he delivered, extemporarily, the following short address: 'Friends and Fellow Citizens, you see before you a frail remnant of one of those who have faced the British cannon, and heard the still more appalling yell of the painted savage at the horrible massacre of Wyoming. We gained for you the liberty you have enjoyed for more than half a century. In all human probability this is the last time our faltering tongue will ever tell to you, on an anniversary of free-

According to this pay-roll the pay of the Captain was forty dollars per month, with an allowance of 200 dollars for subsistence; making a total of 240 dollars, or £72, "lawful money." The pay of each Lieutenant was " $26\frac{9}{10}$ dollars" per month, and 100 dollars for subsistence; making a total of $126\frac{9}{10}$ dollars, or £38, "lawful money." The pay of a Sergeant was ten dollars, and an allowance of ten dollars for subsistence, per month; making a total of twenty dollars, or £6. The pay of a Corporal was " $7\frac{9}{10}$ dollars" per month, and ten dollars for subsistence; making a total of $17\frac{9}{10}$ dollars, or £5 4s. The pay of a private soldier was " $6\frac{9}{10}$ dollars," and an allowance of ten dollars for subsistence, per month; making a total of $16\frac{9}{10}$ dollars, or £5. The total amount of the pay-roll was 1,692 dollars, or £507 12sh., "lawful money."

Some time in 1781 Captain Franklin's company was incorporated into the Connecticut Militia, and became the First Company of the Fifth Regiment. In the Winter of 1781-'82 the company was constituted as follows, as shown by a muster-roll found among the papers of Christopher Hurlbut of Hanover Township, and first published in 1887 in Johnson's "Historical Record," I : 211. The roll is as follows (the names of the privates being arranged in alphabetical form by the present writer):

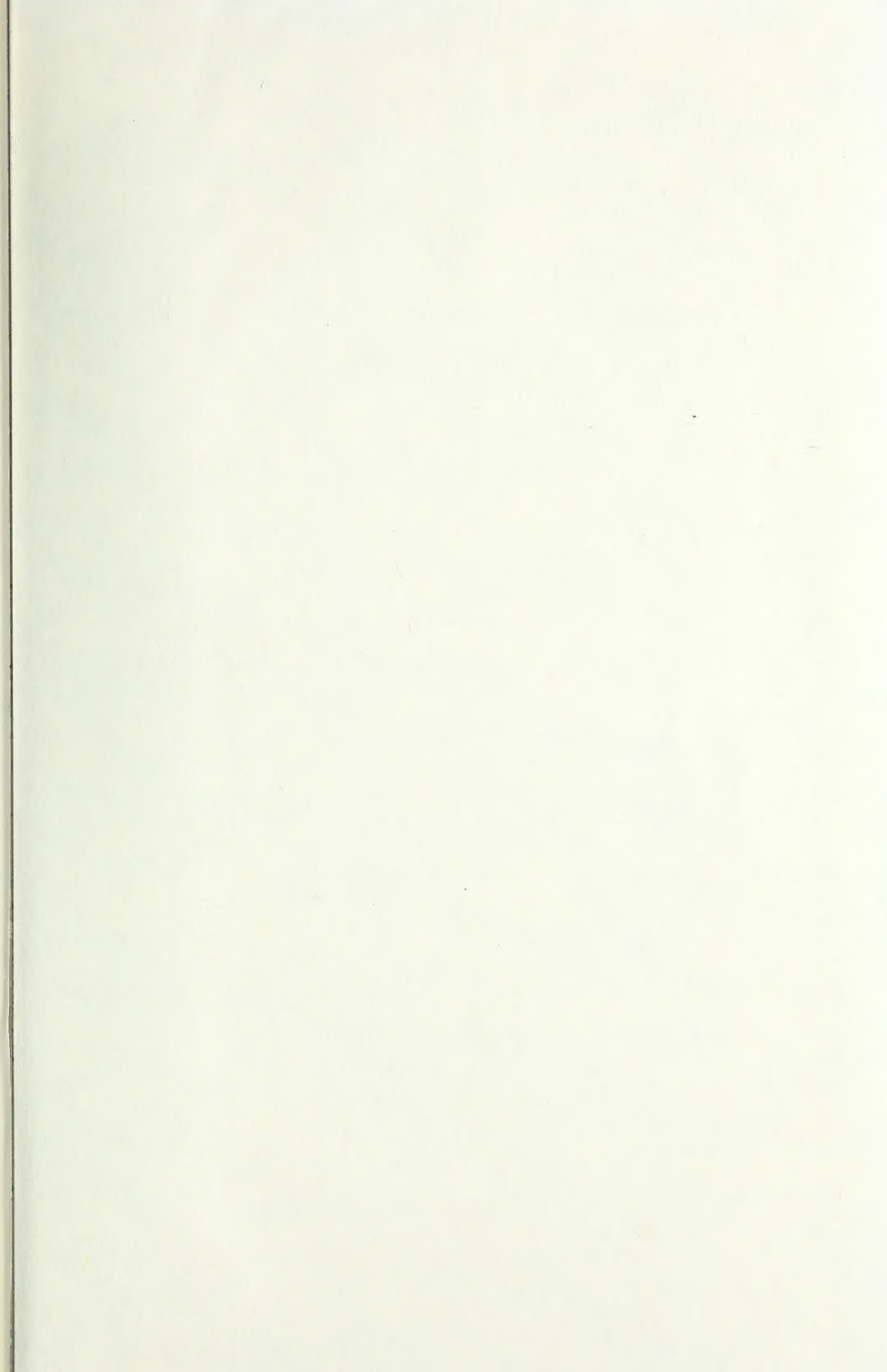
"*Captain*, John Franklin; *Lieutenants*, Daniel Gore, Roasel Franklin, Nathan Kingsley; *Ensign*, John Hageman; *Sergeants*, Daniel Ingersoll, William Hibbard, William Jackson, John Hurlbut, Jr.; *Corporals*, Benjamin Bailey, Joseph Elliott, Henry Harding, John Fuller; *Drummer*, William Houck; *Fifer*, William Smith, Jr.; *Privates*, Asa Bennett, Isaac Bennett, Elisha Bennett, Oliver Bennett, Ishmael Bennett, Jr., David Brewster, David Brown, John Borlen, George Charles, Joseph Corey, Nathan Carey, John Carey, Benjamin Carey, Preserved Cooley, Frederick Frey, William Fish, Samuel Gore, John Gore, Avery Gore, James Grimes, Ebenezer Hebard, Reuben Harrington, Richard Inman, John Inman, Edward Inman, John Lanterman, Walter Lanterman, Josiah Pell, Thomas Reed, William Ross, John Spalding, Daniel Sherwood, Edward Spencer, Walter Spencer, James Sutton, Giles Slocum, Jabez Sill, Jr., Ephraim Tyler, Joseph Thomas, Nicodemus Traverse, Joseph Van Norman, Isaac Van Norman, Nathan Wade, Nathaniel Walker, Clement West, Leonard Westbrook, Derrick Westbrook, William Williams, Abel Yarrington.

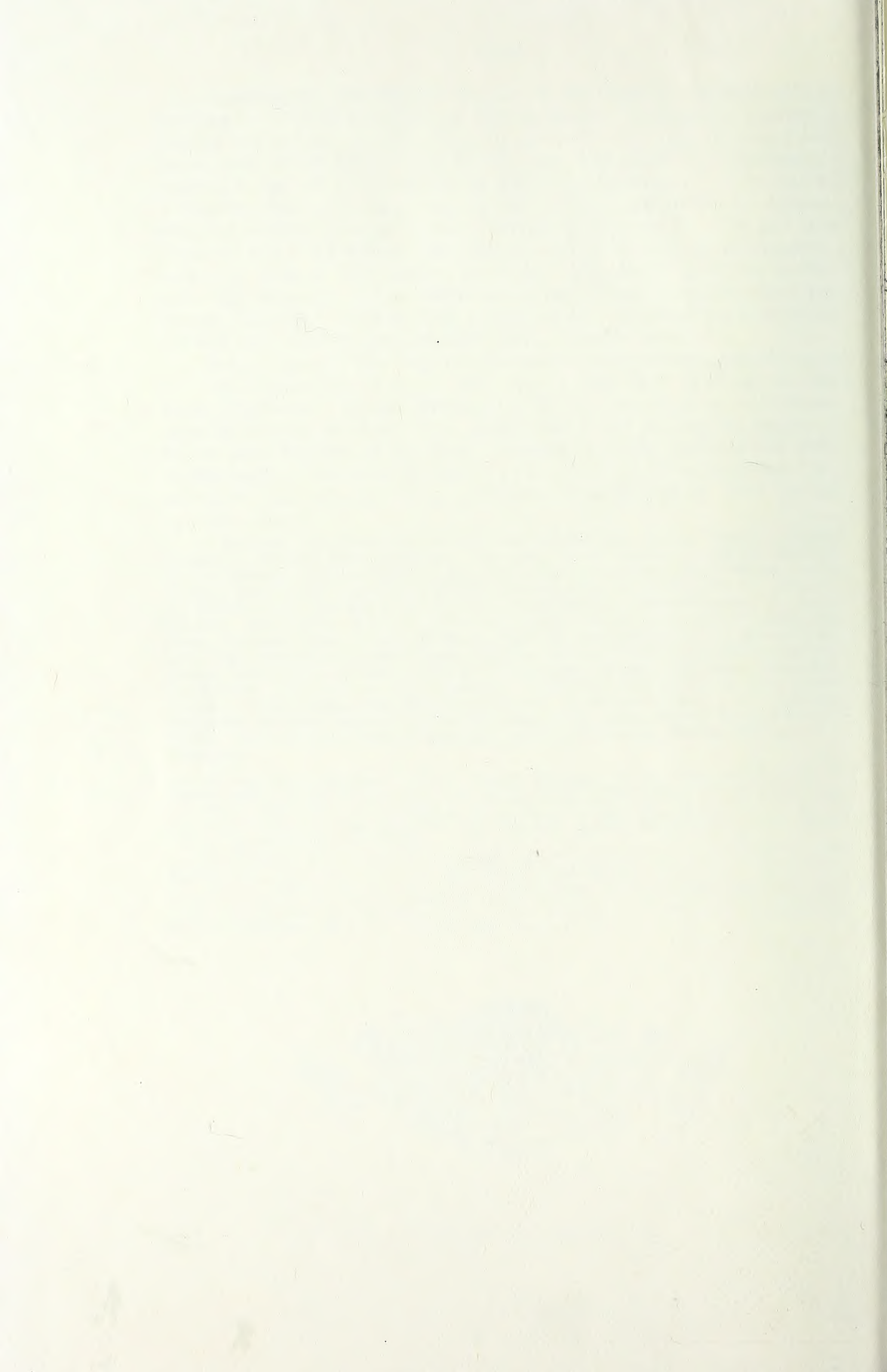
dom, the story of our sufferings. May the Almighty strengthen you with virtue to defend your inheritance against foreign invasion, as well as against domestic intrigue and military usurpation."

Colonel Franklin was married (2nd) at Wilkes-Barré, November 25, 1790, to Mrs. Abigail (Fuller) Bidlack, widow of Capt. James Bidlack, Jr., mentioned on page 1000. Colonel Franklin died at his home in what is now East Athens March 1, 1831, and his widow Abigail died there January 30, 1834, in the eighty-third year of her age.

The children of Colonel Franklin by his first marriage (there were none by his second) were as follows: (i) *Billa*, born in Plymouth, Wyoming Valley, November 3, 1774; settled first at Palmyra, New York, and later at St. Albans, New York, where he died, leaving a family of nine children. (ii) *Amos*, born in Plymouth June 4, 1776. Became a physician and settled at Cayuga, New York, where he died October 11, 1804, leaving a wife and one son, Henry. The latter died without issue. (iii) *Keziah*, born in Huntington Township April 11, 1778. She became the wife of Dr. Solomon Beebe and settled in Geneva, New York, where she died, leaving no children.







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